National Park Service
Department of the Interior

Cultural Resources, Partnerships, and Science

2016
National Park Service
CENTENNIAL

LGBTQ AMERICA

A THEME STUDY OF LESBIAN, GAY, BISEXUAL, TRANSGENDER, and QUEER HISTORY

Edited by Megan E. Springate

LGBTQ America:

A Theme Study of Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, and Queer History

Edited by Megan E. Springate

Published online 2016
www.nps.gov/subjects/tellingallamericansstories/lgbtqthemestudy.htm

LGBTQ America: A Theme Study of Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, and Queer History is a publication of the National Park Foundation and the National Park Service.

We are very grateful for the generous support of the Gill Foundation, which has made this publication possible.

The views and conclusions contained in the essays are those of the authors and should not be interpreted as representing the opinions or policies of the U.S. Government. Mention of trade names or commercial products does not constitute their endorsement by the U.S. Government.

© 2016 National Park Foundation
Washington, DC

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reprinted or reproduced without permission from the publishers.

Links (URLs) to websites referenced in this document were accurate at the time of publication.

This theme study is dedicated to all lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender Americans and to our friends, allies, and families of choice past, present, and future.

Contents

Acknowledgements vi
About the Contributors xii

Introduction

01 Prologue: Why LGBTQ Historic Sites Matter 01-1
Mark Meinke
02 Introduction to the LGBTQ Heritage Initiative Theme Study 02-1
Megan E. Springate
03 Introduction to Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, and Queer (LGBTQ) History in the United States 03-1
Leisa Meyer and Helis Sikk

Preserving LGBTQ History

04 The History of Queer History: One Hundred Years of the Search for Shared Heritage 04-1
Gerard Koskovich
05 The Preservation of LGBTQ Heritage 05-1
Gail Dubrow
06 LGBTQ Archeological Context 06-1
Megan E. Springate

Inclusive Stories

07 A Note about Intersectionality 07-1
Megan E. Springate
08 Making Bisexuals Visible 08-1
Loraine Hutchins

09 Sexual and Gender Diversity in Native America and the Pacific Islands 09-1
Will Roscoe
10 Transgender History in the US and the Places that Matter 10-1
Susan Stryker
11 Breathing Fire: Remembering Asian Pacific American Activism in Queer History 11-1
Amy Sueyoshi
12 Latina/o Gender and Sexuality 12-1
Deena J. González and Ellie D. Hernandez
13 "Where We Could Be Ourselves": African American LGBTQ Historic Places and Why They Matter 13-1
Jeffrey Harris

Themes

14 LGBTQ Spaces and Places 14-1
Jen Jack Gieseking
15 Making Community: The Places and Spaces of LGBTQ Collective Identity Formation 15-1
Christina B. Hanhardt
16 LGBTQ Business and Commerce 16-1
David K. Johnson
17 Sex, Love, and Relationships 17-1
Tracy Baim
18 Struggles and Triumphs in LGBTQ Civil Rights 18-1
Megan E. Springate
19 Historical Landmarks and Landscapes of LGBTQ Law 19-1
Marc Stein
20 LGBTQ Military Service 20-1
Steve Estes
21 Struggles in the Body and Spirit: Religion and LGBTQ People in US History 21-1
Drew Bourn

22 LGBTQ and Health 22-1
Katie Batza
23 LGBTQ Art and Artists 23-1
Tara Burk
24 LGBTQ Sport and Leisure 24-1
Katherine Schweighofer

Places

25 San Francisco: Placing LGBTQ Histories in the City by the Bay 25-1
Donna J. Graves and Shayne E. Watson
26 Preservation of LGBTQ Historic & Cultural Sites – A New York City Perspective 26-1
Jay Shockley
27 Locating Miami's Queer History 27-1
Julio Capó, Jr.
28 Queerest Little City in the World: LGBTQ Reno 28-1
John Jeffrey Auer IV
29 Chicago: Queer Histories at the Crossroads of America 29-1
Jessica Herczeg-Konecny

Legacy

30 Nominating LGBTQ Places to the National Register of Historic Places and as National Historic Landmarks: An Introduction 30-1
Megan E. Springate and Caridad de la Vega
31 Interpreting LGBTQ Historic Sites 31-1
Susan Ferentinos
32 Teaching LGBTQ History and Heritage 32-1
Leila J. Rupp

Appendix A: Places Identified in the Text A-1
Index Ind-1

Acknowledgements

The Gill Foundation provided a generous grant to the National Park Foundation to support the LGBTQ Heritage Initiative. The National Park Foundation is the official charitable partner of America's national parks. The National Park Foundation has an agreement with the National Park Service to produce the theme study and other products associated with the Heritage Initiative. If you are interested in donating funds to the LGBTQ Heritage Initiative, please do so via the National Park Foundation and make sure to earmark your donation to the Initiative.

The theme study is copyedited by Meghan Hogan. The layout is by Beth Pruitt. The index was created by J. Basiliere, Assistant Professor of Women, Gender, and Sexuality Studies, Grand Valley State University, Michigan.

Megan Springate is the Prime Consultant for the Initiative for the National Park Foundation. Her responsibilities included overseeing the writing and peer-review of the theme study, responding to public comment, updating the map of LGBTQ places, and helping keep the project on schedule. She is a PhD candidate at the University of Maryland.

Dr. Barbara Little, Program Manager, NPS Cultural Resources Office of Interpretation and Education is the program lead at the National Park Service for the LGBTQ Heritage Initiative. The Initiative and the theme study are results of the leadership of Dr. Stephanie Toothman, Associate Director, Cultural Resources, Partnerships, and Science Directorate.

Scholars Roundtable

The following individuals participated in the Scholars' Roundtable on June 10, 2014 and provided input and ideas regarding the extent and organization of the theme study. Unlike other Heritage Initiatives, the National Park System Advisory Board has not convened a standing committee for the LGBTQ Initiative.

- Katie Batza, Assistant Professor of Women, Gender, and Sexuality Studies at the University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kansas
- Eliza Byard, Executive Director of the Gay, Lesbian & Straight Education Network (GLSEN), New York City
- Paloma Bolasny, Historian with the National Park Service Cultural Resources Office of Outreach and Coordinator, Cultural Resources Diversity Internship Program, Washington, DC
- Drew Bourn, Historian and Archivist at Stanford University, Stanford, California
- Nan Alamilla Boyd, Professor of Women and Gender Studies at San Francisco State University, San Francisco, California
- Julio Capó, Jr., Assistant Professor in the Department of History and the Commonwealth Honors College at the University of Massachusetts, Amherst
- John D'Emilio, Professor of Gender & Women's Studies and History emeritus at the University of Illinois at Chicago
- Petra L. Doan, Professor of Urban and Regional Planning at Florida State University, Tallahassee, Florida
- Jen Jack Gieseking, Assistant Professor of Public Humanities in the American Studies Program at Trinity College, Hartford, Connecticut
- Christina B. Hanhardt, Associate Professor in the Department of American Studies at the University of Maryland at College Park
- Jamie Jacobs, National Park Service Historian for the Historic American Buildings Survey and the National Historic Landmarks Program, Washington, DC
- Gerard Koskovich, historian, curator, rare book dealer, and founding member of the GLBT Historical Society in San Francisco, California
- Barbara Little, program manager, National Park Service Cultural Resources Office of Outreach, Washington, DC
- Alexandra Lord, Branch Chief of the National Historic Landmarks Program for the National Park Service, Washington, DC

- Paula Martinac, writer and editor, Charlotte, North Carolina.
- Mark Meinke, community preservationist and historian, Washington, DC
- La Shonda Mims, Lecturer, Towson University, Towson, Maryland
- Stephen Morris, Chief, National Park Service Office of International Affairs, Washington, DC
- Pat O'Brien, Cultural Resource Specialist, National Park Service Intermountain Region Desert Southwest Ecosystems Studies Unit, Tucson, Arizona
- Stephen Pitti, Director of the Center for the Study of Race, Indigeneity, and Transnational Migration and Professor of American Studies and History, Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut. Dr. Pitti is Chair of the National Park System Advisory Board
- Will Roscoe, community organizer and historian, San Francisco, California
- Megan Springate, PhD candidate, University of Maryland at College Park and Prime Consultant to the LGBTQ Heritage Initiative
- Shayne Watson, Architectural Historian, Oakland, California

Theme Study Peer Reviewers

- Tracy Baim, author, Publisher and Executive Editor, Windy City Times, Chicago
- Aaron Belkin, Director, Palm Center, San Francisco
- Nan Alamilla Boyd, Professor, Women and Gender Studies, San Francisco State University
- Susan K. Cahn, Professor of History, University at Buffalo
- Daryl Carr, former Acting Executive Director, GLBT Historical Society, California
- Melinda Chateauvert, PhD, Associate Director, Front Porch Research Strategy, New Orleans
- Faith Cheltenham, President of BiNet USA

- John D’Emilio, Professor of History and Gender and Women’s Studies Emeritus, University of Illinois Chicago
- Petra L. Doan, Professor of Urban and Regional Planning at Florida State University
- Andrew Dolkart, Professor of Historic Preservation, Columbia University Graduate School of Architecture, Planning, and Preservation, New York City
- Gail Dubrow, Professor of Architecture, Landscape Architecture, Public Affairs & Planning, and History, University of Minnesota
- Julie Enszer, scholar and poet, Publisher and Editor, *Sinister Wisdom*
- Steven Epstein, Professor of Sociology and John C. Shaffer Professor in the Humanities, Northwestern University, Illinois
- Debra Fowler, MEd, Co-Founder, History UnErased, Massachusetts
- Nathaniel Frank, Historian, New York
- Marcia M. Gallo, Associate Professor of History, University of Nevada, Las Vegas
- Alix Genter, Historian, Philadelphia
- Jen Jack Gieseking, Assistant Professor of Public Humanities in American Studies, Trinity College, Connecticut
- Donna Graves, Historian and Cultural Planner, California
- Laura Hansen, Co-Founder, Place Matters, New York
- Emily K. Hobson, Assistant Professor, History and Gender, Race, and Identity Studies, University of Nevada Reno
- Sandra Hollimon, Professor, Anthropology, Santa Rosa Junior College, California
- Kwame Holmes, Assistant Professor, Department of Ethnic Studies, University of Colorado Boulder
- David K. Johnson, Associate Professor, Department of History, University of South Florida
- Lani Ka’ahumanu, author, activist, BiPOL San Francisco, California.
- Melia Lane-Kamahele, Pacific West Region, National Park Service, Hawai’i
- Ian Lekus, LGBT Thematic Specialist, Amnesty International USA
- Alexandra M. Lord, Chair and Curator, Medicine and Science Division, National Museum of American History, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC

- Michelle Magalong, Chair of Asian & Pacific Islander Americans in Historic Preservation
- Paula Martinac, Author and Instructor, University of North Carolina at Charlotte
- La Shonda Mims, Lecturer, Towson University, Maryland
- Rev. Irene Monroe, Boston Public Radio religion commentator and syndicated religion columnist, Cambridge, Massachusetts
- Miriam Morgenstern, Co-Founder, History UnErased, Massachusetts
- Hunter O'Hanian, Director, Leslie-Lohman Museum of Gay and Lesbian Art, New York
- Trinity A. Ordona, Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender Studies Department, City College of San Francisco
- Stephen Pitti, Director of the Center for the Study of Race, Indigeneity, and Transnational Migration and Professor of American Studies and History, Yale University
- Claire Potter, Professor of History, The New School, New York
- Sarah Prager, Founder and Executive Director, Quist, Wallingford, Connecticut
- Don Romesburg, Associate Professor, Women's and Gender Studies, Sonoma State University, California
- Gayle S. Rubin, Associate Professor, Anthropology and Women's Studies, University of Michigan
- James M. Saslow, Professor Emeritus, Art History, City University of New York
- Timothy Stewart-Winter, Associate Professor, Department of History, Rutgers University – Newark, New Jersey
- Nicholas Syrett, Associate Professor, Department of History, University of Northern Colorado
- Rebekah Tanner, MAA, MLS, Certified Interdisciplinary Trauma Specialist, New York
- Ken Turino, Manager of Community Engagement and Exhibitions, Historic New England, Massachusetts
- Barbara Voss, Associate Professor, Department of Anthropology, Stanford University, California
- Shayne Watson, Architectural Historian, Mill Valley, California

- Melissa M. Wilcox, Associate Professor of Religion and Gender Studies, Whitman College, Washington

About the Contributors

Mr. John Jeffrey Auer IV is a PhD candidate and public historian at the University of Nevada, Reno. He is also co-founder of the Nevada LGBT Archives.

Ms. Tracy Baim is an author and the Publisher and Executive Editor of the *Windy City Times,* Chicago, Illinois.

Dr. Katie Batza is an Assistant Professor of Women, Gender, and Sexuality Studies at the University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kansas.

Dr. Drew Bourn is an Instructor in History for the Continuing Studies Program at Stanford University and Historical Curator at the Stanford Medical History Center, Palo Alto, California.

Dr. Tara Burk is a part-time Lecturer at Rutgers University, New Brunswick, New Jersey.

Dr. Julio Capó, Jr. is an Assistant Professor in the Department of History and the Commonwealth Honors College at the University of Massachusetts, Amherst.

Ms. Caridad de la Vega is a Historian at the National Historic Landmarks Program, National Park Service, Washington, DC.

Dr. Gail Dubrow is a Professor of Architecture, Landscape Architecture, Public Affairs & Planning, and History at the University of Minnesota.

Dr. Steve Estes is a Professor of History at Sonoma State University, Rohnert Park, California.

Dr. Susan Ferentinos is a public history consultant in Bloomington, Indiana.

Dr. Jen Jack Gieseking is an Assistant Professor of Public Humanities in the American Studies Program at Trinity College, Hartford, Connecticut.

Dr. Deena J. González an Associate Provost for Faculty Affairs and Professor in the Department of Chicana/o Studies, Loyola Marymount University, Los Angeles, California.

Ms. Donna J. Graves is a Public Historian and Cultural Planner in California.

Dr. Christina B. Hanhardt is an Associate Professor in the Department of American Studies at the University of Maryland, College Park.

Mr. Jeffrey Harris is an independent historian and historic preservation consultant in Hampton, Virginia.

Ms. Jessica Herczeg-Konecny is the Digital Asset Manager at the Detroit Institute of Arts, Michigan.

Dr. Ellie D. Hernandez is an Associate Professor of Chicana/o Studies at the University of California Santa Barbara.

Dr. Loraine Hutchins co-founded BiNet USA – the national bisexual network, and served on its first board of directors. She is an adjunct professor at Montgomery College in Maryland where she teaches inter-disciplinary sexuality and gender studies.

Dr. David K. Johnson is an Associate Professor in the Department of History, University of South Florida, Tampa.

Mr. Gerard Koskovich is a historian, curator, rare book dealer, and founding member of the GLBT Historical Society in San Francisco, California.

Mr. Mark Meinke is a community preservationist and historian in the Washington, DC area. He is co-founder and an executive board member of the Rainbow Heritage Network

Dr. Leisa Meyer is a Professor, American Studies and History at the College of William and Mary, Williamsburg, Virginia.

Dr. Will Roscoe is an independent historian and Development Associate at Openhouse, a social service agency for LGBT seniors in San Francisco, California.

Dr. Leila J. Rupp is a Distinguished Professor, Department of Feminist Studies and Interim Dean of the Division of Social Sciences at the University of California Santa Barbara.

Dr. Katherine Schweighofer is a Visiting Assistant Professor in the Department of Women's Gender, & Sexuality Studies and the Department of American Studies, Dickinson College, Carlisle, Pennsylvania.

Mr. Jay Shockley is an architectural/cultural historian and historic preservationist in New York City.

Dr. Helis Sikk is a Visiting Assistant Professor in the Gender, Sexuality, and Women's Studies Program at the College of William and Mary, Williamsburg, Virginia.

Ms. Megan E. Springate is a historical archaeologist and PhD candidate at the University of Maryland, College Park as well as the Prime Consultant to the LGBTQ Heritage Initiative.

Dr. Marc Stein is a Professor of History at San Francisco State University, California.

Dr. Susan Stryker is an Associate Professor, Gender and Women's Studies at the University of Arizona, Tucson.

Dr. Amy Sueyoshi is an Associate Dean, College of Ethnic Studies; Professor of Race and Resistance Studies; and Professor of Sexuality Studies at San Francisco State University, California.

Ms. Shayne E. Watson is an architectural historian in Mill Valley, California.

INTRODUCTION

The chapters in the Introduction section give context to the rest of the theme study. This is the context for the contexts, as it were. This section gives background on the LGBTQ Heritage Initiative and provides a broad social history of LGBTQ in America. The ideas in this introductory section will resonate throughout the rest of the theme study.

01

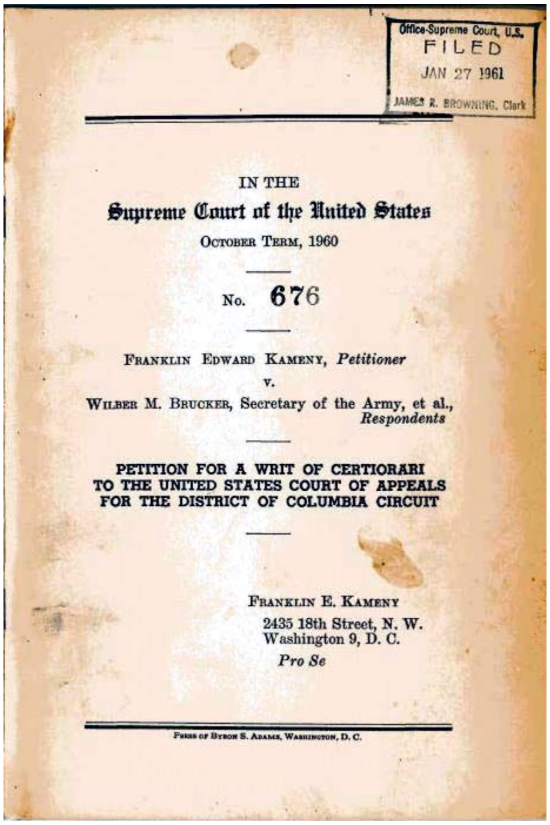
WHY LGBTQ HISTORIC SITES MATTER

Mark Meinke

Start here. We exist.

We, lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, queer people (LGBTQ), all the subdivisions of the sexual and gender minority community, exist in America. The places we remember and hold dear, those places that have become part of our identity, also exist. Still. Many of them.

In the 1960s no lesbian, gay man, bisexual, transgender person, or queer gave a thought to their sites and actions being historic. They were struggling for their basic rights, explicitly denied them by their government and the larger society around them. As Dr. Franklin E. Kameny, often called the “father” of LGBTQ civil rights, asserted with some asperity in his 1960 petition for a *writ of certiorari* to the Supreme Court “Probably [homosexuals] most dominant characteristic is their utter heterogeneity. Despite [the] common popular stereotype of a homosexual which would have him discernible at once by appearance, mannerisms and other characteristics, these people run the gamut of physical type, of intellectual ability and inclination and of emotional make-up … ”[1] (Figure 1).



Office-Supreme Court, U.S.
FILED
JAN 27 1961
JAMES R. BROWNING, Clerk

IN THE
Supreme Court of the United States
OCTOBER TERM, 1960

No. 676

FRANKLIN EDWARD KAMENY, *Petitioner*
v.
WILBER M. BRUCKER, Secretary of the Army, et al.,
Respondents

PETITION FOR A WRIT OF CERTIORARI
TO THE UNITED STATES COURT OF APPEALS
FOR THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA CIRCUIT

FRANKLIN E. KAMENY
2435 18th Street, N. W.
Washington 9, D. C.
Pro Se

PRESS OF BYRON S. ADAMS, WASHINGTON, D. C.

Figure 1: Dr. Franklin E. Kameny’s 1960 petition for a writ of certiorari to overturn his exclusion from federal employment on the basis of homosexuality. Publication of the United States Supreme Court, 1960.

In making his case for tolerance and an end to restrictions on homosexuals’ rights, Kameny was in this instance most focused on discrimination in employment, though in addressing his own particular case, he noted that those rights were the equal of every American’s rights and should not be legally, logically, constitutionally, or on any other basis diminished (Figure 2). The depth of Kameny’s asperity was plumbed in his outraged summary of the government’s case for oppressing homosexuals’ employment in a resonant indictment of federal oppression:

> “Respondents’ [US Civil Service Commission, Army Mapping Service, the US Army] case is rotten to the core. Respondents’ case had been shown to fail factually and to be defective procedurally; the regulations upon which they base their case have been shown to be legally faulty, invalid, and unconstitutional; their policies have been shown to be improperly discriminatory,

---

[1] Franklin Edward Kameny v. Wilber M. Brucker, Secretary of the Army et al., Petition for a Writ of Certiorari, no. 676, US Supreme Court, 1960, 36. Kameny’s writ was intended to win him a Supreme Court review of his appeal against dismissal from the Army Mapping Service on grounds of homosexuality in 1957. It did not. However, in articulating his arguments against US government repression of homosexuals and its ban on employment of homosexuals, Kameny set forth clearly many of the arguments and goals that would characterize his activism over the next fifty-one years. The Dr. Franklin E. Kameny Residence is located in the northwestern quadrant of Washington, DC. It was listed on the NRHP on November 2, 2011.

> irrational and unreasonable, inconsistent and against the general welfare, and unconstitutional. …
>
> The government's regulations, policies, practices and procedures, as applied in the instant case to petitioner specifically, and as applied to homosexuals generally, are a stench in the nostrils of decent people, an offense against morality, an abandonment of reason, an affront to human dignity, an improper restraint upon proper freedom and liberty, a disgrace to any civilized society, and a violation of all that this nation stands for. These policies, practices, procedures, and regulation have gone too long unquestioned, and too long unexamined by the courts."[2]

A community of people, identical to other American citizens except for the objects of their affections, was united by its shared oppression and came together in the 1960s and the 1970s not to "fit in" but to build their own community for themselves within the enveloping context of American society. Absorbed in asserting and demanding recognition not merely of their existence but of their rights as citizens under the law and the constitution, LGBTQ people created, and continue to create, communities

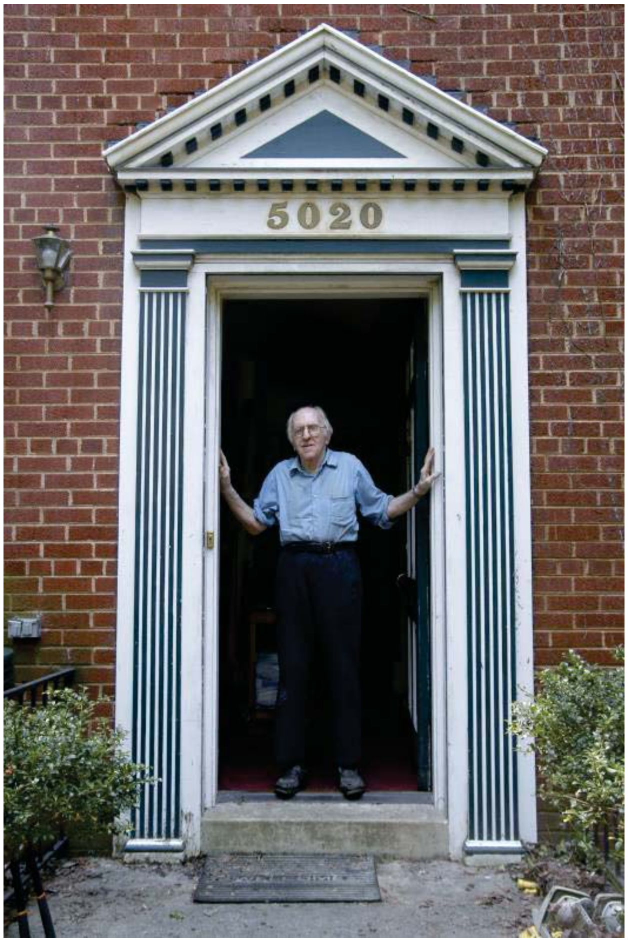


Figure 2: Dr. Franklin E. Kameny at the door to his Washington, DC, home and office, 2007. Photo by and courtesy of Patsy Lynch, 2007.

---

[2] Ibid., 58-59.

across the nation to provide for their needs, provide support when needed, and more recently to celebrate their shared past and historic sites.

Many of those sites have historically been in economically marginal urban areas because such locations were less likely to attract negative attention from neighboring businesses and because they were cheaper for LGBTQ persons and organizations not particularly blessed with affluence. Also unique to LGBTQ communities is the predominance for much of the twentieth century of bars and taverns as significant sites for which community members feel affection and pride. Because of the difficulty in finding and meeting others like themselves, as well as because of society's restriction of places for LGBTQ persons to freely associate, bars across the country became sites of first acquaintance.

It was often at these bars that community organizations started, held fundraisers, held meetings and special events, and connected with their LGBTQ public. In the 1960s, it was at social spaces such as bars that some of the most egregiously violent encounters between LGBTQ people and American society's enforcers occurred. The now iconic Stonewall riots of June 1969 were preceded by similar occurrences at Compton's Cafeteria in San Francisco in 1966 and the Black Cat Tavern riot in Los Angeles in 1967.[3]

The years immediately following the events at Stonewall saw a nationwide eruption of social spaces and places across the country. In the exuberance of the early post-Stonewall activism, LGBTQ community centers, health centers, churches, bookstores, collectives, and communes sprouted across the nation's urban centers and were joined by service and support organizations that used these spaces for meeting and socializing. As Dr. Kameny noted in his petition to the Supreme Court, LGBTQ communities reflected the heterogeneity of heterosexual society.

---

[3] The Stonewall Inn is located at 51-53 Christopher Street, New York City, New York. The riots spilled out into the adjacent streets and Christopher Park. Stonewall was listed on the NRHP on June 28, 1999, designated an NHL on February 16, 2000, and designated the Stonewall National Monument (an NPS unit) on June 24, 2016. Compton's Cafeteria was located at 101 Taylor Street, San Francisco, California. The Black Cat Tavern was at 3909 West Sunset Boulevard, Los Angeles, California.

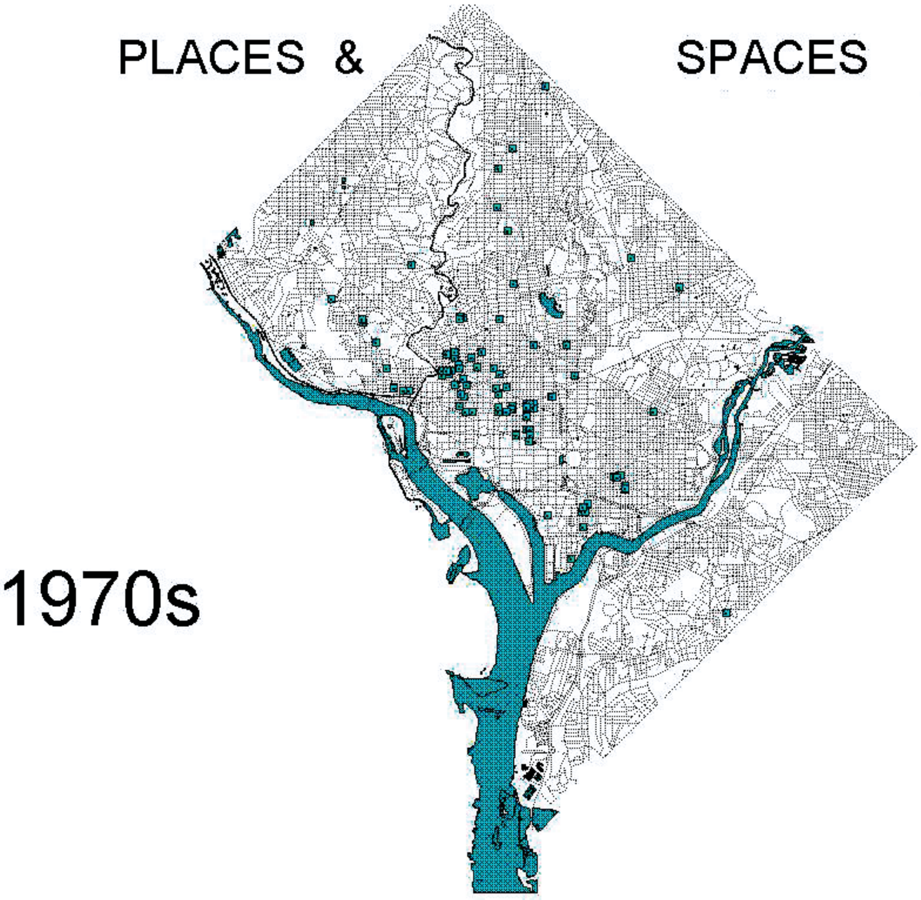


Figure 3: From The Social Geography of Washington, DC's Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual and Transgender Community, paper delivered at the 2001 Conference on Washington DC Historical Studies. Image courtesy of Mark Meinke.

In Washington, DC, the 1970s saw the number of social spaces, places in which LGBTQ persons could meet and socialize, quadruple over the previous decade to 130 places, predominantly bars and restaurants but also including service organizations and stores (Figure 3). Many were notably short-lived but others became integral to the community, providing meeting space and social services. Guides to gay tolerant and gay friendly bars, restaurants, and hotels appeared in the 1950s. In the 50s and 60s they carried explicit warnings about entrapment and potential violence.

By the 1970s, guides such as John Francis Hunter's *The Gay Insider USA* (1972) offered ratings of the ambience of social spaces as well as

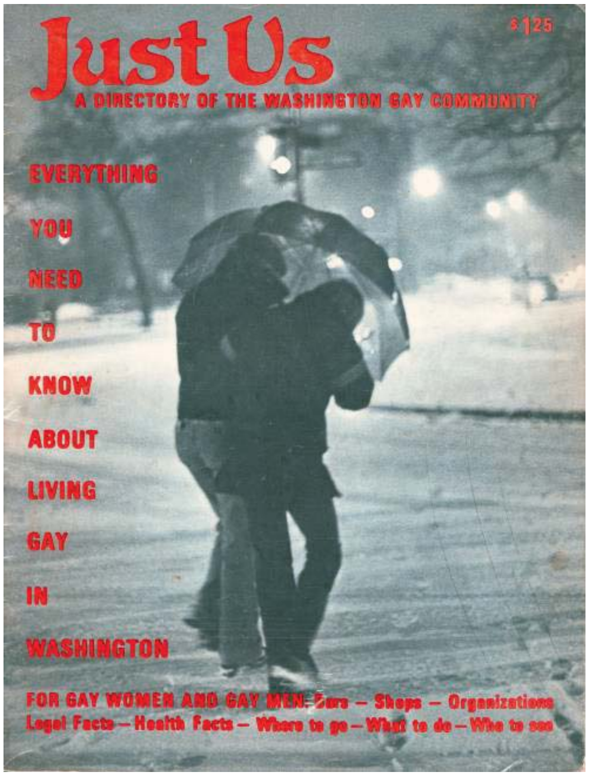

$1.25
Just Us
A DIRECTORY OF THE WASHINGTON GAY COMMUNITY
EVERYTHING
YOU
NEED
TO
KNOW
ABOUT
LIVING
GAY
IN
WASHINGTON
FOR GAY WOMEN AND GAY MEN: Bars – Shops – Organizations
Legal Facts – Health Facts – Where to go – What to do – Who to see

Figure 4: The Washington Area Gay Community Council's (WAGDC) 1975 Just Us, a directory to businesses, organizations, and places of entertainment. Cover image courtesy of the last president of the WAGDC, Deacon Maccubbin.

directories of activist organizations and publications on a state-by-state basis. Washington DC's Washington Area Gay Community Council published a directory for the LGBTQ community in 1975 that identified the places and organizations that had appeared over the past half-decade. In the case of DC, *Just Us* listed three political organizations, four religious organizations, three women's organizations, six gay support services, six publications, two student groups, two Levi and leather organizations, seven drag organizations, eighteen bars, two cinemas, four shops, and two bathhouses (Figure 4). Of these sixty some organizations, just under twenty had existed before 1970 and only four of them had existed before 1960. Like Topsy, the LGBTQ communities just grew and grew in the 1970s.

This is the corpus from which the LGBTQ communities across the nation are now beginning to identify the sites that to them are historic, iconic, and deserving of preservation.

Our Sites Matter

In the fifty years since the National Historic Preservation Act was enacted, a number of communities have been underrepresented in the National Park Service's list of National Historic Landmarks (NHL) and

National Register of Historic Places (NRHP). Among these are the Latina/Latino, African American, Women's, Asian and Pacific Islander, Native American, and LGBTQ communities. As of this writing, LGBTQ sites make up .08 percent of the 2,500 NHLs and .005 percent of the more than 90,000 places on the NRHP.

For most of the fifty years since the preservation act was enacted, the LGBTQ community itself was still emerging from hiding and learning to value itself so it is little surprise that it was not actively identifying and preserving the places it loved. But members of the communities across the United States knew and remembered the places that were significant in their emerging history.

The National Park Service (NPS) at the end of May 2014 launched an LGBTQ Heritage Initiative to underscore the value and increase the representation of LGBTQ sites on both the NHL and the NRHP lists. That initiative is one of the spurs to historic preservation of queer sites. Among the most immediate results of the NPS initiative is the creation of a national map of LGBTQ places across the country.[4]

The Queer Value of LGBTQ Historic Preservation and Landmarks

Place and identity are inextricably linked. Tom Mayes, of the National Trust for Historic Preservation and recipient of the Rome Prize in historic preservation and conservation, in a series of insightful blogs for the Preservation Leadership Forum notes that "… the continued presence of old places helps us know who we are, and who we may become in the future."[5] In the LGBTQ community, where discovering who one is and accepting that identity is often challenged by the surrounding society, discovering tangible physical echoes of that identity can underpin queer youth's self-acceptance and reinforce a sense of belonging.

---

[4] See Google Maps website, "Places with LGBTQ Heritage," https://www.google.com/maps/@41.6232728,-112.8587991,3z/data=!3m1!4b1!4m2!6m1!1szUo4VdCIQUrM.kpjJD0fu37MU

There is much evidence that preserving historic sites brings intangible benefits of identity, continuity, and community.[6] Most people enjoy old places. We usually visit those historic places that connect with our own identity or sense of self in some way. We see ourselves in them and feel our identity reinforced. Those in the LGBTQ community haven't been able to do that.

If you're lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, queer, or any of the other iterations of the gender and sexual minorities, you have probably spent your youth trying to understand yourself, to accept your same sex affections or your gender identity, in the face of a society that is only just beginning to accept that such affections and identities exist and are acceptable. Youth today have many more options for support than I did. Fifty years ago, in my youth in a small midwestern town, there was no support and there were no sources of information. There were no queer-identified places that would reassure me that I was not a hateful anomaly.

There are an admittedly tiny number of LGBTQ-identified sites across the United States—so far. But the NPS LGBTQ Heritage Initiative and state and local historic landmark programs are growing the inventory. The LGBTQ press is increasingly covering the issue of disappearing sites and celebrating those that are being recognized and preserved. Media coverage helps to spread the news that there are queer historic sites that are considered worth saving.

---

[5] Tom Mayes, "Why Do Old Places Matter? Individual Identity," *Preservation Leadership Forum Blog*, January 8, 2014, http://blog.preservationleadershipforum.org/2014/01/08/old-places-matter-identity-1/.

[6] Ibid. Mayes offers fourteen answers to the query "Why do old places matter?" – continuity; memory; individual identity; civic, state, national, and universal identity; beauty; history; architecture; sacred; creativity; learning; sustainability; ancestors; community; and economics.

What difference does it make to a lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, or queer person if the Bayard Rustin home is recognized as a landmark? Or the Kameny home, or the Furies Collective, or the Gerber house? Why would it make a difference if Harvey Milk's camera shop was a national landmark or that docents at Walt Whitman's Camden, New Jersey home mention that he was homosexual and had a long-running relationship with Peter Doyle in Washington, DC?[7]

As Mayes points out, places become symbols of and rallying points for identity—both personal and community. These historic sites help LGBTQ people find a context for themselves. They become points for remembering our past and for staging celebrations within our community and which also educate those who aren't part of our community. They provide a perspective peopled with ancestors whose existence re-affirms our existence and whose recognition underpins a feeling that if they matter, we matter.

A young member of the LGBTQ community can find an echo of self in the Stonewall Inn or the Bayard Rustin home in New York City, the Gerber house in Chicago, the Franklin E. Kameny home or the lesbian Furies Collective in Washington, DC, the National AIDS Memorial Grove in San Francisco, or the James Merrill home in Connecticut. These are just the beginning. To a young African American working through a discovery that their affections and gender identity may not be those of the social majority, knowing that an African American as prominent and central to the social justice and civil rights movements as Bayard Rustin was a gay man can be very reassuring. To a young woman, the knowledge that the lesbian Furies Collective had been declared a landmark offers a similar feeling of affirmation (Figure 5). Unfortunately, there are not *yet* sites to recognize transgender, bisexual, or all of the heterogeneity of the LGBTQ community. They will come.

---

[7] The Bayard Rustin Residence is located in the Chelsea neighborhood of New York City. It was listed on the NRHP on March 8, 2016. The Furies Collective in the southeastern quadrant of DC was listed on the NRHP on May 2, 2016. Walt Whitman's Home at 330 Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. Boulevard (formerly Mickle Street), Camden, New Jersey was listed on the NRHP on October 15, 1966 and designated an NHL on December 29, 1962.

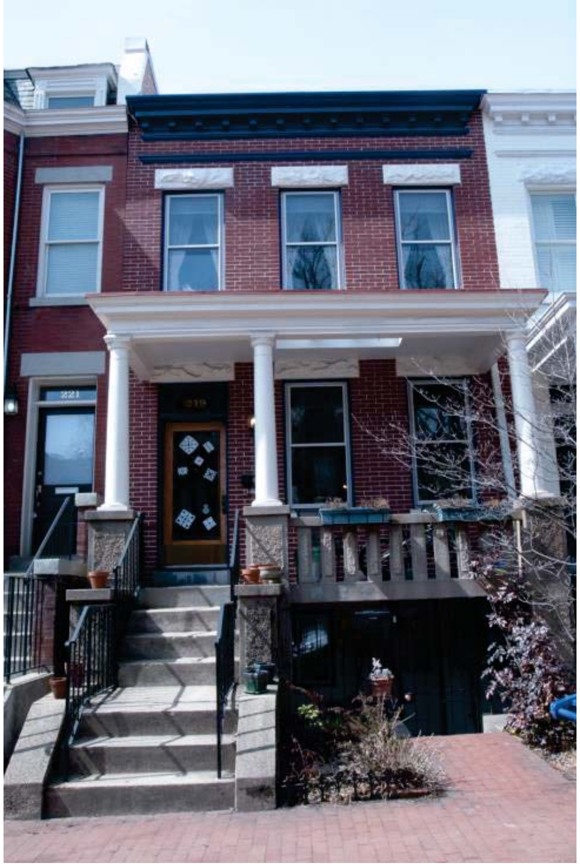


Figure 5: Site of the lesbian Furies Collective, Washington, DC. Photo by and courtesy of Patsy Lynch, 2015.

With an epidemic of suicide among bullied LGBTQ youth, every celebration of queer history can be counted an instance of asserting the normality and acceptability of who they are. A 2004 study of Minnesota ninth and twelfth graders showed that 50 percent of those with gay, lesbian, or bisexual orientations had contemplated suicide and 37.4 percent had attempted suicide.[8] Groups responding to this epidemic include The Trevor Project which focuses on prevention of suicide and History UnErased which develops curricula and provides training for bringing LGBTQ history to K-12 classrooms nationwide.[9] Preservation and landmarking of queer historic sites underpin projects to improve self-esteem and self-confidence among queer youth. If knowing about a historic queer site keeps one queer youth alive, landmarking and preservation is a victory.

Since the burden and the expense of identifying and landmarking LGBTQ historic sites, and the expense of preservation, falls locally, there is necessarily a lag between identifying and landmarking. The process of landmarking, whether at the local, state, or federal level, is a lengthy one and one not given to quick results. But the rewards of achieving landmark status or of preventing another beloved community site from disappearing under the developer’s wrecking ball are great. The more that local LGBTQ community members develop the prosaic skills of writing landmark nominations, the more they will create visible memories of LGBTQ struggles and achievements.

---

[8] Marla E. Eisenberg and Michael D. Resnick, "Suicidality among Gay, Lesbian and Bisexual Youth: The Role of Protective Factors," *Journal of Adolescent Health* 39, no. 5 (November 2006): 662-668.

[9] The Trevor Project is online at http://www.trevorproject.org; History UnErased is online at http://www.historyunerased.com.

LGBTQ historic preservation and landmarking appear poised to slowly build achievements. Regional and local preservation groups are drawing communities’ attention to their built heritage. A preservation movement which has seemed largely bicoastal is beginning to fill in as more archival and historical groups emerge in LGBTQ towns and cities of the heartland. A national LGBTQ forum for landmarking and preservation, the Rainbow Heritage Network, has appeared within the last two years to provide resources and a forum for discussion.[10]

Benefits Beyond the LGBTQ Community

Several attempts have been made by non-LGBTQ preservation groups to spark preservation projects in the queer community over the past couple of decades from a clear sense that the LGBTQ community can be a successful partner with these groups and within the national preservation community.

In launching its LGBTQ Heritage Initiative, the NPS demonstrated its commitment to including the story of the LGBTQ civil rights struggle and the creation of LGBTQ communities as part of the national story. The NPS is working to ensure the inclusion of the underrepresented communities’ landmarks within the ninety thousand plus sites on the NRHP and the twenty-five hundred NHLs.

---

[10] The Rainbow Heritage Network is online at http://rainbowheritagenetwork.org.

As these sites become part of the national fabric of historic structures, the wider community will be exposed to the LGBTQ heritage and will learn of its celebrated persons and events. Since Stonewall was first landmarked by New York State and initially placed on the NRHP and later designated an NHL, the site has become iconic not just to those whose experiences it tells but to a national community increasingly aware of those experiences.

In this writer's experience, while developing Washington DC's Rainbow History Project, the wider community responded with interest and alacrity to opportunities to see, understand, and question the history and heritage of the local LGBTQ community. Eight walking tours developed to give an overview of LGBTQ heritage and presence in local neighborhoods and within special communities (e.g. African American, drag, women) proved particularly popular with non-LGBTQ walkers. On most of the tours, at least 60 percent of the walkers were not members of the LGBTQ community.[11]

Landmarking and preserving LGBTQ sites gives the nation as a whole a chance to celebrate a community that has historically been vilified and repressed.

The LGBTQ Heritage Initiative Theme Study

In 2016, as part of its LGBTQ Heritage Initiative, the NPS published this multi-chapter theme study of the national LGBTQ experience, the first federal government account of this community. This theme study aspires to tell enough of the story of the Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, and Queer (LGBTQ) experience in the United States to be an accurate and useful framework for assessing the significance of historic sites in that experience.

---

[11] The Rainbow History Project is online at http://rainbowhistory.org.

It is, in its essence, a snapshot of where the LGBTQ community is now, how it has gotten to now, and what the important considerations are in understanding that evolution. As with snapshots in general, the image may omit some surrounding detail. It provides the best available guidance to the significant events, institutions, persons, and narrative of the LGBTQ communities within the LGBTQ community in general. It provides invaluable guidance to the NPS as it evaluates nominations for the NRHP and for the list of NHLs. The theme study is also intended to be a reference for state, tribal, and local historic preservation offices as they consider LGBTQ site nominations. It can be used to "provide opportunities for the public to learn about the nation's heritage through interpretive and educational programs." Although extensive, there are aspects of LGBTQ history that are not individually addressed, such as the experience of women, or of the drag and leather communities. But they are included within the other chapters of the theme study.

This is after all, a snapshot of a community's heritage. The test is whether we recognize ourselves in it. And whether others recognize us as well.

02

INTRODUCTION TO THE LGBTQ HERITAGE INITIATIVE THEME STUDY

Megan E. Springate

> *Invisibility is a dangerous and painful condition… When those who have power to name and to socially construct reality choose to not see you or hear you…. when someone with the authority of a teacher, say, describes the world and you are not in it, there is a moment of psychic disequilibrium, as if you looked into a mirror and saw nothing. Yet you know you exist and others like you, that this is a game with mirrors.*
>
> – Adrienne Rich[1]

The National Park Service (NPS) is committed to telling the stories and histories of all Americans. The Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, and Queer (LGBTQ) Heritage Initiative is part of this commitment. This theme study, a core component of the initiative, is a starting point for telling

---

[1] Adrienne Rich, "Invisibility in Academe (1984)," in *Blood, Bread, and Poetry: Selected Prose 1979-1985* (New York: WW Norton & Co., 1986), 199.

LGBTQ histories in the NPS, not the end of the process. Included here are a summary history of the LGBTQ Heritage Initiative; a review of LGBTQ places on the NRHP and designated NHLs; the importance of the initiative; the organization of the document; methodological considerations; and a conclusion of important themes and connecting threads.

The Initiative

Among its many programs, the NPS manages both the National Register of Historic Places (NRHP) and National Historic Landmarks (NHL). These programs recognize those places across the United States and its territories and possessions that have significance to our history; they are "America's Memory Keepers." Both of these programs are place-based; buildings or structures or archeological sites must still exist with some level of integrity; to paraphrase Gertrude Stein, there needs to be a "there" there.[2] The NRHP recognizes historical significance at local, state, and national levels while the NHL program acknowledges exceptional national significance. The NRHP and NHL programs are not designed to be memorial or intangible heritage programs, and many other ways of commemorating truly lost history and heritage exist.[3]

---

[2] Gertrude Stein's family moved to Oakland in 1880, when she was six, living in a home near this location. She lived in Oakland until 1891, and left at age seventeen for Baltimore, after her parents passed away. Nearly forty-five years later, Stein returned to Oakland on a lecture tour in 1935. By that time, the city had urbanized. When she left, Oakland was a pastoral place, her house on a ten-acre property surrounded by farms and orchards. When she returned, it had been replaced by dozens of houses, and her childhood home was no longer there. When she published *Everybody's Autobiography* in 1937, saying there was "no there there," it was written to reflect her pain about her home being gone and the land around it being completely changed. See Matt Werner, "Gertrude Stein's Oakland," *Huffington Post*, July 31, 2012, http://www.huffingtonpost.com/matt-werner/oakland-in-popular-memory_b_1560227.html. Stein had several relationships with women during her lifetime, the best known of which was with Alice B. Toklas.

[3] Other means include oral histories, archives, walking tours, signage through municipal or other heritage programs, online exhibits, etc. See also Jessie McClurg, *Alternative Forms of Historic Designation: A Study of Neighborhood Conservation Districts in the United States* (Minneapolis, MN: Neighborhood Partnerships for Community Research, Center for Urban and Regional Affairs, 2012); National Park Service, National Heritage Areas website, accessed October 27, 2015, http://www.nps.gov/heritageareas; James Michael Buckley and Donna Graves, "Using the Past in the Present: Contemporary Neighborhood Planning and Preservation of Diverse Social and Cultural Histories," paper presented at the Society for American City and Regional Planning History, Los Angeles, California, November 2015.

In recent years, the NPS has acknowledged that the important histories and stories of many Americans are underrepresented in the NRHP and NHL programs.[4] This lack of representation (and the fact that the NPS is now working to address it) is the result of historical and structural forces in American history and historiography that have foregrounded the elite and powerful in celebrations of the predominantly white men who are popularly perceived as the driving forces behind the exploration, settlement, expansion, and military and political success of the United States.[5] This focus influenced nominations submitted to the NRHP and NHL programs and therefore the types of properties that are represented. It was not until the new social history that began in the 1960s became more widespread in both academia and cultural resource management that historians began to focus on the rich, complex, and important histories of "those of little note": non-male, non-citizen, non-wealthy, non-Protestant, non-heterosexual, and non-white (and various combinations of these identities). In the last generation or so, this shift in historical focus has resulted in an increase in NRHP and NHL properties representing a broader diversity in American history and heritage, but that increase has been relatively slow.

In late 1999, the US Congress passed the National Park System New Area Study Act of 2000, which instructed the Secretary of the Interior to direct a series of special resource studies, including one focusing on civil rights sites on a multistate level. The resulting Civil Rights Framework was completed in 2002 (rev. 2008) and called for projects addressing the underrepresentation of certain groups in the NRHP and NHL programs, including a specific call for work on LGBTQ heritage (Figure 1).[6] In 2010, NPS staff member Dr. Turkiya L. Lowe contacted State Historic Preservation Offices (SHPOs) across the country regarding lesbian, gay,

---

[4] National Park Service website, "Your Story is America's Story: Heritage Initiatives," accessed June 15, 2015, http://www.nps.gov/history/heritageinitiatives/.

[5] See, for example, Howard Zinn, *A People's History of the United States* (New York: Harper & Row, 1980).

[6] National Park Service, *Civil Rights in America: A Framework for Identifying Significant Sites* (Washington, DC: National Park Service, 2008), iii. In addition to the LGBTQ Heritage Initiative, there are also the Latino/Latina Heritage Initiative, the Women's History Initiative, and the Asian American-Pacific Islander Heritage Initiative, see National Park Service, Your Story is America's Story.

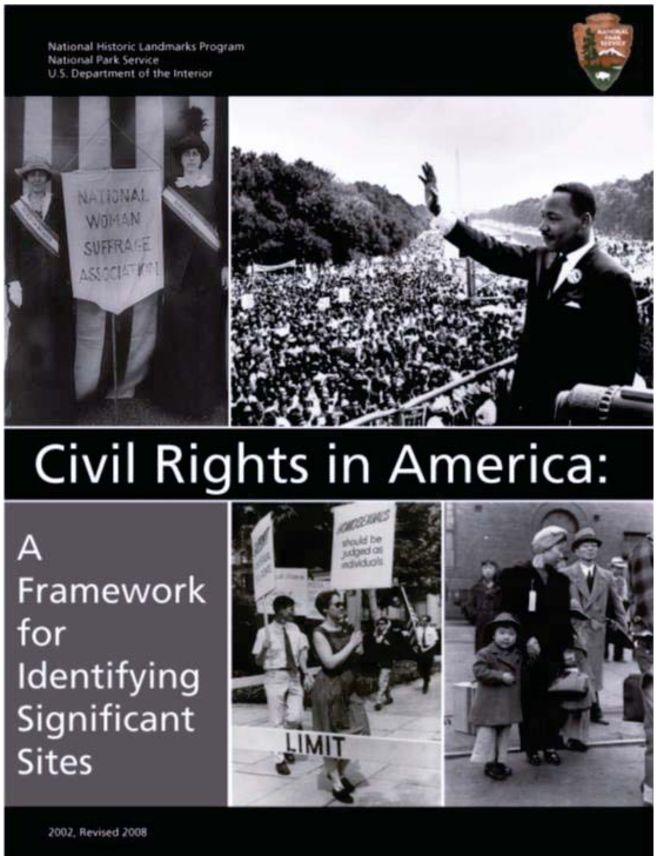

National Historic Landmarks Program
National Park Service
U.S. Department of the Interior
NATIONAL WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION
Civil Rights in America:
A Framework for Identifying Significant Sites
HOMOSEXUALS should be judged as individuals
LIMIT
2002, Revised 2008

Figure 1: Cover of the NPS Civil Rights framework, *Civil Rights in America: A Framework for Identifying Significant Sites*.

bisexual, transgender, and queer (LGBTQ) places that might be eligible for inclusion on the NRHP or as NHLs. Dr. Lowe received several replies; the project stalled when she took on different responsibilities within the NPS.

Beginning in 2012, I began working with Dr. Barbara Little at the NPS, communicating with LGBTQ community members and preservationists to identify places across the country with LGBTQ history and heritage. Plotting these places on a map, it quickly became clear that the map was a powerful, yet intuitive, tool demonstrating both the broad geographic breadth of LGBTQ history in the United States (a history not confined to the "Gay Meccas" of New York City and San Francisco) and the "gaps" where additional research and community outreach was needed. The map has become a main product and tool of the LGBTQ Heritage Initiative, providing people a way to see themselves and their communities represented, as well as a starting point for LGBTQ researchers.[7]

In early 2014, the Gill Foundation made a generous donation to the National Park Foundation to fund the LGBTQ Heritage Initiative.[8] At the end of May 2014, Secretary of the Interior Sally Jewell stood outside Stonewall in New York City and announced the initiative,[9] and on June 10, 2014 a panel of over twenty LGBTQ scholars convened in Washington, DC, to kick off the initiative, define its goals, and discuss the direction and content of its core product: the theme study.[10] Theme studies provide an historic context that allows the identification of significant properties in the context of the NRHP and NHL programs, provide important background information for other research efforts, and can be used to educate the public both directly and by shaping interpretation at historic sites.

---

[7] National Park Service website, "Places with LGBTQ Heritage," http://www.nps.gov/history/heritageinitiatives/LGBThistory/places.html

[8] The Gill Foundation provides grants to further LGBTQ civil rights in the United States, see http://gillfoundation.org.

As a result of the work done at the scholars' roundtable, the name of the initiative was changed from the Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender (LGBT) Heritage Initiative to the Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, and Queer (LGBTQ) Heritage Initiative. Recognizing that the word queer is charged, and uncomfortable to some, the scholars wanted to acknowledge the importance of groups like Queer Nation who influenced the trajectory of both LGBTQ and national histories in part through their reclaiming of the word, as well as to have the initiative be explicitly inclusive of those who, for personal or political reasons, do not feel represented by lesbian, gay, bisexual, or transgender identifiers.[11] Since early 2014, the four goals of the LGBTQ Heritage Initiative have been:

---

[9] Soraya Nadia McDonald, "With New Initiative, National Park Service Will Put LGBT Sites on the National Map," *The Washington Post,* May 29, 2014, accessed June 15, 2015, http://www.washingtonpost.com/news/morning-mix/wp/2014/05/29/with-new-initiative-national-park-service-will-put-lgbt-sites-on-the-national-map.

[10] Members of the scholars' roundtable were: Dr. Katie Batza, Assistant Professor of Women, Gender, and Sexuality Studies, University of Kansas; Dr. Eliza Byard, Executive Director, Gay, Lesbian & Straight Education Network (GLSEN); Ms. Paloma Bolasny, Historian, NPS Cultural Resources Office of Outreach and Coordinator, Cultural Resources Diversity Internship Program; Dr. Drew Bourn, Historian and Archivist, Stanford University; Dr. Nan Alamilla Boyd, Professor of Women and Gender Studies, San Francisco State University; Dr. Julio Capó, Jr., Assistant Professor, Department of History and the Commonwealth Honors College, University of Massachusetts, Amherst; Dr. John D'Emilio, Professor (retired) of Gender & Women's Studies and History, University of Illinois at Chicago; Dr. Petra L. Doan, Professor of Urban and Regional Planning, Florida State University; Dr. Jen Jack Gieseking, Postdoctoral Fellow in New Media & Data Visualization in the Digital and Computational Studies Initiative, Bowdoin College (now Assistant Professor of Public Humanities in American Studies, Trinity College, CT); Dr. Christina B. Hanhardt, Associate Professor, Department of American Studies, University of Maryland at College Park; Dr. Jamie Jacobs, NPS Historian, Historic American Buildings Survey and National Historic Landmarks Program; Mr. Gerard Koskovich, Historian, San Francisco, CA; Dr. Barbara Little, Program Manager, NPS Cultural Resources Office of Outreach; Dr. Alexandra Lord, Branch Chief, NPS National Historic Landmarks Program (now Chair and Curator, Medicine and Science Division, National Museum of American History, DC); Ms. Paula Martinac, Writer and Editor, NC; Mr. Mark Meinke, Community Preservationist and Historian, VA; Dr. La Shonda Mims, Lecturer, Towson University; Mr. Stephen Morris, Chief, NPS Office of International Affairs; Dr. Pat O'Brien, Cultural Resource Specialist, NPS Intermountain Region Desert Southwest Ecosystems Studies Unit; Dr. Will Roscoe, Community Organizer and Historian, San Francisco, CA; Ms. Megan Springate, PhD candidate, University of Maryland at College Park and Prime Consultant to the LGBTQ Heritage Initiative; Ms. Shayne Watson, Architectural Historian, Oakland, CA. This scholars' round table was chaired by Dr. Stephen Pitti, Director, Ethnicity, Race, and Migration Program and Professor, American Studies and History, Yale University and Chair of the National Historic Landmarks Committee of the National Park System Advisory Board.

- To increase the number of listings of LGBTQ-associated properties in the National Register of Historic Places, including amendments to current listings;
- To identify, document, and nominate LGBTQ-associated National Historic Landmarks, including amendments to current designations;
- To engage scholars and community members who work to identify, research, and tell the stories of LGBTQ associated properties and to preserve and nominate properties for appropriate levels of recognition; and
- To encourage national park units, National Heritage Areas, and other affiliated areas to interpret associated LGBTQ stories.

While the NPS LGBTQ Heritage Initiative is the first of its kind worldwide, it is no longer the only nationwide project dedicated to documenting LGBTQ history and heritage. A similar project in England called "Pride of Place" was announced in May 2015.[12]

---

[11] Although the name of this initiative is the LGBTQ Heritage Initiative, it is intended to encompass a broader umbrella of gender and sexual minorities, including asexual and intersex individuals, those questioning their identities, and others.

[12] Carrie Braithwaite, "New Project to Celebrate Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender Heritage," Leeds Beckett University website, "News," March 17, 2015, accessed June 15, 2015, http://www.leedsbeckett.ac.uk/news/0315-historic-england-project.

LGBTQ Places Currently Listed on the NRHP and NHL

As of June 2016, a total of ten places are currently listed on the NRHP or have been designated as NHLs because of their association with LGBTQ history. One of these (Stonewall) has been designated a National Monument—the first NPS unit to explicitly recognize LGBTQ history. Other places included in the NRHP and NHL programs reflect LGBTQ histories, but those histories were not included in the nominations. The ten currently listed places are:

- Stonewall, New York City, New York (listed on the NRHP on June 28, 1999; designated an NHL on February 16, 2000; designated as Stonewall National Monument—an NPS unit—on June 24, 2016). On June 28, 1969, in what was a continuation of a long pattern of harassment of LGBTQ bars, police once again raided the Stonewall Inn. Frustrated, patrons fought back against the police, spilling out into the street and nearby Christopher Park. The Stonewall Rebellion (also known as Stonewall Riots, and Stonewall) continued through July 3, 1969. While not the first example of resistance by LGBTQ people in the face of police harassment, Stonewall is recognized as a turning point in the modern LGBTQ rights movement. Pride celebrations are held in June every year in commemoration of Stonewall.[13]

- Henry Gerber House, Chicago, Illinois (designated an NHL on June 19, 2015). From his home, Henry Gerber co-founded and ran the Society for Human Rights, the first gay rights society in the United States. The organization lasted from 1924 to 1925, and was suspended after an episode of police harassment. Afterwards,

---

[13] The Stonewall nomination encompasses the Stonewall Inn at 51-53 Christopher Street, New York City, New York as well as the surrounding streets and park. David Carter, Andrew Scott Dolkart, Gale Harris, and Jay Shockley, National Historic Landmark Nomination: Stonewall (Waterford, NY: New York Office of Parks, Recreation and Historic Preservation, 1999).

Gerber continued to work for LGBTQ rights, and influenced homophile activists of the 1950s and 1960s, including Harry Hay, one of the founders of the Mattachine Society.[14]

- Dr. Franklin E. Kameny House, Washington, DC (listed on the NRHP on November 2, 2011). Known as "the father of gay activism," Dr. Franklin E. Kameny was one of the leaders of a newly militant activism in the gay civil rights movement of the 1960s, and was co-founder of the Mattachine Society in DC. From his home in Northwest Washington, DC, Kameny fought for civil rights in federal employment, criminal law, and security clearance cases, and for removing homosexuality from the *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual*.[15]

- Cherry Grove Community House & Theatre, Cherry Grove, Fire Island, New York (listed on the NRHP on June 4, 2013). The Cherry Grove Community House and Theatre played a significant role in shaping Cherry Grove into "America's First Gay and Lesbian Town." The Community House was the home of the Cherry Grove Property Owners Association, organized in 1944 to serve the needs of this beach colony. The theater was added to the building in 1948. The association influenced the community's development, and actively facilitated the integration of LGBTQ residents into the town's governing affairs. LGBTQ individuals and groups shaped Cherry Grove's geography in a period in which that could not be said for any other city or town in the United States.[16]

---

[14] The Henry Gerber House is located within the Old Town Triangle neighborhood, Chicago, Illinois. Jonathan Farr, Amanda Hendrix-Komoto, Andrea Rottmann, April Slabosheski, and Michelle McClellan (University of Michigan Public History Initiative), Draft National Historic Landmark Nomination: Henry Gerber House (Washington, DC: National Park Service, 2014).

[15] The Dr. Franklin E. Kameny Residence is located in northwestern DC. Mark Meinke, National Register of Historic Places Registration Form: Dr. Franklin E. Kameny Residence (Washington, DC: District of Columbia State Historic Preservation Office, 2006).

[16] Carl Luss, National Register of Historic Places Registration Form: Cherry Grove Community House & Theatre (Waterford, NY: New York Office of Parks, Recreation and Historic Preservation, 2013).

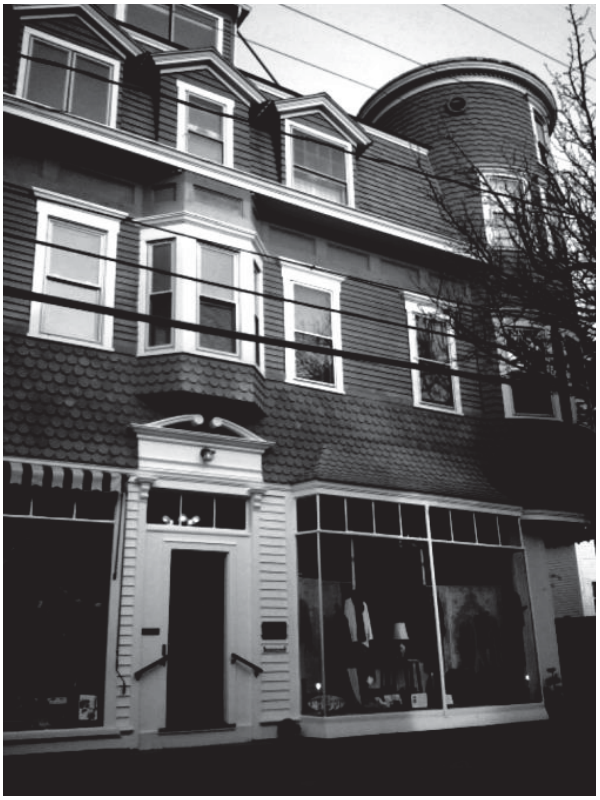


Figure 2: James Merrill House, Stonington, Connecticut, 2012. Photo by Logatorial.[18]

- James Merrill House, Stonington, Connecticut (listed on the NRHP on August 28, 2013; Figure 2). For over forty years, beginning in 1956, this was the home of renowned US poet James Ingram Merrill and his partner, writer and author David Noyes Jackson. While the significance of the property is not specifically for its association with LGBTQ history and heritage, the nomination is very clear about the relationship between Merrill and Jackson and how that relationship and their lives in Stonington, Connecticut affected Merrill's poetry.[17]

- Carrington House, Cherry Grove, Fire Island, New York (listed on the NRHP on January 8, 2014). This location, the home of theater director Frank Carrington, is an important link to the development of Fire Island as an LGBTQ town. Carrington introduced many of his theater and other artistic acquaintances and colleagues (many of whom were LGBTQ) to Fire Island during his residency here, from 1927 through 1969. He also rented the house out to artists, including Truman Capote, who wrote *Breakfast at Tiffany's* here (Figure 3).[19]

---

[17] The James Merrill House is located at 107 Water Street, Stonington, Connecticut. Rachel D. Carley, National Register of Historic Places Registration Form: James Merrill House (Hartford, CT: Connecticut State Historic Preservation Office, 2013).

[18] License: CC BY-SA 3.0. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:James_Merrill_House_exterior.jpg

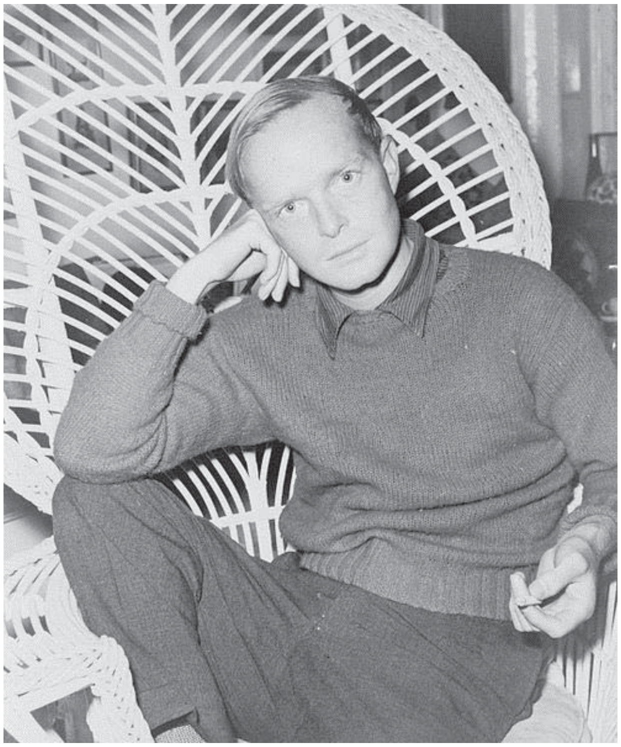


Figure 3: Truman Capote in 1959, the year after he published *Breakfast at Tiffany's*, written at the Carrington House, Fire Island, New York. World Telegram & Sun photo by Roger Higgins, Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division.[20]

- Bayard Rustin Residence, New York City, New York (listed on the NRHP on March 8, 2016). Bayard Rustin moved into this apartment in 1962 and lived here until his death in 1987. His residency included the time he spent organizing the August 28, 1963 March for Jobs and Freedom in Washington, DC. He also helped to create and lead the A. Philip Randolph Institute, an important trade union organization, as well as various other human rights and advocacy organizations and causes in the United States and throughout the world. In 1977, Rustin's partner Walter Naegle, moved into the apartment with him.[21]

- Julius, New York City, New York (added to the NRHP on April 21, 2016). On April 21, 1966 members of New York's Mattachine Society executed a "sip-in." Their intent was to challenge liquor laws that prevented gays and lesbians from being served alcohol. Approaching the bar at Julius, they announced they were homosexual and ordered drinks; the bartender refused service. As a result, the law was changed, leading to the growth of legitimate gay bars and the development of bars as important social spaces for urban LGBTQ people.[22]

---

[19] Molly R. McDonald, National Register of Historic Places Registration Form: Carrington House (Washington, DC: National Park Service, 2012).
[20] License: Public Domain. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Truman_Capote_NYWTS.jpg
[21] Bayard Rustin's Residence is located in the Chelsea neighborhood of New York City. Mark Meinke, National Register of Historic Places Registration Form: Bayard Rustin Residence (Washington, DC: National Park Service, 2015).

- Edificio Comunidad de Orgullo Gay de Puerto Rico (Casa Orgullo), San Juan, Puerto Rico (added to the NRHP on May 1, 2016). In 1975 and 1976, this was the meeting location for the first gay and lesbian organization established in Puerto Rico (Figure 4). Established in 1974, inspired by the Stonewall Riots and their aftermath, Comunidad de Orgullo Gay pioneered the use of organized resistance against heterosexual social dominance in Puerto Rico. This included political action, educational programs,

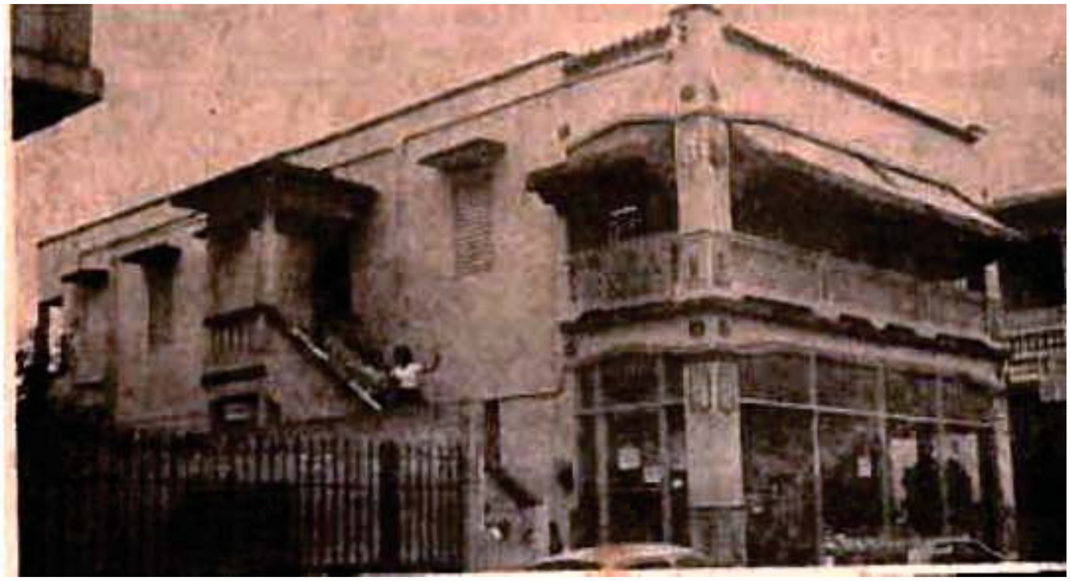


Figure 4: Edificio Comunidad de Orgullo Gay de Puerto Rico (Casa Orgullo), San Juan, Puerto Rico in 1975. Photo from the NRHP nomination.

---

[22] Julius is located at 159 West 10th Street, New York City, New York. Andrew S. Dolkart with Amada Davis, Ken Lustbader, and Jay Shockley, National Register of Historic Places Registration Form: Julius' (Washington, DC: National Park Service, 2016).

public protest, and assistance to the local LGBTQ community. They disbanded in 1976.[23]

- The Furies Collective House, Washington, DC (added to the NRHP on May 2, 2016). This was the operational center of the Furies, a lesbian feminist separatist collective from 1971 to 1973. The work done by the Furies here, including publication of their newspaper, *The Furies*, was instrumental in creating and shaping the ideas that continue to underpin lesbian feminism and lesbian separatism.[24]

In addition to the above-mentioned LGBTQ places, the National AIDS Memorial Grove in San Francisco, California has been federally recognized through an NPS program (designated a National Memorial in 1996), though it is not included in either the NRHP or NHL programs.

The Importance of Being Seen

In 1995, urban historian and architect Dolores Hayden hoped for an expansive social history of place that included ethnicity and gender, and that would be transformative, “redefining the mainstream experience, and making visible some of its forgotten parts.”[25] In the increasing use of tax dollars to fund historic preservation, Hayden finds a mandate for a more expansive history; quoting Gans (1975) she writes that “private citizens are of course entitled to save their own past, but when preservation becomes a public act, supported with public funds, it must attend to

---

[23] Casa Orgullo is located at 3 Saldana Street, San Juan, Puerto Rico. Santiao Gala and Juan Llanes Santos, National Register of Historic Places Registration Form: Edificio Comunidad do Orgullo Gay do Puerto Rico (Casa Orgullo) (Washington, DC: National Park Service, 2016).

[24] The Furies Collective is located in the Capitol Hill district of Washington, DC. Mark Meinke, National Register of Historic Places Registration Form: The Furies Collective (Washington, DC: National Park Service, 2015).

[25] Dolores Hayden, *The Power of Place: Urban Landscapes as Public History* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1995), xi-xii.

everyone's past."[26] This includes the past of LGBTQ people, whose lives and experiences have in some cases, been actively erased (Figure 5).

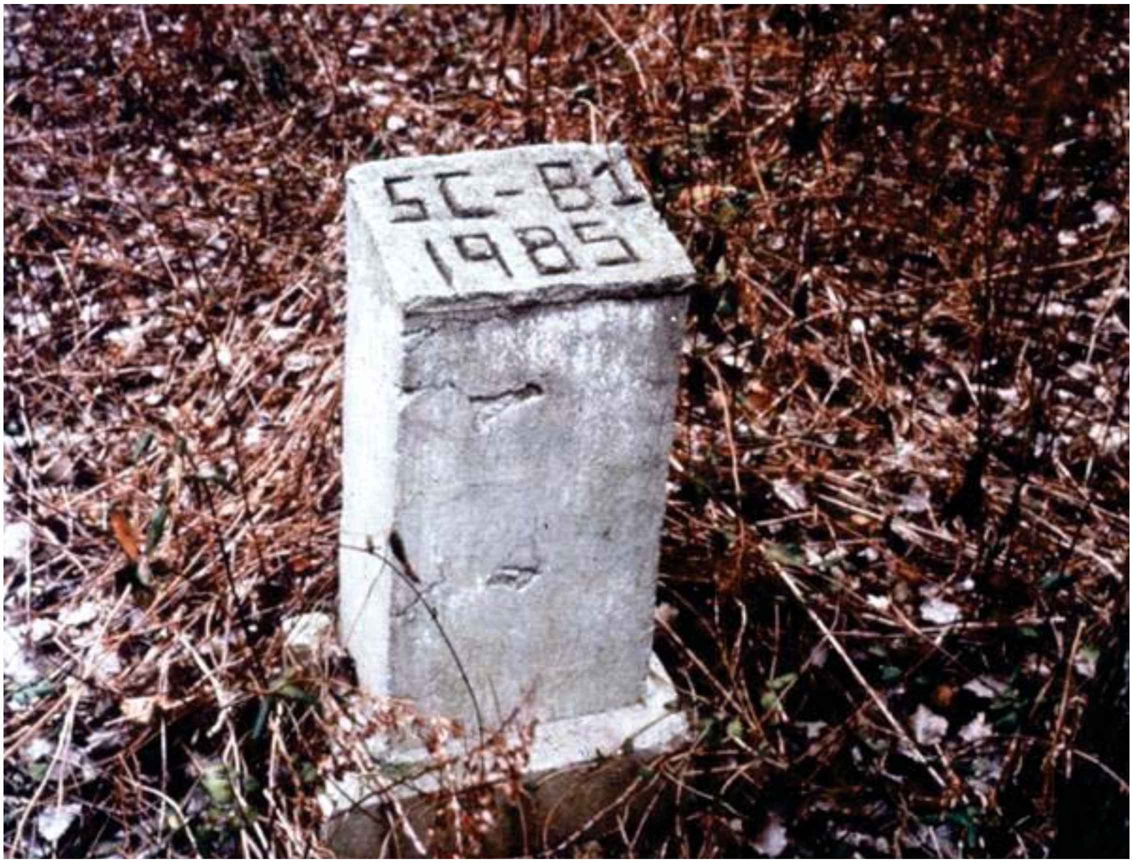


Figure 5: Concrete marker at the grave of the first child to die of AIDS in New York City, Hart Island Potter's Field, New York City. The inscription reads: "SC [special child] B1 [baby 1] 1985." Frightened by the disease, the city buried hundreds of individuals who died of AIDS in unmarked mass graves here during the early years of the epidemic. The Hart Island Project is working to identify them and their burial locations and to raise awareness of the Hart Island burials. Hart Island Potter's Field remains in use. Photo copyright 1992 Joel Sternfeld, courtesy of The Hart Island Project.

The importance of being seen and included in the nation's "official" histories represented by NRHP and NHL listings cannot be overstated. Studies show that when positive portrayal of populations (including LGBTQ, African Americans, Asian Americans, and Latinas/Latinos) are excluded from popular narratives (like cultural sites, television shows, museum exhibits, and textbooks), members of those groups suffer lower self-esteem.[27] Seeing oneself as part of the story, as part of history, is important to feeling like part of a society—a sense of cultural belonging.[28] The inclusion of "minorities" in popular narratives also helps increase awareness and acceptance of diversity in broader society.[29] Finally (paraphrasing Adrienne Rich), it is impossible to understand what heterosexuality means—both historically and individually—when people are kept ignorant of "the presence, the existence, the actuality" of those who have centered their emotional, social, commercial, and erotic lives on those of the same sex (including bisexuals). This ignorance, anxiety, and silence—the absence of whole populations—is disempowering for all who seek to better represent the past and all who want to imagine a better future.[30]

---

[26] Hayden, *Power of Place,* 3. Emphasis added.
[27] See, for example, Alan McKee, "Images of Gay Men in the Media and the Development of Self Esteem," *Australian Journal of Communication* 27, no. 2 (2000): 81-98; Larry P. Gross, *Up From*

Despite the importance of diversity, the predominant narrative of LGBTQ history is largely white, cis-gendered homosexual male, middle-class, and urban.[31] People of color, transgender people, those who identify as bisexual, the poor, and rural folks are most often excluded, despite the critical role they have played. This erasure reflects in part the structural privilege that comes with being white, male, and middle class in our society; it is also a function of respectability politics:

> Those with nothing to lose are often those who push hardest when the time comes; this was true at the Stonewall riots, and continued into the gay liberation movement, much to the dismay of those whose idea of 'gay liberation' was either inclusion in straight society or managed revolution. These forces of gay normativity and revolutionary management marginalized, erased,

---

Invisibility: Lesbians, Gay Men, and the Media in America (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001); Kevin Coffee, "Cultural Inclusion, Exclusion and the Formative Roles of Museums," *Museum Management & Curatorship* 23, no. 3 (2008): 261-279; Gay, Lesbian, and Straight Education Network (GLSEN), *Teaching Respect: LGBT-Inclusive Curriculum and School Climate*, Research Brief (New York: GLSEN, 2011), http://www.glsen.org/learn/research/national/teaching-respect; and Sarah C. Gomillion and Traci A. Giuliano, "The Influence of Media Role Models on Gay, Lesbian, and Bisexual Identity," *Journal of Homosexuality* 58 (2011): 330-354.

[28] Hayden, *Power of Place,* 8.

[29] GLSEN, *Teaching Respect.*

[30] Rich, Invisibility, 200-201. This sentiment also applies to genders beyond male and female, including intersex, genderqueer, third- and fourth-genders, etc.

[31] Being cis-gendered means that a person's gender identity and expression matches the gender they were assigned at birth.

> and silenced those whose bodies, histories, or ethical orientations refused dominant models.[32]

The tensions between a politics of respectability and a more radical approach have long been factors in American LGBTQ civil rights struggles. Respectability politics is a concept first articulated by Higginbotham in the context of black civil rights work of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.[33] It describes the self-policing of marginalized groups to enforce social values compatible with mainstream values (assimilation) as a strategy for acceptance, rather than challenging the mainstream's failure to embrace difference. Respectability politics in the struggle for LGBTQ rights is well summarized by a quote attributed to a French organization: "public hostility to homosexuals resulted largely from their outrageous and promiscuous behaviour; homophiles would win the good opinion of the public and the authorities by showing themselves to be discreet, dignified, virtuous and respectable."[34] This kind of respectability politics—that gays and lesbians (predominantly portrayed as white and middle class, rarely bisexuals, even more rarely transgender people, and hardly ever queers) are just like straight people—has, as well as existing in other guises, underpinned many of the arguments for same-sex marriage.[35] This is in contrast to more radical actions for LGBTQ civil rights that insist, despite differences from mainstream society, LGBTQ people deserve, and will demand, their civil rights. This more radical stance is perhaps best reflected in a slogan of Queer Nation, "We're Here, We're Queer, Get Used to It."[36] The Sisters of Perpetual Indulgence, a group that uses religious iconography and symbolism to critique and expose bigotry and hypocrisy is also an example of a more radical approach.

---

[32] Ehn Nothin, "Queens Against Society," in *Street Transvestite Action Revolutionaries: Survival, Revolt, and Queer Antagonist Struggle* (Untorellipress, 2013), 6, accessed October 27, 2015, https://untorellipress.noblogs.org/post/2013/03/12/street-transvestite-action-revolutionaries-survival-revolt-and-queer-antagonist-struggle. See also Tim Retzloff, "Eliding Trans Latino/a Queer Experience in US LGBT History: José Sarria and Sylvia Rivera Reexamined," *Centro Journal* 19, no. 1 (Spring 2007): 140-161. For a discussion of bisexual erasure, see Kenji Yoshino, "The Epistemic Contract of Bisexual Erasure," *Stanford Law Review* 52 (2000): 353-461; Ann E. Tweeny and Karen Yescavage, "Employment Discrimination Against Bisexuals: An Empirical Study," *William & Mary Journal of Women and the Law* 21, no. 3 (2015): 699-741; and Hutchins (this volume).

[33] Evelyn Brooks Higginbotham, *Righteous Discontent: The Women's Movement in the Black Baptist Church, 1880-1920* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993).

[34] Michael Sibalis, "Gay Liberation Comes to France: The *Front Homosexuel d'Action Revolutionnaire* (FHAR)," *French History and Civilization, Papers from the George Rudé Seminar*, vol. 1 (2005).

[35] See, for example, Brendan O'Neill, "Gay Marriage: A Case Study in Conformism," *Spiked,* April 11, 2013, accessed June 12, 2015, http://www.spiked-online.com/newsite/article/13518.

Several LGBTQ authors have addressed the cost of assimilationist respectability politics. Urvashi Vaid argues that this forgetting, this exclusion or leaving behind of those who do not "fit in" does not lead to actual advances in LGBTQ rights. True social transformation, she argues, is inclusive, and does not leave people out.[37] O'Neill writes that "anyone who values diversity of thought and tolerance of dissent should find the sweeping consensus on gay marriage terrifying."[38]

Heather Love describes this respectability politics as deeply coercive and discriminatory, an irony perhaps of the bleakest kind when wielded in the pursuit of civil rights:

> "Advances," such as gay marriage and the increasing media visibility of well-heeled gays and lesbians threatens to obscure the continuing denigration and dismissal of queer existence....Given the new opportunities available to *some* gays and lesbians, the temptation is to forget—to forget the outrages and humiliations of gay and lesbian history and to ignore the ongoing suffering of those not borne up by the rising tide of gay normalization—is stronger than ever.[39]

"Respectability, not flamboyance," writes Melinda Chateauvert, "is the central theme of the recent focus on marriage equality, full military service, and an end to employment discrimination against gay men and lesbians."[40]

---

[36] Marc Stein, *Rethinking the Gay and Lesbian Movement* (New York: Routledge, 2012), 186.

[37] Urvashi Vaid, *Irresistible Revolution: Confronting Race, Class and the Assumptions of LGBT Politics* (New York: Magnus Books, 2012).

[38] O'Neill, Gay Marriage.

[39] Heather Love, *Feeling Backward: Loss and the Politics of Queer History* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2007), 10.

[40] Melinda Chateauvert, *Sex Workers Unite: A History of the Movement from Stonewall to SlutWalk* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2013), 11.

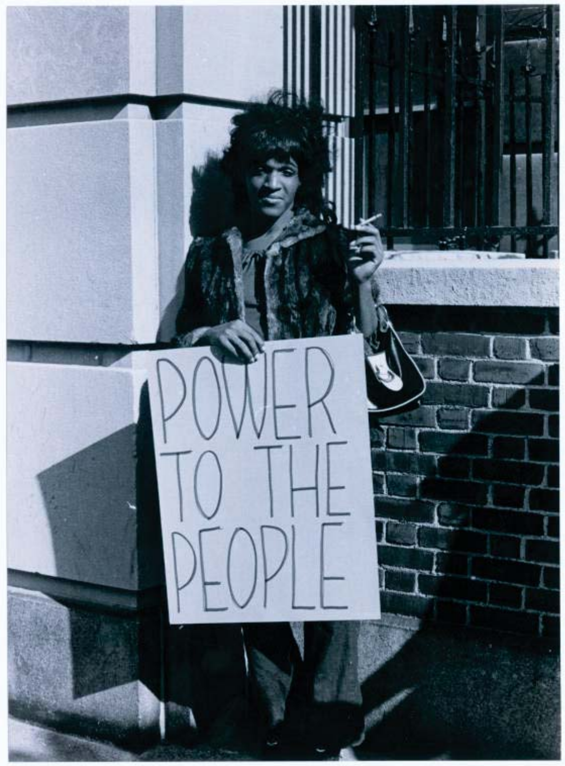


Figure 6: Marcia P. Johnson pickets outside Bellevue Hospital in New York City to protest the treatment of street people and gays, ca. 1968-1975. Photo by Diana Davies, courtesy of the New York Public Library.

Entrenched almost invisibly in how we remember ourselves, respectability politics have shaped and colored much of what has been remembered as LGBTQ history. For example, narratives of the Stonewall Riots often celebrate the defiance of gays (and sometimes lesbians) in the face of police harassment without mentioning that many of the bar's patrons, like Sylvia Ray Rivera and Marsha P. ("Pay It No Mind") Johnson, were people of color, hustlers, transgender people, and sex workers.[41] Rivera and Johnson were "not respectable queers, nor were they poster-children for the modern image of 'gay' or 'transgender.' They were poor, gender-variant women of color, street-based sex workers, with confrontational, revolutionary politics and, in contrast to the often abstract and traditionally political activists… focused on the immediate concerns of the most oppressed gay populations."[42] They were heavily involved throughout their lives advocating for LGBTQ rights and with the group, Street Transvestite Action Revolutionaries (STAR), which offered a nightly refuge for LGBTQ street youth (Figure 6). This project, funded largely by the adults hustling, was a pioneering effort in providing outreach, resources, and safety for homeless transgender and queer youth.[43] This history of Stonewall is, more often than not, left out and silenced out of a conviction that "heroes must be noble and virtuous, worthy of acceptance by straight America."[44] Likewise, the importance of individuals like Chuck Renslow have been excluded from the dominant narrative of LGBTQ history, likely due to his identity as a leatherman. There is no question, however, that Renslow has played a significant role in LGBTQ history, both in Chicago and on a national stage. He has been deeply invested in Chicago's gay community from the middle of the twentieth century as the owner of numerous businesses including bars and publications. He has also been heavily involved in politics, both in Chicago under mayors beginning with Richard J. Daley, and nationally, running as a delegate for Senator Ted Kennedy's 1980 presidential run just three years after dancing with another man at an inaugural ball for Jimmy Carter in 1977. He was involved with Kinsey's sex research, battled Anita Bryant, and fought censorship and entrapment.[45]

---

[41] Chateauvert, *Sex Workers,* 9.

[42] Nothin, Queens Against Society, 6.

[43] For two or three years during the 1970s, Sylvia Rivera and Marsha Johnson rented a building at 213 East 2nd Street, New York City (now demolished). Known colloquially as STAR House, they ran it as a safe place for homeless, queer, and transgender kids to live: "Marsha and I just decided it was time to help each other and help our other kids. We fed people and clothed people. We kept the building going. We went out and hustled the streets. We paid the rent. We didn't want the kids out in the

Historians and community activists increasingly insist that more complete and diverse LGBTQ histories must be recorded and told, and they are doing the work.[46] One of the key philosophies underlying the theme study is that a full understanding of American LGBTQ history is only possible when the histories of the multiple communities that fall under the LGBTQ umbrella—and not just the "respectable" histories and not just the white, largely male, homosexual, middle-class, and urban histories—are included.

Structure of the Theme Study

Initially presented with a draft structure for the theme study that was organized chronologically (pre-Stonewall, Stonewall to AIDS, AIDS and

---

streets hustling." See Sylvia Rivera, "'I'm Glad I was in the Stonewall Riot': An interview with Sylvia Rivera," in *Street Transvestite Action Revolutionaries*, 13.

[44] Chateauvert, *Sex Workers,* 9-10.

[45] Tracy Baim and Owen Keehnen, *Leatherman: The Legend of Chuck Renslow* (Chicago: Prairie Avenue Productions, 2011).

[46] See, for example, William Leap, ed., *Public Sex / Gay Space* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999); Patrick Moore, *Beyond Shame: Reclaiming the Abandoned History of Radical Gay Sexuality* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2004); Love, *Feeling Backward*; Susan Stryker, *Transgender History* (Berkeley, CA: Seal Press, 2008); Baim and Keehnen, *Leatherman*; Vaid, *Irresistible Revolution*; and Chateauvert, *Sex Workers*.

Activism), the scholars' panel quickly rejected this as reflecting only a very particular LGBTQ history: one predominantly white, male, middle-class, and urban. The current structure and content of the theme study reflects this critique. It is now organized into six sections: Introduction, Preserving LGBTQ History, Inclusive Stories, Themes, Places, and Legacy. Subject matter experts were commissioned to write chapters, and each chapter was peer reviewed by two additional subject matter experts.[47] A description of each section and the chapters in each are as follows:

Introduction: This section gives background on the LGBTQ Heritage Initiative, which has goals of both interpretation and preservation. It defines terms used throughout the theme study and provides a broad social history of LGBTQ in America. The ideas in this introductory section resonate throughout the rest of the theme study.

- Prologue: Why LGBTQ Historic Sites Matter, Mark Meinke
- Introduction to the LGBTQ Heritage Initiative Theme Study, Megan E. Springate
- Introduction to Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, and Queer (LGBTQ) History in the United States, Leisa Meyer and Helis Sikk

Preserving LGBTQ History: The chapters in this section provide a history of archival and architectural preservation of LGBTQ history in the United States. An archeological context for LGBTQ sites looks forward, providing a new avenue for preservation and interpretation. This LGBTQ history may remain hidden just under the ground surface, even when buildings and structures have been demolished.

- The History of Queer History: One Hundred Years of the Search for Shared Heritage, Gerard Koskovich
- The Preservation of LGBTQ Heritage, Gail Dubrow
- LGBTQ Archeological Context, Megan E. Springate

---

[47] For a list of peer reviewers for the theme study, see the front matter.

Inclusive Stories: Although scholars of LGBTQ history have generally been inclusive of women, the working classes, and gender-nonconforming people, the narrative that is found in mainstream media and that many people think of when they think of LGBTQ history is overwhelmingly white, middle-class, male, and has been focused on urban communities. While these are important histories, they do not present a full picture of LGBTQ history. To include other communities, we asked the authors to look beyond the more well-known stories. Inclusion within each chapter, however, isn't enough to describe the geographic, economic, legal, and other cultural factors that shaped these diverse histories. Therefore, we commissioned chapters providing broad historical contexts for two spirit, transgender, Latino/a, African American , Asian American/Pacific Islander, and bisexual communities. These chapters, read in concert with the chapter on intersectionality, serve as examples of rich, multi-faceted narrative within a fuller history of the United States.

- A Note About Intersectionality, Megan E. Springate
- Making Bisexuals Visible, Loraine Hutchins
- Sexual and Gender Diversity in Native America and the Pacific Islands, Will Roscoe
- Transgender History in the US and the Places that Matter, Susan Stryker
- Breathing Fire: Remembering Asian Pacific American Activism in Queer History, Amy Sueyoshi
- Latina/o Gender and Sexuality, Deena J. González and Ellie D. Hernández
- "Where We Could Be Ourselves": African American LGBTQ Historic Places and Why They Matter, Jeffrey Harris

Themes: The chapters in this section explore different aspects of LGBTQ history and heritage, tying them to specific places across the country. They include examinations of LGBTQ community, civil rights, the law, health, art and artists, commerce, the military, sports and leisure, and sex, love, and relationships.

- LGBTQ Spaces and Places, Jen Jack Gieseking
- Making Community: The Places and Spaces of LGBTQ Collective Identity Formation, Christina B. Hanhardt
- LGBTQ Business and Commerce, David K. Johnson
- Sex, Love, and Relationships, Tracy Baim
- Struggles and Triumphs in LGBTQ Civil Rights, Megan E. Springate
- Historical Landmarks and Landscapes of LGBTQ Law, Marc Stein
- LGBTQ Military Service, Steve Estes
- Struggles in Body and Spirit: Religion and LGBTQ People in US History, Drew Bourn
- LGBTQ and Health, Katie Batza
- LGBTQ Art and Artists, Tara Burk
- LGBTQ Sport and Leisure, Katherine Schweighofer

Places: This section looks at LGBTQ history and heritage at specific locations across the United States. While the authors present a broad LGBTQ American history in the Introduction section, these chapters provide examples of the regional, and often quite different, histories across the country. New York City and San Francisco are often considered the epicenters of LGBTQ experience. However, there are queer histories across the nation, like in Chicago, Miami, and Reno.

- San Francisco: Placing LGBTQ Histories in the City by the Bay, Donna J. Graves and Shayne E. Watson
- Preservation of LGBTQ Historic & Cultural Sites – A New York City Perspective, Jay Shockley
- Locating Miami's Queer History, Julio Capó, Jr.
- Queerest Little City in the World: LGBTQ Reno, John Jeffrey Auer IV
- Chicago: Queer Histories at the Crossroads of America, Jessica Herczeg-Konecny

Legacy: People engage with history in many ways beyond just reading books and reports. This section begins with an introduction to nominating

LGBTQ places to the NRHP and to the NHL program. Chapters on interpreting LGBTQ history at historic sites and teaching LGBTQ history in the classroom complete this section. These chapters are designed to be resources for those writing and reviewing nominations. They can also be used by those who do applied history work and who wish to incorporate LGBTQ history and heritage into their programs, lessons, exhibits, and courses. This can include NPS interpreters, museum staff, teachers, professors, and parents.

- Nominating LGBTQ Places to the National Register of Historic Places and as National Historic Landmarks: An Introduction, Megan E. Springate and Caridad de la Vega
- Interpreting LGBTQ Historic Sites, Susan Ferentinos
- Teaching LGBTQ History and Heritage, Leila J. Rupp

Methodological Approaches

The content and format of the theme study are shaped by a number of methodological approaches. These include: modeling the telling of LGBTQ history using place; a commitment to community, including being accessible and useful and in

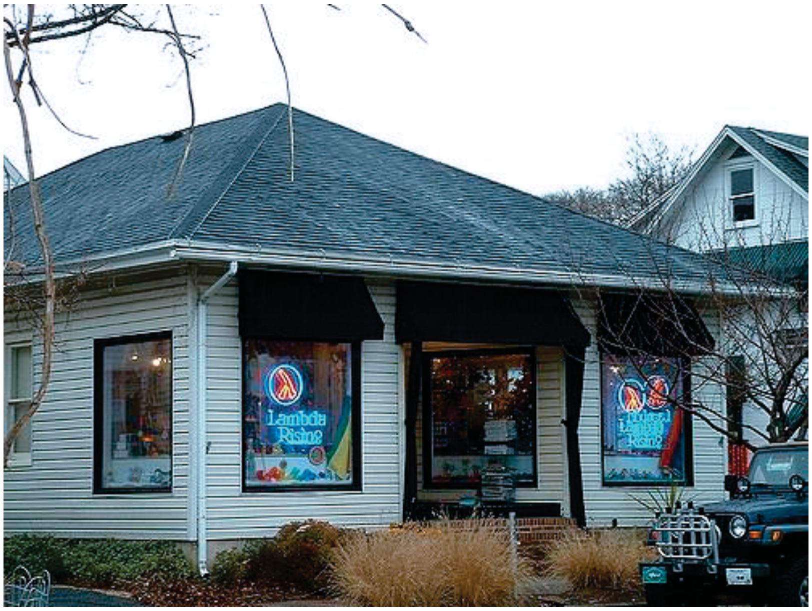


Figure 7: Lambda Rising bookstore, Rehoboth Beach, Delaware. One of four Lambda Rising bookstore locations, this one was open from 1991 to January 2010. It was the last Lambda Rising to close. The other locations were Washington, DC (1974-2009), Baltimore, Maryland (1984-2008), and Norfolk, Virginia (1996-2007). Photo by Kevin, 2006.[48]

---

[48] License: CC BY-NC-ND 2.0. https://www.flickr.com/photos/63894475@N00/335576385/. This shop was located at 39 Baltimore Avenue, Rehoboth Beach, Delaware.

recognizing many LGBTQ communities in the United States; the importance of multiple voices; the need to acknowledge and respect identity; and the inclusion of difficult and painful histories.

Telling LGBTQ History Using Place

Many theme studies use already-listed NHL and NRHP places to illustrate how properties associated with a particular theme can meet the various NHL and NRHP requirements. Because there are only ten NRHP and NHL properties listed for their association with LGBTQ history and heritage, this approach is not effective. Instead, this theme study will model the different ways that LGBTQ history can be told using places and provide general information about linking those histories to the NRHP and NHL programs.

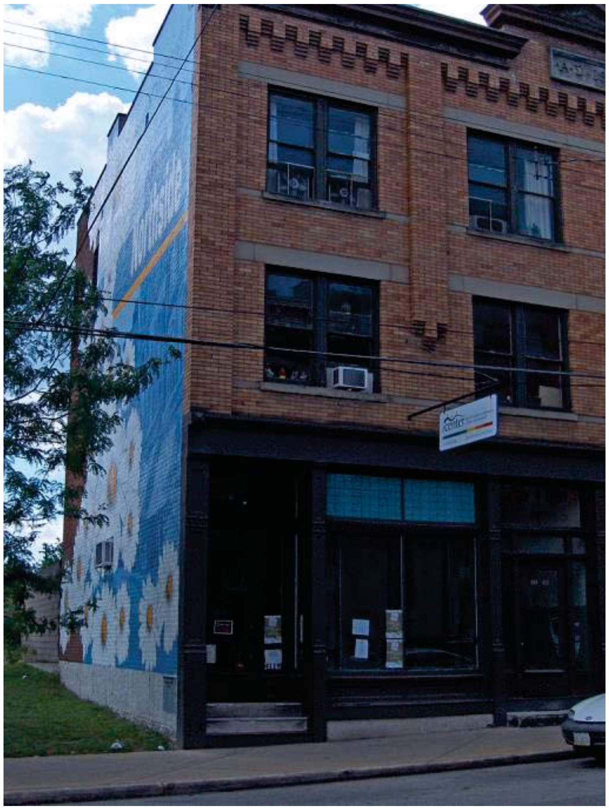


Figure 8: The Gay and Lesbian Community Center of Greater Cincinnati in Cincinnati, Ohio. They transitioned from this physical location to being a virtual, on-line center only in November 2013. Photo by Jere Keys, 2008.[49]

Throughout the theme study, specific places associated with LGBTQ history, people, and events are mentioned. These include private residences, bars, shops, hospitals, government agencies, hotels, parks, bridges, beaches, community centers, and more (Figures 7 and 8). Where possible, street addresses for these places are given; if they are listed on the NR or as NHLs, national monuments, or NPS units, the dates of listing and/or founding are also given. In the case of places that are currently private residences, neighborhood-level location information is given instead of street addresses in order to protect the privacy of occupants.

---

[49] License: CC BY 2.0. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:LGBT_community_center_Northside.jpg. The community center was located at 4119 Hamilton Avenue, Cincinnati, Ohio.

Commitment to Community

The LGBTQ Heritage Initiative has been largely a grassroots effort, with community support and contributions which have fueled the project and very often changed its trajectory. It is important that the products of the Initiative be as useful as possible for the communities they are meant to serve. These communities include heritage professionals, LGBTQ community members and activists, teachers, interpreters, and other members of the public. Authors of the theme study have been asked to write for a general public, and to avoid (or define) technical terms that are not commonly used. While most theme studies have focused solely on the NHL program, the LGBTQ theme study has a broader scope and incorporates information about the National Register of Historic Places so that individuals can think about nominating places important to their local and state communities, as well as those with national NRHP or NHL eligibility. A commitment to community also recognizes that under the LGBTQ umbrella are many communities, defined by many different overlapping and intersectional identities (ethnicity, geographic location, gender, socioeconomic status, etc.).[50] In order to provide the most complete context possible, the often very divergent histories of these many communities must be acknowledged and included.[51]

Multiple Voices

Gumbo ya-ya, or multiple voices talking at once, is an approach to "doing" intersectionality proposed by historian Elsa Barkley Brown.[52] With many voices speaking at once, she argues, the whole becomes accessible.

---

[50] See Springate (Intersectionality; this volume) for a more in-depth discussion of this topic.

[51] See, for example, Love, *Feeling Backward*; Vaid, *Irresistible Revolution*; and Susan Ferentinos, *Interpreting LGBT History at Museums and Historic Sites* (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2015).

[52] Elsa Barkley Brown, "What Has Happened Here": The Politics of Difference in Women's History and Feminist Politics," *Feminist Studies* 18, no. 2 (1992): 295-312.

This commitment to multiple voices is reflected in the number of subjects of chapters in the theme study (much broader than in many other theme studies); and in the diversity of authors and peer reviewers involved with the study. This approach also reflects that there is no single "right" way to connect history to place in the context of the NRHP and NHL programs. While there are certain content and formatting requirements for the nomination forms, there are many ways to meet these requirements. For instance, some theme study authors are historians, who start with history and incorporate place in their chapters; others are geographers who start with place and incorporate history; others are community preservationists and activists who start with the communities and incorporate history and place; and others, including journalists and museum professionals bring their own expertise and approach to the process. Authors and peer reviewers, who have self-identified as white, Latina/o, African American, mixed-race, Asian American, lesbian, gay, queer, heterosexual, homosexual, bisexual, transgender, male, female, and genderqueer, include graduate students, early- and later-career professors from a number of types of post-secondary institutions, community activists, journalists, and others. This "gumbo ya-ya" of multiple voices and perspectives helps ensure that multiple communities are included in the theme study. This approach should also remind potential nomination authors that advanced degrees are not required in order to do this work.

Identity

A key issue faced by the theme study was ensuring that how people identified themselves in the past (and identify themselves in the present) is honored. The concept of identity itself is historically situated; our modern ideas of identity have their roots in specific historical processes including state formation, colonialism, capitalism, and individualism.[53] Identities are complex, personal and collective, created through experiences and imposed from without. They are about both being different than or alienated from some people, and about belonging with, or the same as, others.[54] Hayden argues that place nurtures profound cultural belonging.[55] "Identity," she writes, "is intimately tied to memory: both our personal memories (where we have come from and where we have dwelt) and the collective or social memories interconnected with the histories of our families, neighbors, fellow workers, and … communities."[56] This shared history can convey a sense of belonging and of civic identity.[57] Heather Love envisions the relationship between identity and the past and memory as a conversation: "Identity accounts not only for the shape of the past but also for the feelings that we continue to have about that past. It is in large part because we recognize figures, emotions, and images from the past as like ourselves that we feel their effects so powerfully."[58] The power of place and memory in the formation and validation of identities make it important to ensure that the diversity of the LGBTQ communities are represented by place in the context of the theme study.

---

[53] Barbara L. Voss, *The Archaeology of Ethnogenesis: Race and Sexuality in Colonial San Francisco* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008), 13.

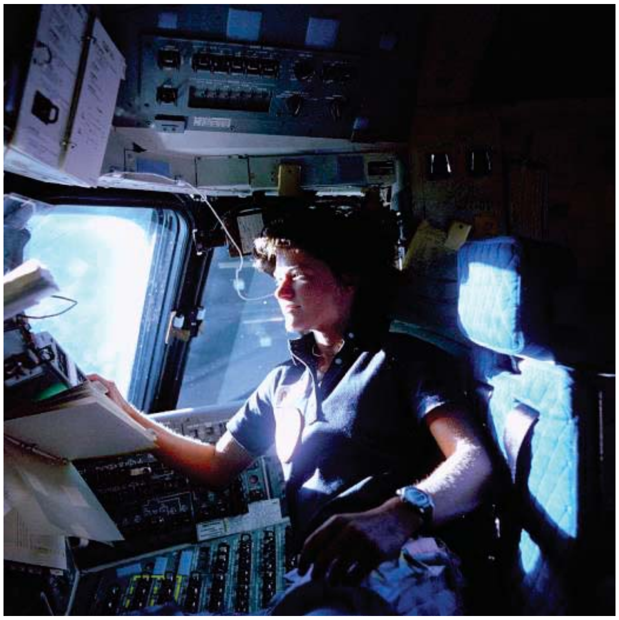


Figure 9: In orbit high above the Earth, America's first female astronaut, Sally K. Ride, monitors flight status from the pilot's chair of the Space Shuttle Challenger, June 1983. It was not until Ride's death in 2012 that her 27-year long relationship with another woman, Tam O'Shaughnessy, was made public. NASA photo.[59]

Just as ideas of what identity is and how it is connected to place come out of various historical processes, the terms gay, lesbian, bisexual, transgender, and queer have meaning only within certain historic and cultural contexts. While it is tempting to "claim" individuals out of the past to validate contemporary LGBTQ identities, it is inappropriate to foist an identity on those who did not or could not identify themselves in the same way.[60] For example, a woman in the early twentieth century could not have identified herself as a lesbian (first used as a noun in 1925), just as someone before the late twentieth century would not have identified using the word transgender (first appearing in 1988). The word homosexual itself was not used until the turn of the twentieth century when it was introduced and defined by the psychological profession. Some people, regardless of time period, also lived their lives quietly, hidden, or closeted, not identifying publicly as anything other than heterosexual or avoiding discussion of their private lives (Figure 9). There may also be no "proof" if same-gender individuals were intimate with each other, and our only evidence may be rumor and willful silences when being out was dangerous:[61]

---

[54] Voss, *Ethnogenesis,* 13-14.
[55] Hayden, *Power of Place*.
[56] Hayden, *Power of Place,* 9.
[57] Hayden, *Power of Place,* 9-11.
[58] Love, *Feeling Backward,* 45.
[59] License: Public Domain. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Ride_on_the_Flight_Deck_-_GPN-2000-001083.jpg. Lynn Sherr, Sally Ride: America's First Woman in Space (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2014).

> This hearsay evidence—inadmissible in court, unacceptable to some historians—is essential to the recuperation of queer histories. The age-old squelching of our words and desires can be replicated when we adhere to ill-suited and unbending standards of historical methodology.[62]

To address those cases where people have not self-identified, theme study authors have been instructed to write about the relationships important in their subjects' lives. While intimate behavior is often seen as a defining characteristic, many people knew they were (and are) gay, lesbian, bisexual, or queer before, or without ever, having sexual relationships. In addition, there may be no specific documentary evidence of intimate relationships.[63] One such example is Jane Addams, founder of the Hull House settlement in Chicago.[64] Addams and her staff and volunteers did groundbreaking work from the late nineteenth century, helping immigrant and working-class communities at a time when there were very few, if any, public social services. Whether Addams identified as a homosexual is debated; what is clear, however, is that her relationships with Ellen Gates Starr and Mary Rozet Smith were primary in her life. There is no evidence of her relationships with men, and she never married.[65]

---

[60] See, for example, Love, *Feeling Backward.*

[61] Patrick E. Johnson, "Gays and Gospel: A Queer History of Sacred Music," in *Out in Chicago: LGBT History at the Crossroads*, eds. Jill Austin and Jennifer Brier (Chicago: Chicago History Museum, 2011), 116.

[62] John Howard, *Men Like That: A Southern Queer History* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999), 5.

[63] For a more in-depth discussion, see Judith M. Bennett, "Lesbian-Like" and the Social History of Lesbianisms," *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 9 (2000): 1-24.

Difficult Histories

Difficult LGBTQ histories include discussions about sex and sexuality, as well as painful topics like violence. Although not explicit, the theme study does include places associated with LGBTQ sex and intimacy. Where the very definition of what it means to be lesbian, gay, queer, or bisexual is based on attraction and intimacy, sex cannot be ignored. Places of public or illicit sex, like cruising grounds, bathhouses,

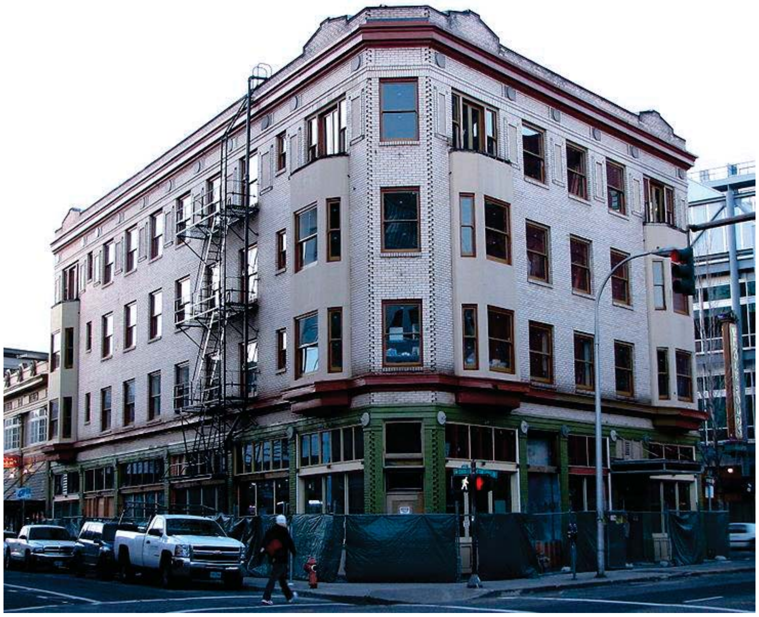


Figure 10: Hotel Alma, Portland, Oregon during renovations, 2009. From the 1970s, the building housed the Club Baths and Portland Baths, Flossie's gay bar, and later, Silverado, a gay strip club. The baths closed and Silverado changed locations in 2007 when the Hotel Alma was sold to a developer. It reopened as the Crystal Hotel in 2011.[66]

---

[64] Hull House is located at 800 South Halsted, Chicago, Illinois. It was listed on the NRHP on October 15, 1966 and designated an NHL on June 23, 1965.

[65] See Victoria Bissell Brown, "Queer or Not: What Jane Addams Teaches Us About Not Knowing," in *Out in Chicago*, 63-76.

[66] License: CC BY-SA 4.0. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Hotel_Alma_-_Portland_Oregon.jpg. Hotel Alma was located at 1201-1217 SW Stark Street, Portland, Oregon The Hotel Alma was added to the NRHP on September 9, 2009.

and clubs are included throughout; when it was illegal to be intimate with someone of the same gender, communities was made and found at the margins (Figure 10).

Much of LGBTQ history is difficult; it is about loss, violence, struggle, and failure. Love argues that a consistently affirmative bias—of overcoming, of progress, of improvement—is problematic, because it does not allow for the paradox of transformative criticism: that dreams for the future are founded on a history of suffering. Despite this critique of a linear, triumphalist history, "we are in practice deeply committed to the notion of progress; despite our reservations, we just cannot stop dreaming of a better life for queer people."[67] And yet, it is by letting go of this story of progress in queer lives, that we can disrupt the present and change the future.[68] A representative historic context of LGBTQ America must include the failures, the setbacks, and the heartbreaking events. This includes places and events associated with anti-LGBTQ movements and actions.

Conclusion

Readers of this theme study will find threads in the following chapters that tie together the theme study as a whole. These include mention of common places—like the Henry Gerber House and Stonewall—in different contexts and from different perspectives. The factors and effects of community coalescence, stability, and dissipation, gentrification, and the importance of property ownership in these processes are forefront in chapters on LGBTQ Spaces and Places and Creating Community, but also thread through several other chapters. Broad concepts of identity and intersectionality, inclusion/exclusion, power, private vs. public, and revolution vs. assimilation play out across chapters, as does the role of LGBTQ history in the broader American experience.

---

[67] Love, *Feeling Backward,* 3.
[68] Love, *Feeling Backward,* 1, 45.

This theme study makes clear that LGBTQ histories and experiences are dynamic and central to the US past. A thriving body of scholarly literature and impressive and energetic preservation and oral history efforts in communities across the country have shown that we are not what we once were, nor have we ever been all the same. History, culture, and community shape gender and sexuality and how they interact. For instance, the Native American concept of two-spirit is distinct from western systems of gender and sexuality, and before the medicalization of sexuality in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, people had intimate relations with others of the same sex (homosexual acts) and were not considered to be gay (homosexual identity). Today, by contrast, people often identify as gay, lesbian, queer, or bisexual before having intimate relationships.

This theme study aims to connect the complex, multivocal histories of lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and queer people to American history more broadly, and to places and landscapes in particular. These connections form the framework for identifying, protecting, and interpreting places with LGBTQ histories, and for (where appropriate) nominating properties to the NRHP and as NHLs. As a framework for this work, the completion of this theme study is only a beginning to increasing LGBTQ representation in NPS programs and American history more broadly.

03

INTRODUCTION TO LESBIAN, GAY, BISEXUAL, TRANSGENDER, AND QUEER HISTORY (LGBTQ HISTORY) IN THE UNITED STATES

Leisa Meyer and Helis Sikk

LGBTQ history is an umbrella term that captures the stories of strength and struggle of diverse individuals, cultures, and communities that have been considered nonnormative. It is the story of movements for justice; of moments of triumph and tragedy that people we now understand as LGBTQ have faced—and often continue to face—in our daily lives and demands for the right to live, love, and thrive. In the modern era, sexual and gender identity and expression have been central to Americans' understandings of themselves, even as they have been shaped by— and shaped—broader structures and attitudes toward race, ethnicity, class, gender, ability, and nation. Major institutions, governments, courts, churches, and the medical profession, have served as arbiters, constructing normative and deviant sexualities and providing criteria for defining the range within each. Therefore, the study of LGBTQ history is the study of cultural, social, and legal politics in the United States and who and what is considered part of the "national" narrative. The National Park Service LGBTQ Heritage Initiative is a testament to how America's perception of who is seen as part of the nation has shifted over the years.

LGBTQ history is an exercise in recovery and reclamation. Doing and telling this history involves finding traces of LGBTQ people in texts (letters, diaries, novels, popular print culture, court and police records), visual material (art, public spectacle), oral narratives and traditions, and the built environment (buildings, parks, homes as meeting places, churches). Exploring the spaces and places that LGBTQ people might have occupied, frequented, or passed through requires excavation—asking new questions of conventional sources of information. At the same time, we must also not presume that such traces are hidden, and look also to the vibrantly visible mentions overlooked by some and dismissed by others who have gone before us. As historian George Chauncey, Jr. remarked when asked why no one had ever discussed the vibrantly visible "gay world" he found in late nineteenth/early twentieth-century New York City: "Until recently, nobody looked for it."[1] A strong necessity remains today to continue to excavate and look for such worlds and the historically specific sexual and gendered communities, systems, meanings, discourses, and realities they contained. In this process of seeing and excavation, we must keep at bay presumptions that LGBTQ people have been visible and publicly accepted only recently. We cannot frame our history in an oversimplified narrative of movement from repression to liberation.

---

[1] George Chauncey, Jr., *Gay New York: Urban Culture and the Making of the Gay Male World* (New York: Basic Books, 1995), 9-10.

Early Moments and Findings

How do we uncover a history of individuals, peoples, and identities that shifted over time and were often distinct to place and cultures? How does one talk about sexual and gender identity and expression cross-culturally during periods when such identities and expressions were not necessarily linked to particular kinds of sexual or gendered behavior? How does one talk about sexual or gender identity cross-culturally or during periods in which the meanings of such behaviors were dramatically different than what they are today? Can we only use the terms “lesbian” or “gay” or “bisexual” or “transgender” or “queer” to describe those who would not have had such labels in the past? If so, should we only assign them to those people whom we can “prove” had same-sex sexual contact with one another, who explicitly spoke of their sexual desire for individuals of the same sex, or who explicitly articulated clear choices in relation to gender nonconformity? Or should we broaden our definitions of same-sex sexual categories and gender transgression to encompass multiple kinds of passions between individuals, including intimate same-sex friendships that might or might not have been sexual? Alternatively, should we talk only about lesbian or gay or bisexual or queer sexuality historically when individuals identified themselves explicitly as engaged in same-sex sexual relationships or only at the points when self-conscious cultures formed around shared sexual or gender identities? These are only a few of the many questions that anyone doing LGBTQ history today needs to consider when excavating the pasts of nonnormative identities, cultures, activities, and communities.

Thomas(ine) Hall’s life provides an example of how challenging it is to align LGBTQ “ancestors” with our contemporary understandings of sexual and gender identities, expressions, and categories. Born in 1603 in England and christened female, Hall as a child was trained and worked in sewing and needlework—conventionally feminine tasks for the period. Beginning in the 1620s Hall shifted gender presentation depending on the circumstances—moving to a masculine gender presentation and going by Thomas to enter military service or to take advantage of work opportunities on the tobacco plantations of Virginia then moving to Thomasine immediately following his military service and when relocating as a female servant to the Plymouth Colony.[2] The fluidity of Hall's gender presentation and reported intimate encounters with women and men drew the attention of authorities and community members in the small Virginia village where Hall resided. Town leaders detained Hall, who was physically examined first by a group of "leading women" then by a group of "leading men" in the settlement to ascertain Hall's "true" sex. When no clear consensus emerged from the groups as to which category Hall belonged, the judiciary summoned the servant to the regional court in Jamestown, Virginia, where Hall was sentenced to dress in male and female clothing simultaneously.[3] The court's verdict marked Hall as always visibly outside of the "male/female" gender binary. What might we take from Thomas(ine)'s story in the twenty-first century? From the available records we could imagine that Hall's sex and what we term today Hall's gender identity/expression were distinctly genderqueer or gender fluid. Or perhaps we could claim Hall as a transgender forbearer. Or that Hall might have understood herself as a woman but donned male attire simply to gain employment and social mobility. Or given that Hall seemed to engage in sexual activity with both men and women, we might claim Thomas(ine) as bisexual. Rather than demanding this queer life history conform to one of these interpretations, however, LGBTQ history encourages us to keep open the possibilities of each, even as we look to the past to better understand the dominant cultural framework within which Hall existed. From there, we can determine the boundaries of acceptable gender and sexual identity and expression in that time and place even as we seek to understand why and how transgression could—and did—occur.

---

[2] Kathleen Brown, "'Changed into the Fashion of a Man': The Politics of Sexual Difference in a Seventeenth Century Anglo-American Settlement," *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 6, no. 2 (1995): 171-193. Plymouth, Massachusetts served as the capital of Plymouth Colony from when it was first founded in 1620 until its merger with the Massachusetts Bay Colony in 1691. Plimoth Plantation is a living history museum in Plymouth that interprets the original seventeenth-century Plymouth Colony as it would have been when Thomasine Hall worked there.

[3] Historic Jamestowne, located at the original site of Jamestown, Virginia. Founded in 1609, it was the first permanent English settlement in what is now the United States. The Jamestown National Historic Site (part of the NPS) was listed on the NRHP on October 15, 1966.

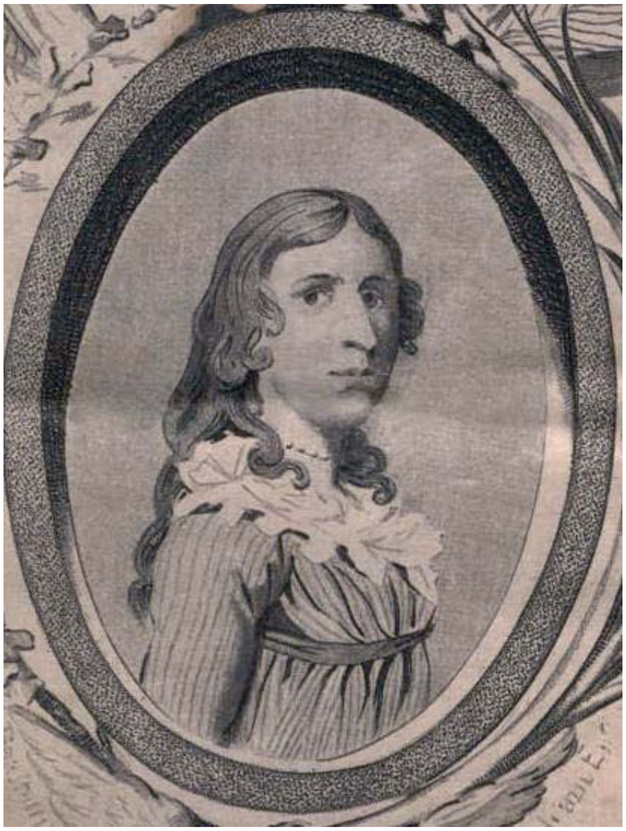


Figure 1: Deborah Sampson who fought as Robert Shurtleff with the Fourth Massachusetts Regiment during the Revolutionary War, c. 1797. Engraving by George Graham from a drawing by William Beastall, which in turn was based on a painting by Joseph Stone.[4]

Hall's shifting gender presentation, at one time at least ostensibly to enter military service, is an example of a larger historical pattern of people who crossed genders during times of war. Deborah Sampson was one such soldier who served in the Continental army during the American Revolution (Figure 1).[5] Early nationalists celebrated Sampson's gender-nonconforming exploits as epitomizing the patriotic fervor of the colonists in their war against England. Although Sampson married a man after leaving military service, her subsequent apology for her "masquerade," and assurances to public audiences that she had not engaged in any sexual transgressions with women or men during her cross-dressing years, suggests the presumption that sexual deviance would accompany her actions.[6]

---

[4] License: Public Domain. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:DeborahSampson.jpg From Herman Mann, The Female Review: Life of Deborah Sampson, the Female Soldier in the War of Revolution (Boston: J.K. Wiggin & W.P. Lunt, 1866).

[5] Sampson served seventeen months in the Continental army as Robert Shurtleff and served with the Light Infantry Company of the Fourth Massachusetts Regiment. Wounded in the leg in 1782 at a skirmish near Tarrytown, New York, she left the hospital before her wounds could be treated to avoid detection and removed a musket ball from her own leg using a penknife. Her leg healed poorly, and she was reassigned to serve as a waiter to General John Paterson. Though her identity as a woman was found out in the summer of 1783 after she got ill in Philadelphia, General Paterson did not reprimand her. She was honorably discharged at West Point, New York in October 1783. The United States Military Academy at West Point, New York on New York Route 218 was added to the NRHP on October 15, 1966 and designated an NHL on December 19, 1960.

In contrast to Hall's example, which emerged from a western European ideological context we can see the much more fluid understandings of gender, sexuality, and identity in some indigenous North American cultures prior to, during, and after European colonization.[7] Identified as "berdache" or "hermaphrodites" by Europeans (both in colonial times and more recently) many Native American nations have recognized a multiplicity of genders and sexualities. Since the 1970s, the term two-spirit has been adopted by many Native Americans and anthropologists as an umbrella term for these multiple identities. This concept developed out of and in response to the lengthy period of repression and violence under Euro-American colonial regimes, including the actions of government agents and missionaries to coercively "civilize" Native peoples in part by removing Native children to white Protestant boarding schools whose goal was to eradicate any elements of Native culture from these children. Two-spirit roles then became the focus of rediscovery, renewal, revival, re-interpretation, and theory since the 1970s, and two-spirit identified Native people are participating with growing prominence in pan-tribal and traditional settings.[8]

Each Native American group has had their own terms to describe these people, and different criteria for defining them. For example, a male two-spirit was called *boté* by the Crow and *nádleehí* by the Navajo. The most common trait attributed to male two-spirits across cultures (though not always) was skill in making crafts that were typically done by women.[9]

---

[6] Leisa Meyer, *Creating G.I. Jane: Sexuality and Power in the Women's Army Corps During World War II* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996); Julie Wheelwright, *Amazons and Military Maids: Women Who Dressed as Men in Pursuit of Life, Liberty, and Happiness* (London: Pandora Press, 1989).

[7] For a detailed discussion, see Roscoe (this volume).

[8] See Will Roscoe, *Changing Ones: Third and Fourth Genders in Native North America* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1998); Sue-Ellen Jacobs, Wesley Thomas, and Sabine Lang, eds., *Two-Spirit People: Native American Gender Identity, Sexuality, and Spirituality* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1997).

[9] See Will Roscoe, *Changing Ones*, 213-247; Jacobs, Thomas, and Lang, eds., *Two-Spirit People*, 15.

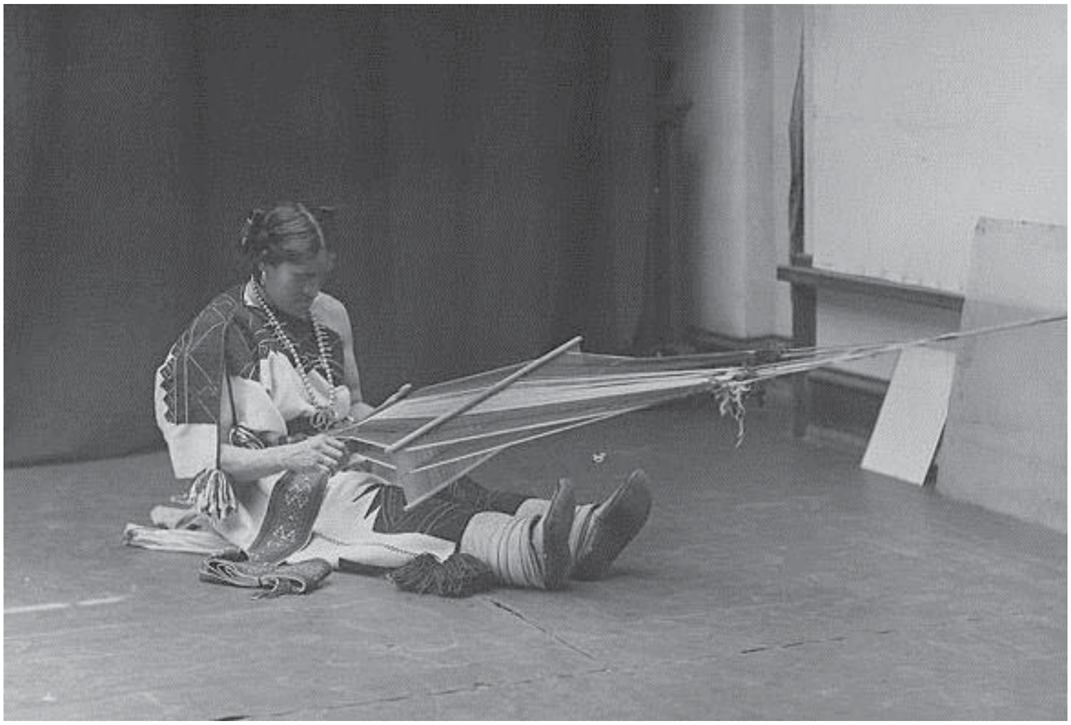


Figure 2: We'Wha (1849-1896), a Zuni *lhamana*, weaving. Photo by John K. Hillers, c. 1781-1896, for the Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology (National Archives and Records Administration ID: 523558).[10]

These definitions could be much more complex than a man who lives as a woman: Zuni *lhamana* We'Wha was a two-spirit male who government ethnologists encountered in 1879 while on an expedition to record "vanishing" Native American cultures as white America expanded westward (Figure 2). As a *lhamana*, We'Wha embodied both male and female traits and activities while dressing in traditionally female clothing. We'Wha was a potter (a female craft) but also excelled in weaving (a male craft) as well as being a farmer and a member of the men's kachina society, who performed masked dances (both male-identified activities). In 1886, ethnologists Matilda Coxe Stevenson and her husband James Stevenson hosted We'Wha in Washington, DC.[11] Other colonial encounters include: the sixteenth-century meeting between René Goulaine de Laudonnière's expedition to claim what is now Florida for the French and two-spirits of the local Timucua people; those between Captain Cook and *aikāne* representatives of Hawaiian chiefs and later between missionaries and the *māhū* in Hawai'i; between the Kutenai female two-spirit Qánqon and fur traders in the early nineteenth century along the border of Idaho and British Columbia; the alliance of *boté* Ohchiish with the US Army against the Lakota Sioux and Cheyenne in 1876 at the Battle of Rosebud in Montana.[12]

---

[10] License: Public Domain. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:We-Wa,_a_Zuni_berdache,_weaving_-_NARA_-_523797.jpg

[11] Matilda Coxe Stevenson, "The Zuni Indians: Their Mythology, Esoteric Fraternities, and Ceremonies," *Twenty-third Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, 1901-1902* (Washington, DC:

Unlike that of Native peoples, whose colonial-era identities and relationships we understand largely based on the descriptions left by European explorers and colonists, the identity and culture of white colonists have been to a large degree understood through their own written words.[13] It is often in the correspondence between women and between men that we find LGBTQ history.[14] Historian of sexuality and biographer Martin Duberman writes of the exchanges between James Henry Hammond (Jim) and his friend Thomas Jefferson Withers (Jeff) in the early nineteenth-century United States (Figure 3).[15] These erotically charged and at moments explicitly sexual letters between these two "respectable" elite white southerners seem to suggest that same-sex sexual relationships might have been, if not common, at least somewhat

---

Government Printing Office, 1904); Will Roscoe, *The Zuni-Man Woman* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1991).

[12] For more details, including specific places associated with these encounters, see Roscoe (this volume).

[13] Archeological deposits, which often contain information about long-term, everyday activities, also have the potential to reveal information about same-sex and gender-variant pasts. See Springate's LGBTQ archeological context (this volume).

[14] Other sources of information come from military records, court cases, newspapers, and other written documents; see, for example, Stein and Estes (this volume).

[15] The letters describing James Henry Hammond's relationship with Thomas Jefferson Withers were written in 1826, just after Hammond left law school. He married the wealthy Catherine Elizabeth Fitzsimmons when she was seventeen years old, and entered the planter class, eventually amassing several plantation houses and more than three hundred enslaved persons. An attorney and outspoken supporter of slavery, Hammond served as a member of the US House of Representatives from 1835 to 1836, the Governor of South Carolina from 1842 to 1844, and as a US senator from 1857 to 1860. Redcliffe Plantation, 181 Redcliffe Road, Beech Island, South Carolina was completed in 1859, and has been home to Hammond and three generations of his descendants as well as generations of the enslaved. Now a South Carolina state park historic site, Redcliffe was added to the NRHP on May 8, 1973.

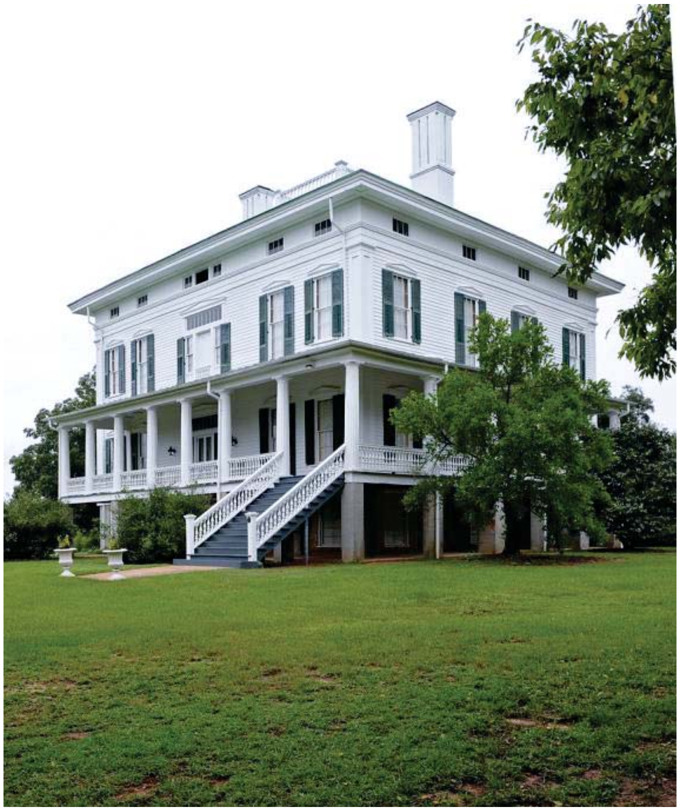


Figure 3: Redcliffe Plantation house, Beach Island, South Carolina, home of James Henry Hammond from 1859. Photo by Bill Fitzpatrick, 2012.[17]

unremarkable for some during this period. Here again, it might not be the lack of evidence of an LGBTQ presence that explains our general absence from the historical record but rather scholars' concealment of that evidence and unwillingness to interrogate the possibilities of alternative or nonnormative sexualities and gender expressions in their interpretations of this history.[16]

The oft-used theoretical concept, "romantic friendship" offers a somewhat ill-fitting category to frame women's same-sex intimacies in seventeenth through early twentieth-century America. Some scholars have used this term to describe intimate relationships between women characterized by declarations of love for one another expressed in poetry and passionate letters replete with references to kissing, cuddling, and sharing a bed. Some historians have defined these relationships, especially during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries in the United States, as marking almost a lesbian "golden age." According to this perspective, during this period women's abiding affection for other women, especially in the emerging bourgeoisie, was not perceived as threatening to either heterosexual marriage or dominant standards of sexual morality. In fact, by the eighteenth century, the cultural norm of intense female friendships among white native-born women of the middle and upper classes was well established in the United States and rested on the white, middle-class assumptions that women were by nature virtuous and predominantly asexual.[18] Thus, the acceptability of these relationships resided in their ostensibly nonsexual nature. Women in these relationships characterized their feelings for one another as "love," yet did not proclaim, and often disclaimed any erotic attachment. There are numerous examples of romantic friendships that conform to this platonic model, while others suggest relationships of a more explicitly sexual nature.

---

[16] Martin Duberman, "'Writing Bedfellows' In Antebellum South Carolina: Historical Interpretations and the Politics of Evidence," in *Carryin' On in the Lesbian and Gay South,* ed. John Howard (New York: New York University Press, 1997): 15-33, see especially note 15.

[17] License: CC BY-SA 3.0. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Redcliffe.jpg

Mary Grew and Margaret Burleigh were such lifelong companions in nineteenth-century America. In writing of their friendship, Grew characterized it as a "closer union than that of most marriages" while also describing her love for Burleigh as "spiritual" not "passionate" nor "sexual."[19] Almost a century later, however, two other "romantic friends," Molly and Helena, implicitly acknowledge the passion that was central to their relationship. In a letter just prior to Helena's marriage, Molly wrote to Helena's betrothed that she and Helena had loved each other "almost as girls love their lovers."[20] At the same time Frances Willard, a white middle-class female activist and creator of the Women's Christian Temperance Union, agonized in her diaries about her love for Mary, her brother's fiancée. She understood this love to be "abnormal" and reproached herself endlessly for the desires she felt toward her friend (Figure 4).[21] In another example, two African American women, Addie Brown and Rebecca Primus, were involved for nine years in a relationship that was both highly visible within their Hartford, Connecticut, community and explicitly sexual.[22] Moreover, even in relationships that generally were perceived as above reproach, popular suspicions of sexual deviance abounded.

---

[18] Carroll Smith-Rosenberg, "The Female World of Love and Ritual: Relations Between Women in Nineteenth Century America," in *Disorderly Conduct: Visions of Gender in Victorian America* (New York: Knopf, 1985), 53-76. Martha Vicinus, ed., *Lesbian Subjects: A Feminist Studies Reader* (Bloomington: University of Indiana Press, 1996).

[19] Grew and Burleigh were "close companions" from the mid-1850s, and lived together until Burleigh's death in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania in 1891. Burleigh's funeral took place at their residence, 116 North Eleventh Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania (now demolished). Chris Dixon, "Grew, Mary," *American National Biography Online*, http://www.anb.org/articles/15/15-00893.html, accessed via H-SHGAPE http://h-net.msu.edu/cgi-bin/logbrowse.pl?trx=vx&list=h-shgape&month=0312&week=d&msg=pkWnqRyrfD60V4scePKjcA. Burleigh's obituary is online at "Margaret Jones Burleigh," Find A Grave website, http://www.findagrave.com/cgi-bin/fg.cgi?page=gr&GRid=99784442.

[20] Carroll Smith-Rosenberg, "The Female World of Love and Ritual: Relations between Women in Nineteenth-Century America," *Signs* 1, no. 1 (1975): 1-29; see note 12 for details on the relationship between Molly and Helena, which Smith-Rosenberg notes is based on "the 1868-1920 correspondence between Mary Hallock Foote and Helena, a New York friend (the Mary Hallock Foote Papers are in the Manuscript Division, Stanford University). Wallace E. Stegner has written a fictionalized biography of Mary Hallock Foote (Angle of Repose [Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday & Co., 1971]). See, as well, her autobiography: *Mary Hallock Foote, A Victorian Gentlewoman in the Far West: The Reminiscences of Mary Hallock Foote*, ed. Rodman W. Paul (San Marino, CA: Huntington Library, 1972), 5-6."

While excavation and happenstance might help us locate implicit hints and explicit articulations of same-sex intimacies and desires, other evidence yields frustration and horror as we find references to letters documenting such relations being burned or destroyed, meet some archivists' refusal to allow materials to be published or to be read, and some scholars refusal to entertain the possibilities of same-sex desire and intimacy despite evidence to the contrary.[23] Such excavations are also always dependent on where we look, the questions we ask, and sometimes *how* we look. Characterizing these diverse examples as

---

[21] Carolyn De Swarte Gifford, ed. *Writing Out My Heart: Selections from the Journals of Frances Willard, 1855-1896* (Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 1985). Willard lived in the house her father built at 1730 Chicago Avenue, Evanston, Illinois from 1871 until her death in 1898. From 1871 through 1874, she served as dean of the Women's College at Northwestern University. She helped found the Woman's Christian Temperance Union in 1874, and was president of the organization for nineteen years. Her home in Evanston served as an informal headquarters for the WCTU. The Frances Willard House is open as a museum; it was added to the NRHP on October 15, 1966 and designated an NHL on June 23, 1965.

[22] Karen V. Hansen, "'No Kisses is Like Youres'; An Erotic Friendship between Two African American Women during the Mid-Nineteenth Century," in Vicinus, *Lesbian Subjects*, 178-208. See also B. Denise Hawkins, "Addie & Rebecca – Letters of Free-Born African-American Women During the Civil War," *Diverse: Issues in Higher Education*, June 17, 2007, http://diverseeducation.com/article/7496. After the Civil War, the Hartford (Connecticut) Freedmen's Aid Society sent Primus, then twenty-nine years old, to Royal Oak, Talbot County, Maryland to help educate former slaves. In the four years she was there, she built a school house, completed in 1867, which the locals called the Primus Institute. County records indicate that a school for black children was present in Royal Oak through 1929. The building has since been lost. Travis Dunn, "Scholars Describe Historic Role of Primus Institute, School's Founder: School Started by a Freedmen's Aid Society," *Star-Democrat* (Easton, Maryland), February 28, 2001, 1A, 13A.

[23] Elizabeth W. Knowlton, "'Only a Woman Like Yourself' – Rebecca Alice Baldy; Dutiful Daughter, Stalwart Sister, and Lesbian Love of Nineteenth-Century Georgia," in Howard, *Carryin' On,* 34-53; Estelle Freedman, "'The Burning of Letters Continues': Elusive Identities and the Historical Construction of Sexuality," *Journal of Women's History* 9, no. 4 (Winter 1998).

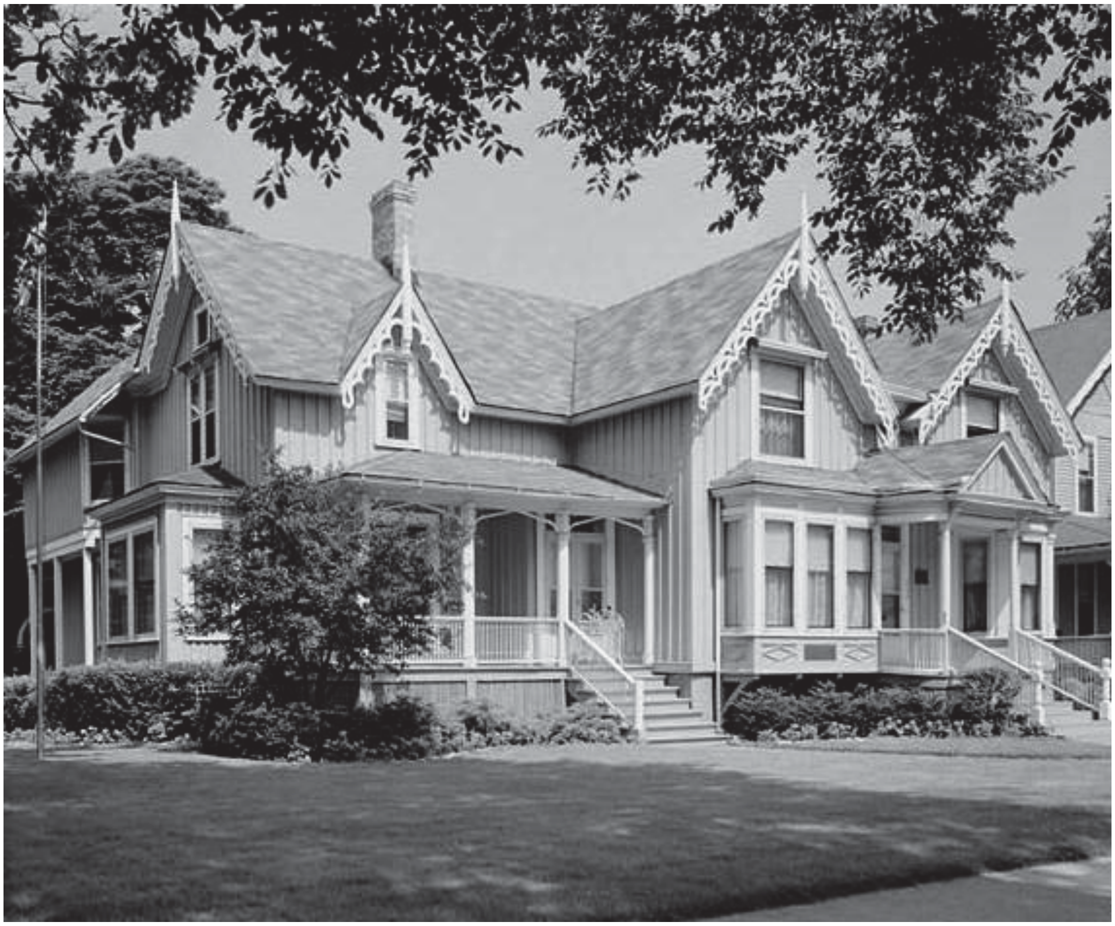


Figure 4: Frances E. Willard House, Evanston, Illinois. Photo by Philip Turner, 1967 (Historic American Buildings Survey HABS ILL, 16-EVAN, 4-1).

"lesbian" or "gay" or evidence of same-sex desire, sexual intimacy or identity, turns on the question of how we define such terms. Is spiritual love between women sufficient for such a definition? Is explicitly sexual love sufficient? Must the women or men themselves or the culture in which they reside perceive such relationships as deviant from heterosexual norms of behavior in order to speak of them as queer?

Modern Moments and Naming

Some scholars argue that understandings of deviance in the nineteenth century in relation to same-sex intimacy as well as romantic friendship-type relations continued into the twentieth- and twenty-first centuries.[24] Yet what was distinct about the twentieth century was a steadily increasing effort to identify, name, and categorize sexualities and genders. One of the most influential theorists on modern sexuality, Michel Foucault, has articulated this gradual yet major shift in our understandings of sexuality as a difference between acts and identities. While in the nineteenth century, same-sex sexuality and nonconforming gender behavior were seen as discretely punishable acts, in the twentieth century such acts placed the individual in a specific category that indicated a state of being and a species: "homosexual," "deviant," or "invert." [25]

This shift from criminal acts to group identity was not immediate or even; as the twentieth century progressed a man engaged in genital sexual relations with another man might still be arrested for sodomy, but was now also likely to be defined by medical professionals as a "sexual invert." This early twentieth-century category referenced not just the type of sexual behavior in which an individual was engaged, but also more broadly referenced the type of person who engaged in such behavior. This type was linked by sexologists to effeminacy in men and mannishness in women. For the British sexologist Havelock Ellis and others this phenomenon was worthy of sympathy—but sexual inversion transposed the issue of same-sex desire into one of gendered physical attributes, behaviors, and forms of dress. Thus many sexologists collapsed into one category a range of sexual orientations that we would now distinguish as bisexuality, transgender, and/or same-sex sexuality.[26] Here emerges another key question for those looking to excavate and document LGBTQ histories: who created modern understandings of sexual and gender identities, and how do they change over time and context? Official arbiters—scientific, medical, legal, religious, and political institutions—have demarcated the categories of sexual "deviance" while simultaneously creating the range of behaviors attributed to normative sexualities.[27] Since the late nineteenth century, sexological (the science of sexuality) work has been one of the most influential arbiters in categorizing, describing, and assigning value to sexual and gender deviance—as well as scrutinizing the normal. In the first half of the twentieth century, religious pronouncements of "sin" and oral discourses engaging and describing sexual and gendered behavior as binary (homosexual/heterosexual; female/male) were increasingly joined and more than occasionally trumped by the emergence of parallel scientific and medical discourses addressing sexual and gender "deviance" and "normativity." While Ellis and other sexologists highlighted the likely biological basis for sexual inversion or homosexuality, by the 1920s some psychologists, basing their approach on the work of Sigmund Freud's theories of psychoanalysis, looked instead to the mind and environmental influences as central to shaping individuals' sexual choices. In focusing on and creating detailed criteria for defining deviance, sexologists clarified implicitly the criteria defining "normal" sexual behavior—opposite sex partners and sex engaged within marriage. In contrast, Freud and his American followers sought to define the normal—seeing it as a category that itself required analysis and critique, and in providing criteria for this normal simultaneously defined those whose sexual choices did not fit such categories as deviant. In the end, by the 1920s sexologists and psychologists defined inversion more in terms of same-sex desire or sexual object choice and the concept of homosexuality was adopted as more accurate in encompassing a variety of same-sex orientations that sexologists confronted in their clinical practice. As the new binary between homosexuality and heterosexuality emerged, bisexuality was effectively removed from the discussion—an erasure that has continued to this day.[28]

---

[24] Leisa D. Meyer, "Lesbians: Historical Perspectives," in *International Encyclopedia of Social and Behavioral Sciences*, eds. Neil J. Smelser and Paul B. Baltes (Oxford, UK: Elsevier Science Ltd., 2001), 8720-8725. See also, Lillian Faderman, *Surpassing the Love of Men: Romantic Friendship and Love Between Women from the Renaissance to the Present,* paperback ed. (New York: Morrow Quill, 1981); Carroll Smith-Rosenberg, *Disorderly Conduct*; Vicinus, *Lesbian Subjects*; Gifford, *Writing Out My Heart*.

[25] Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality, Volume I, An Introduction,* reissue ed. (New York: Vintage Press, 1990), 101.

[26] Havelock Ellis, *Studies in the Psychology of Sex,* vol. I (New York: Random House, 1915), see "The Sexual Impulse in Women," 193-211; "Sexual Inversion in Men," 82-96; "Sexual Inversion in Women," 219-229; "The Nature of Sexual Inversion," 289-297.

---

[27] Gayle Rubin, who disentangled sex, gender, and sexuality as areas of inquiry, described the "Charmed Circle" of behaviors defined by society/law/religion/etc. as normal and acceptable; those identities and behaviors deemed deviant fell outside the circle. She noted that the Charmed Circle is not fixed; what is considered normal/deviant shifts and changes over time, and from culture to culture. Gayle Rubin, "The Traffic in Women: Notes on the 'Political Economy' of Sex," in *Toward an Anthropology of Women,* ed. Rayna Reiter (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1975).

Similarly, courts and legal institutions have facilitated the broad and sweeping use of sodomy statutes and state and local gender codes to police, imprison, and constrain LGBTQ people's lives through the twenty-first century.[29] Gender historian Nayan Shah's study of Asian immigrants in the early twentieth-century northwest brings us the often complex dynamic of such sodomy laws. Anti-Asian immigrant sentiment was at a peak in the early twentieth century. Chinese and Indian men who engaged in interracial sexual encounters were arrested and charged with sodomy, marking them as deviants. As a result, they were denied access to citizenship. Their white partners, on the other hand, were often described as "victims."[30]

No matter how seemingly powerful official arbiters have been during different moments in the past, they did not and do not create or assign sexual and gender identities. Historians have characterized medical literature and legal discourse as parts (albeit powerful ones) of many often competing sexual and gender ideologies. Joanne Meyerowitz, for instance, documents how discourse about transsexuals came in part from those hoping to change their sex, and not just from the popular culture, the courts, medicine, and science. Transsexual people "articulated their senses of self with the language and cultural forms available to them" and in doing so participated across the twentieth century in creating and reconfiguring their own identities.[31] This continues today with growing calls for self-definition and agency. In other words, the formulation of modern understandings of sexuality was not abrupt and immediate, and official systems of knowledge never held total sway. Rather, they were inconsistent, contested, and influenced by the people they were describing and categorizing. They continue to be challenged by a multitude of forces today, the most important of which are the people who live it.

---

[28] Sigmund Freud, *Three Essays on the Theory of Sexuality* (New York: Basic Books, 1975), see "The Sexual Aberrations," 1-38; "The Transformations of Puberty," and "Summary," 73-109; Ellis, *Studies in the Psychology of Sex*.

[29] See Stein (this volume).

[30] Nyan Shah, "'Oriental Depravity' and 'Natural Degenerates': Spatial Borderlands and the Making of Ordinary Americans," *American Quarterly* 57, no. 3 (2005): 703-725.

[31] Joanne Meyerowitz, *How Sex Changed: A History of Transsexuality in the United States* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2002), 9-10, 12-13.

Thus, excavating LGBTQ history means paying close attention and uncovering the often differing and not easily detectable markers that people have left behind. As one might expect, those with the greatest access to resources and education have historically left the most abundant textual records. The difficulties in locating records or traces of the sexualities of people of color make clear that while exploring the links between gender and sexuality are critical, attention to the relationships between sexuality, race, class, and ethnicity are equally if not more important. Finding traces of LGBTQ history among groups who have not had access to education and other resources requires both creativity and the willingness to look to what might be considered "unconventional" sources.

The feminist scholar, Domna Stanton identifies a "hybrid mode" of inquiry, which considers poetry, fiction, and autobiographical writings as central spaces through which LGBTQ people of color have expressed their sexual and gender identities.[32] Stanton's creative take on "unconventional" sources is only one of many approaches that help us include the stories of LGBTQ people of color as part of historical narratives. Given the often hidden, overlooked, or obscured nature of LGBTQ histories, other "unconventional" sources should be considered. For example, historians E. Patrick Johnson and John Howard discuss the importance of rumor, innuendo, and willful silences in doing LGBTQ history.[33]

---

[32] Domna Stanton, "Introduction," in *Discourses of Sexuality: From Aristotle to AIDS* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1992), 20. See also Hortense Spillers, "Interstices: A Small Drama of Words," in *Pleasure and Danger: Exploring Female Sexuality*, ed. Carole S. Vance (London: Pandora Press, 1992), 74.

[33] E. Patrick Johnson, "Gays and Gospel: A Queer History of Sacred Music," in *Out in Chicago: LGBT History at the Crossroads,* eds. Jill Austin and Jennifer Brier (Chicago: Chicago History Museum, 2011),

Literary critic Siobhan Somerville's hybrid mode combines late nineteenth and early twentieth-century legal, sexological, film, and literary texts to point out how the formation of the homosexual/heterosexual identity binary in the late nineteenth-century United States took place at the same time that distinctions and boundaries between black and white bodies were being established.[34] Somerville's elegant study cautions against oversimplifying linkages between race and sexuality through the language of analogy. In 2016, as we write this chapter, some activists and historians are pointing to the 1967 Supreme Court decision in Loving v. Virginia (which struck down state statutes banning interracial marriage) as a legal precedent to striking down bans on same-sex marriage. Somerville makes clear in her work that analogies like this erase identities that exist at the intersections of queer and nonwhite.

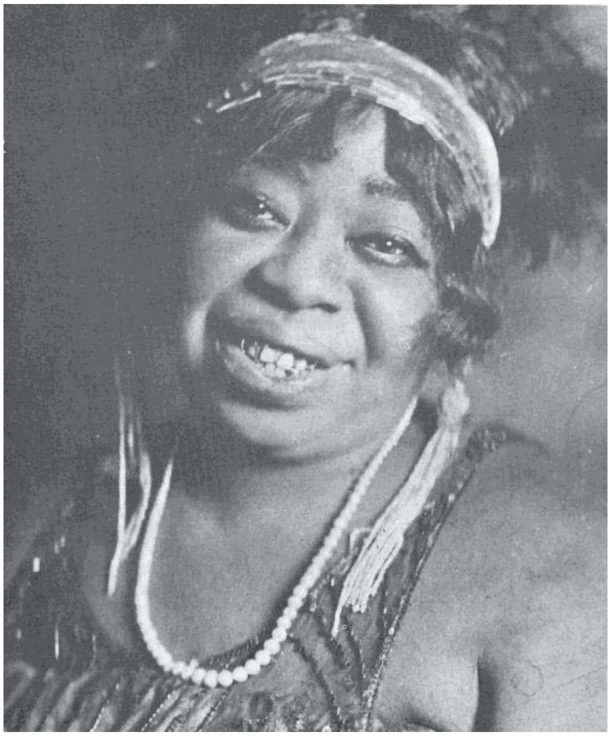


Figure 5: Gertrude Pridgett "Ma" Rainey, 1917. Photographer unknown.[35]

Performance and musical expression have joined fiction as another possible "unconventional" source for excavating the stories of LGBTQ people of color. For example, the musical performances carried out by female blues singers during the Harlem Renaissance of the 1910s and 1920s. Ma Rainey's "Prove It On Me Blues," which openly

---

116; John Howard, *Men Like That: A Southern Queer History* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999), 5.

[34] Siobhan Somerville, *Queering the Color Line: Race and the Invention of Homosexuality in American Culture* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2000), 3

[35] License: Public Domain. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:MaRainey.jpg

references intimate relationships between women, has become a staple of lesbian genealogy (Figure 5).[36] Gladys Bentley performed during the 1920s and early 1930s in full male regalia (a tuxedo and tails) and explicitly identified and was understood as a lesbian during that period.[37] To complicate these racial ethnic narratives and directly challenge the black/white binary within sexuality studies, historian Emma Pérez draws our attention to *corridos*, narrative songs or ballads generated by Mexicans, Mexican Americans, and Chicana/os throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. These musical performances speak to significant themes in Mexican and Mexican American history including immigration, border crossings, and the dangers of love and war, and offer valuable tools for exploring the LGBTQ histories heretofore hidden, only hinted at, or willfully ignored in these communities.[38]

Contemporary Moments and Community Formations

Yet "community," defined primarily as based on shared sexuality and/or gender identity, is itself a "naming" that oversimplifies LGBTQ life in the United States. The presumption that "community" is or *should* be the goal for sexual and gender minorities and the implicitly celebratory stance of many studies of sexual communities has been challenged by several scholars, including historian Karen Krahulik in her study of Provincetown, Massachusetts (Figure 6). She investigates the interactions between white Yankee residents and Portuguese immigrants, and Portuguese residents and lesbian, gay, and transgender tourists and neighbors throughout the twentieth century. The stories highlight that "community" is defined as much by who is excluded as it is by who is included. The initial forays of effeminate white gay men to Provincetown in the 1950s, for instance, challenged residents' mainstream understandings of manhood and masculinity; the later presence of white lesbian entrepreneurs in the 1970s likewise called into question assumptions that men were more suited than women to the business world. At the same time, however, the choice of some white gay men to appear in blackface during local parades in the 1990s maintained and reinvigorated racial stereotypes and hierarchies. Krahulik suggests the need to move beyond a simple celebration of the creation of queer community and look to the consequences of such creation. In other words, the creation of a queer community—like the creation of any other community—is always also about constructing boundaries—boundaries that operate *within* communities as well as *between* emergent and existing communities.[39]

---

[36] Lyrics from "Prove It on Me Blues" include "They said I do it, ain't nobody caught me. Sure got to prove it on me. Went out last night with a crowd of my friends. They must've been women, cause I don't like no men." After her singing career ended, Ma Rainey (born Gertrude Pridgett in 1886) moved to 805 Fifth Avenue, Columbus, Georgia. She lived in this home, now open as a museum, until her death in 1939.

[37] Bentley gained notoriety for her performances at gay speakeasy, Harry Hansberry's Clam House on 133rd Street in Harlem, New York City. In the early 1930s, she headlined at the Ubangi Club at 131st Street and Seventh Avenue, Harlem, New York (now demolished). During the McCarthy Era, Bentley married, and disavowed her earlier lesbianism. See Gladys Bentley, "I Am a Woman Again," *Ebony* 7, no. 10 (August 1952): 94.

[38] Emma Pérez, "Queering the Borderlands: The Challenges of Excavating the Invisible and Unheard," *Frontiers: A Journal of Women Studies* 24, nos. 2&3 (2003): 125.

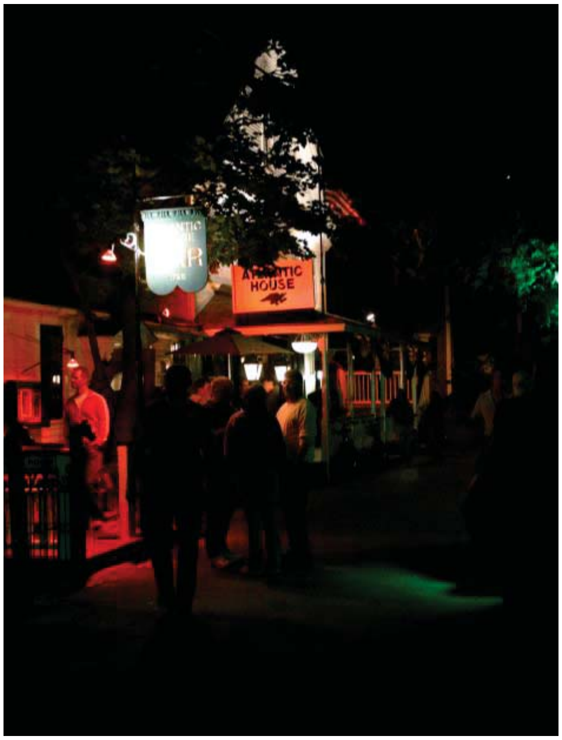


Figure 6: The Atlantic House, Provincetown, Massachusetts. Built in 1798, it has been a gay bar since the 1950s. Photo by Thomas Beauchamp-Arnold, 2004.[40]

---

[39] Karen Krahulik, *Provincetown: From Pilgrim Landing to Gay Resort* (New York: NYU Press, 2005). The Provincetown Historic District was listed on the NRHP on August 30, 1989. The Atlantic House at 4-6 Masonic Place, Provincetown, Massachusetts was built in 1798. Many of America's most noted writers, including gay playwright Tennessee Williams, were patrons in the 1920s. It became truly gay-friendly in the early 1950s, and has continued as a gay bar ever since. See also, Scott Herring, *Queering the Underworld: Slumming, Literature, and the Undoing of Lesbian and Gay History* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007).

[40] License: CC BY-NC 2.0. https://www.flickr.com/photos/blueherondesign/7841835094

The complexities of the idea of "community" in LGBTQ history is also highlighted by scholarship done on cities as the place where, during the twentieth century, queer subcultures have formed and found spaces.[41] "Gay New York" boasted an effervescent and highly visible "gay world" in the early twentieth century, years before the 1969 Stonewall rebellion that for some has symbolized the beginnings of LGBTQ liberation.[42] In this world gay men were not isolated from one another or from the broader culture within which they lived, rather they were visible to the "outside" world and they also were not self-hating (as some contemporaneous medical opinions held). New York City, Chicago, Philadelphia, Washington, DC, San Francisco, and Atlanta (among others) had neighborhoods within which gay men, bisexuals, and lesbians lived and thrived—leaving markers of their presence by wearing red ties or "dropping hair pins" so others could find them and identify the spaces they frequented.[43] Moreover, during the first third of the twentieth century, the stunningly rendered, highly visible, and well-attended drag balls of the 1920s in these cities made the visibility of LGBTQ people explicit (Figure 7).[44]

---

[41] See also Hanhardt and Gieseking (this volume).

[42] See George Chauncey, Jr., *Gay New York*. Stonewall at 51-53 Christopher Street, New York City, New York was listed on the NRHP on June 28, 1999; designated an NHL on February 16, 2000; and declared the Stonewall National Monument on June 24, 2016.

[43] George Chauncey, Jr. argues that the "slang expressions" used by some gay men to identify themselves to others often "hinged on…the difference between the 'masculinity' of the personas they normally presented in public and the supposed 'femininity' of the inner homosexual self, which expressed a 'womanlike' sexual desire for men." So "letting one's hair down" often meant making one's homosexuality explicit to a group or individual acquaintance. Chauncey, Jr., *Gay New York*, 289.

[44] Predominantly put on by and for members of the African American drag communities, drag balls were also attended by well-to-do whites, who would travel to Harlem to observe and take part in the gender-bending and queer culture. Webster Hall and Annex, famous in the 1910s and 1920s as a site of masquerade and drag balls, is located at 119-125 East 11th Street, New York City, New York. Rockland Palace, 280 West 115th Street, New York City, New York (demolished in the 1960s) was another well-known location of drag balls. Organized by the black fraternal organization, Hamilton Lodge No. 710 of the Grand United Order of Odd Fellows, balls here drew up to eight thousand attendees—participants and observers (it was fashionable for white and black social leaders to attend these balls as observers. Visitors to the Rockland Palace balls of the 1920s and 1930s included Tallulah Bankhead and members of the Astor and Vanderbilt families).

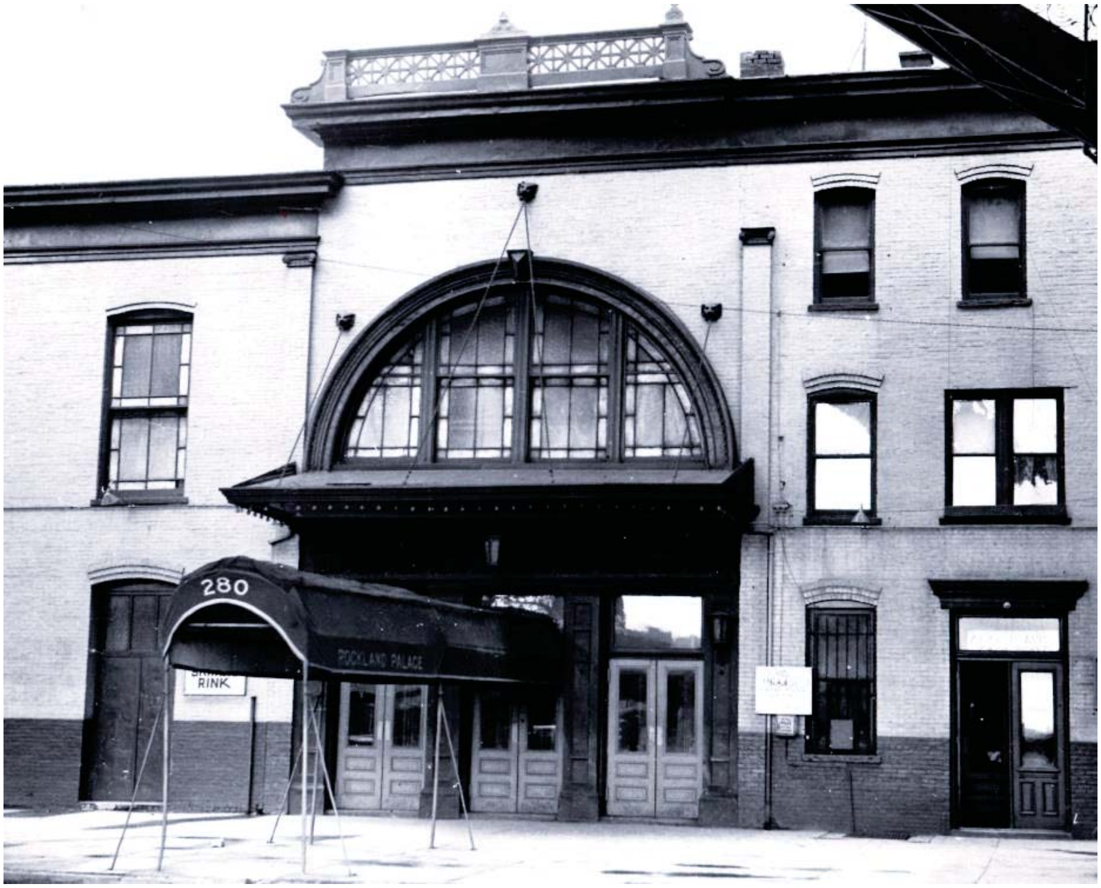


Figure 7: Rockland Palace in Harlem was home to popular drag balls in the 1920s and 1930s that would draw thousands of spectators and participants. Photographer unknown.[45]

Cities continued to be important geographic spaces where LGBTQ cultures were created, maintained, and rebuilt through the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. The urban community study—a common approach to regional history—has served to both bring LGBTQ history to the forefront, but also to hide or gloss over it. The deep context and historical specificity of many of these studies both describe and revise dominant understandings of the LGBTQ history. That said, the very term "community" also suggests the creation of new generalizations and exclusions. The late historian Horacio Roque Ramirez, who studied LGBTQ Latina/o communities, explicitly points out one of the most striking blind spots of the majority of community histories: the failure to analyze and center the movements and experiences of LGBTQ people of color. Ramirez urges scholars of queer communities and activism to go beyond the question of how LGBTQ people of color fit into, or are related to the implicitly white gay movement. Instead, he proposes that scholars ask and research the importance of people of color forming and acting within their own "racial communities."[46]

---

[45] License: Free to use. http://fdipmm.libertynet.org/word6/fdrp.html

Another generalization found in many urban community studies is the presumption that sexual systems, behaviors, and norms have their origins in metropolitan areas and move outward to smaller cities, towns, and rural areas. Other scholars have challenged this idea, suggesting instead that residents of towns and other smaller communities developed their own understandings of sexuality and gender based on their unique histories, locations, and populations. These understandings may or may not mirror developments in urban America, but they are not blind copies of the changes happening in city centers.[47] Historian John Howard addresses this explicitly in his study of same-sex male sexualities in twentieth-century Mississippi. Howard shows us that queer sexuality in rural Mississippi was not based on "urban archetypes" but was regionally specific and rooted in local community folkways and institutions.[48] Using the term "queer network" instead of "queer community," Howard criticizes the privileging of "community and subculture" in other queer histories, instead, he focuses on "desire" as an organizing category for explaining and interrogating the many varieties of sexual activities "worked out between two men." Created via the highways that took gay men to bars, rest stops, bus stations, and hotels, Mississippi's gay cultures existed "alongside and within" broader queer networks and "self-identified gay men shared spaces with presumably large numbers of non-gay-identified queers."[49]

---

[46] Horacio Roque Ramirez, "Communities of Desire: Queer Latina/Latino History and Memory, San Francisco Bay Area, 1960s-1990s," PhD diss., University of California, Berkeley, 2001. See also, Horacio Roque Ramirez, "'That's My Place!': Negotiating Racial, Sexual and Gender Politics in San Francisco's Gay Latino Alliance, 1975-1984," *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 12, no. 2 (April 2003): 258. See González and Hernández, Harris, Sueyoshi, Roscoe (this volume). A similar argument can be made for other communities that fall under the LGBTQ umbrella, including bisexual and transgender communities; see Hutchins and Stryker (this volume).

[47] Sharon Ullman, *Sex Seen: The Emergence of Modern Sexuality in America* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), 10-11. For examples of regional differences between LGBTQ communities, see Graves and Watson, Capo, Auer, Shockley, and Herczeg-Konecny (this volume). For an example of differences in gender between urban and rural areas, see Emily Kazyak, "Midwest or Lesbian? Gender, Rurality, and Sexuality," *Gender & Society* 26, no. 6 (2012): 825-848.

[48] John Howard, *Men Like That: A Southern Queer History* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999), 12.

It was the United States' involvement in World War II that provided an unprecedented opportunity for LGBTQ people to begin to imagine themselves as part of a community that stretched across the country's rural and urban areas. The massive mobilization of people that was needed to conduct a total war (and WWII was indeed such) meant that Americans left their homes for new war-based jobs and found themselves in largely gender-segregated communities without the restrictions and constraints typical of their hometowns. This provided multiple possibilities to explore their sexualities and gender identities. For men and women conscious of a strong attraction to their own sex but constrained by social norms from acting on it, the war years eased the coming out process and facilitated entry into the "gay" world (Figure 8).[51]

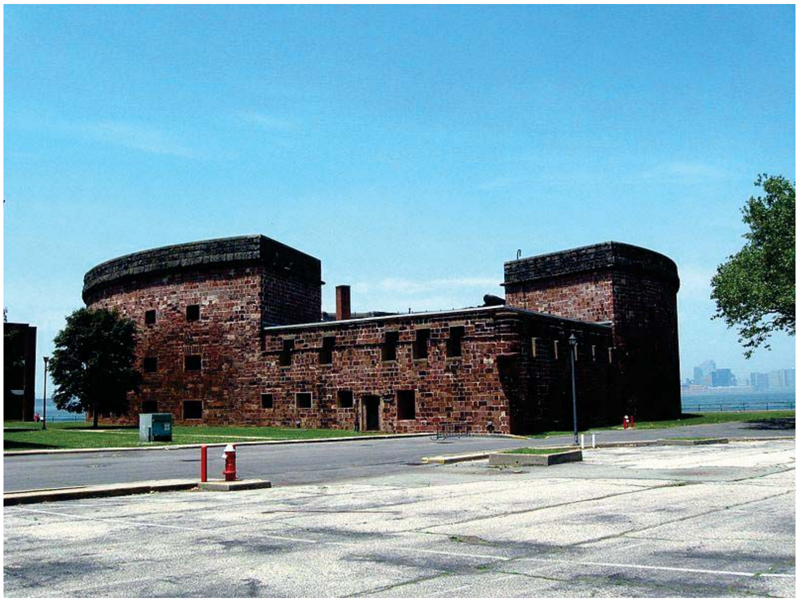


Figure 8: The guard house on Governor's Island occupied the two-story angled portion of Castle Williams. During his posting at Governor's Island during World War II, Henry Gerber (who in 1924 had founded the Society for Human Rights in Chicago) spent time confined in the guard house because of his homosexuality. Photo by Jim Henderson, 2008.[50]

---

[49] Howard, *Men Like That*, 78.

[50] License: Public Domain. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Castle_Williams_land_side_jeh.JPG

[51] For men, the military offered opportunities to be around, and with, other men. Homosexual activity among the ranks did not go unnoticed. Henry Gerber, who in 1924 had cofounded the Society for Human Rights and operated it from his boardinghouse flat in Chicago's Old Town Triangle neighborhood until it was raided in 1925, spent the last portion of his US Army career stationed at

The transformations induced by the war also created possibilities for gay men and lesbians to create institutions that bolstered and protected their identities. During the 1940s, exclusively gay bars appeared for the first time in cities as diverse as San Jose, Denver, Kansas City, Atlanta, and Cleveland. As significant, during the war the various military branches called on psychiatrists to evaluate the suitability of the male draftees and male and female volunteers for military service. The military collaboration with psychiatric professionals meant that male and female inductees were asked directly whether or not they had thought about or engaged in homosexual encounters. While intended to eliminate those soldiers, sailors, marines, and officers who might be homosexual or present stereotypical homosexual tendencies, this policy instead introduced the concept of same-sex sexuality to many of these enlistees and draftees for the first time and for some of them gave, finally, a definition that seemed consistent with how they understood themselves. The effects of the war on the latter half of the twentieth-century LGBTQ history cannot be overstated. The war years were crucial for thousands of LGBTQ to understand who they were and to be more certain than ever in their identities and collective interests, erotic or otherwise.

In 1948 and again in 1953, zoologist, taxonomist, and sexologist Alfred Kinsey shocked Americans when he published his respective reports on male and female sexuality and reported that people had sex—lots of it, and in many different configurations.[52] With massive quantities of data,

---

Governors Island, New York. Because of his homosexuality, he was subject to beatings, blackmail, and other harassment including confinement in the guardhouse by other members of the military also stationed at Governors Island. Gerber was honorably discharged in 1942. See “Henry Gerber,” Governor’s Island National Monument website, https://www.nps.gov/gois/learn/historyculture/henry-gerber.htm. Governor’s Island was listed on the NRHP and designated an NHL on February 4, 1985. It was designated a National Monument, becoming part of the NPS system, on January 19, 2001. Gerber’s residence in Chicago was designated an NHL on June 19, 2015. Beginning in 2014, Rosie the Riveter/WWII Home Front National Historical Park began collecting stories about life on the home front of WWII from LGBTQ people. See “NPS Seeking LGBT Stories,” National Park Service website, March 5, 2014, https://www.nps.gov/resources/news.htm?newsID=A5D4EBC4-EB30-573F-B14BE1C932E3CB9A. For more on LGBTQ in the military, see Estes (this volume). See also, Allan Bérubé, *Coming Out Under Fire: The History of Gay Men and Women in World War II* (New York: The Free Press, 2000); Leisa D. Meyer, *Creating G.I. Jane: Sexuality and Power in the Women’s Army Corps During World War II* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996).

[52] From 1927 until his death in 1956, Kinsey lived in a house he built near the University of Indiana in Bloomington. He lived there with his wife and daughter; after his daughter moved out in 1940, he

the Kinsey reports documented the wide gap between what Americans did and what they said they did. Kinsey popularized conversations about sex and sexuality at a time when there was a calculated targeting of lesbians and gay men as sexually subversive (known as the "Lavender Scare"), the continuing listing of homosexuality as a mental illness in the *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders* (DSM) of the American Psychiatric Association (APA), and an uneasy silence on broader questions of what was "normal." Most importantly for the purposes of this chapter, Kinsey argued that sexuality was best defined as a continuum with his zero to six scale, with exclusive heterosexuality at one end, exclusive homosexuality at the other, and shades of bisexuality in between. His studies showed that same-sex sexual behavior and fantasies were, if not common, at least significantly present among both men and women in the American population. This "new" sexual knowledge produced by Kinsey and his team has left a lasting legacy in relation to same-sex sexualities. Kinsey's zero to six scale and the 10 percent figure loosely describing the instances of homosexual expression, desire, and fantasy (alone or as well as heterosexual expression, desire, and fantasy) in the general population have remained with us today.[53] His studies were among the reasons that the APA removed homosexuality from its list of mental disorders in the DSM in 1973.[54]

---

began using her old bedroom for some of his studies. The Alfred and Clara Kinsey House is a contributing element of the Vinegar Hill Historic District, listed on the NRHP on June 17, 2005. Originally founded by Kinsey in 1947 as the Institute for Sex Research to house his decades of research notes, the Kinsey Institute for Research in Sex, Gender, and Reproduction is located in Morrison Hall, University of Indiana, Bloomington. Alfred Kinsey, Wardell B. Pomeroy, and Clyde E. Martin, *Sexual Behavior in the Human Male* (1948; repr., Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1998); Alfred Kinsey et al., *Sexual Behavior in the Human Female* (1953; repr., Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1998).

[53] Donna Drucker, *The Classification of Sex: Alfred Kinsey and the Organization of Knowledge* (Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2014). See also, Janice Irvine, *Disorders of Desire: Sexuality and Gender in Modern American Sexology,* revised and expanded ed. (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2005); James H. Jones, *Alfred C. Kinsey: A Life* (New York: W.W. Norton Company, 2005).

[54] This decision was the product of research by other psychologists, including Dr. Evelyn Hooker, who found that the correlation between homosexuality and mental illness was false. See Evelyn Hooker, "The Adjustment of the Male Overt Homosexual," *Journal of Projective Techniques* 21 (1957): 18-31. Dr. Hooker's office at the time she published this paper was in the psychology department of the University of California, Los Angeles. The change in the DSM was also the result of lesbian and gay

The two decades following the World War II period were a study in contrasts between highly visible dominant cultural norms and ideals, the lived experiences of many Americans, and the emerging social movements that formed resistance to many of these norms. The 1950s witnessed the emergence of the lesbian and gay homophile movement, through organizations such as the Daughters of Bilitis (lesbians) and the Mattachine Society (gay men).[55] The chapters of each of these that formed in a variety of places across the country established themselves as a counterpoints to the military purges of LGBTQ people after World War II. Those organizations took hold at the height of what is commonly referred to as the Lavender Scare: witch hunts and mass firings of homosexuals who, as potential traitors and communists, were seen as moral and political subversives that had to be contained lest they undermine the American ideal of the white, middle class, heterosexual nuclear family.[56] In other words, the 1950s political and popular rhetoric directly linked the survival of democracy to the suppression of LGBTQ life and visibility. The Mattachine Society and the Daughters of Bilitis (DOB) supported LGBTQ people through those difficult times by lobbying with local government officials for equal rights, creating spaces where people could come together and discuss the issues most pressing to them, and by publishing newsletters and other mailings to communicate relevant information to the community.

---

activism especially by homophile organizations protesting the definition of homosexuality as a mental illness. It occurred in the context of other powerful movements for civil rights and social justice from the 1950s to the 1970s, including the African American civil rights movement, the women's rights and liberation movements, and the gay rights and liberation movements. Dr. Franklin E. Kameny is especially noted for his work in having homosexuality removed from the DSM. His residence in the northwest quadrant of Washington, DC, was added to the NRHP on November 2, 2011.

[55] The Mattachine Society was founded in 1950 by Harry Hay and others in Los Angeles, California. Early meetings were held at his homes in the Hollywood Hills and Silver Lake neighborhoods. The Daughters of Bilitis (DOB) were formed in 1955 after a meeting of women including Del Martin and Phyllis Lyon (often credited as founding the DOB) at the home of Filipina Rose Bamburger in San Francisco. In the 1950s and 1960s, the DOB and the Mattachine Society had offices in the Williams Building, 693 Mission Street, San Francisco, California. The building also housed the offices of Pan Graphic Press, one of the first small gay presses in the United States, who printed (among other things) the monthly *Mattachine Review* and the DOB monthly, *The Ladder.* See Marcia Gallo, *Different Daughters: A History of the Daughters of Bilitis and the Rise of the Lesbian Rights Movement* (New York: Seal Press, 2007).

[56] Dr. Franklin Kameny was just one of the casualties of the Lavender Scare; he was fired from the Army Map Service in 1957 after being asked if he was gay.

Historian John D'Emilio's pathbreaking 1983 book, *Sexual Politics, Sexual Communities* was the first to bring our attention to the critical contributions of these groups in the service of homosexual rights.[57] Other historical studies about mid-twentieth century LGBTQ communities have highlighted the importance of working-class people in the fight for LGBTQ public places. For example, at Compton's Cafeteria on an August night in 1966, drag queens and transsexuals—some of whom had working-class jobs while others worked the streets—rioted in San Francisco in reaction to police harassment and discrimination.[58] On the other side of the country, working-class butches and femme lesbians in 1950s Buffalo, New York resisted being labeled as deviant by holding hands in public and participating openly as couples in public establishments, most often bars.[59]

It was these same butches and femmes who joined with drag queens, street hustlers, and others on Friday evening June 27, 1969, to protest yet another raid by the New York City Tactical Police Force at a popular Greenwich Village gay bar, The Stonewall Inn.[60] Raids were not unusual in 1969. In fact, they were conducted regularly without much resistance. However, that night the street erupted into violent protest as the patrons, largely working-class people of color, fought back. The backlash and the several nights of protests that followed have come to be known as the Stonewall Riots. The Stonewall Riots have been considered *the event* marking the beginning of gay liberation and critical in a transformation from accommodation and silence to active protest and visibility, pride, and action. Yet we should not forget the everyday activism and moments of more conservative visibility undertaken by the homophile organizations and their members: from picketing in front of Independence Hall (in respectable dress slacks and ties for the men and dresses for the women) to attending psychiatric conferences trying to persuade these professionals that "homosexuals" were not ill or deviant.[61]

---

[57] John D'Emilio, *Sexual Politics, Sexual Communities: The Making of A Homosexual Minority, 1940-1970* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984). See also, Marcia Gallo, *Different Daughters*.

[58] Compton's Cafeteria was located at 101 Taylor Street, San Francisco, California. The building is a contributing element to the Uptown Tenderloin Historic District, listed on the NRHP on February 5, 2009. See *Screaming Queens: The Riot at Compton's Cafeteria,* directed by Victor Silverman and Susan Stryker (San Francisco: Frameline, 2005).

[59] Elizabeth Lapovsky Kennedy and Madeline D. Davis, *Boots of Leather, Slippers of Gold: The History of a Lesbian Community* (New York: Routledge Press, 1993). Ralph Martin's at 58 Elliott Street, Buffalo, New York (now demolished) was the center of Buffalo's LGBTQ bar life in the 1940s. It catered to a large mixed gender/mixed orientation/racially diverse crowd from 1934 to 1951.

[60] The Stonewall Inn is located at 51-53 Christopher Street, New York City, New York. Stonewall was listed on the NRHP on June 28, 1999; designated an NHL on February 16, 2000; and declared the Stonewall National Monument on June 24, 2016.

Despite their efforts in creating a public stage of protest and visibility, drag queens and butch-femme lesbians would be left behind for a period. The gay rights and liberation movements as well as the lesbian coalitions that subsequently emerged via feminist activism constructed new standards of appropriate behavior for the LGBTQ community. These new standards, rooted in middle-class respectability politics, demanded "respectable" presentation of members, which meant that mostly white gay liberation and lesbian feminist activists started to identify against and exclude people of color, those from lower (and occasionally higher) classes including working-class butches and femmes, and those like drag queens and transsexuals who transgressed gender norms. As the LGBTQ community became more visible it also became more exclusive; those who were formerly included became marginalized by many lesbians and gay men.

Undeniably, the work done by white gay rights activists and lesbian feminists is important. Yet, we should look at this history with a hint of caution. The politics of sexuality works both ways—to include as well as exclude—and it is important to recognize the costs of the community formation at various moments throughout the twentieth and twenty-first centuries that has been and is so necessary for all of our survival. The appeal by Sylvia Rivera during New York City's 1973 Christopher Street Liberation Day Rally (an early Gay Pride event) highlights how such inclusions are a matter of life and death (Figure 9). A Latina transgender woman of Puerto Rican and Venezuelan descent, Rivera was one of the main actors in the Stonewall Riots. She took the stage at Washington Square Park and shouted, while accompanied by boos from the crowd: "I have been beaten, I have had my nose broken, I have been thrown in jail! I lost my job, I lost my apartment for gay liberation… and you all treat me this way?"[62] Rivera's frustration and demands for inclusion over thirty years ago seem even more harrowing now, as transgender people, particularly transgender women of color, are bearing the brunt of not just street violence resulting in a record number of transgender deaths in 2015, but also violence at the hands of the state.

---

[61] From 1965 to 1969, homophile groups picketed Independence Hall on July 4 (Independence Day). Known as the Annual Reminders, the purpose of the picket was to remind people that not all US citizens shared the same rights laid out in the Constitution of the United States. Independence Hall, 520 Chestnut Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania is a contributing element of Independence National Historical Park. The park was formed on June 28, 1948 and designated an NHL on October 15, 1966. At the 1972 American Psychiatric Association's Annual Meeting in Dallas, Texas, Dr. John E. Fryer, wearing a joke-shop rubber mask and introduced as Dr. H. Anonymous to protect himself from professional censure, was the first psychiatrist to speak publicly about his homosexuality. It was part of a many-year campaign by activists including Dr. Frank Kameny and Barbara Gittings to have homosexuality removed from the DSM. The annual meeting was held at the Dallas Memorial Auditorium and Convention Center, now known as the Kay Bailey Hutchison Convention Center, Canton and Akard Streets, Dallas, Texas.

Figure 9: Sylvia Rivera at the 1973 Christopher Street Liberation Day Rally, New York City. Still image taken from the video "y'all better quiet down!" by Reina Gossett.[63]

Gay rights and liberation activists, as well as lesbian feminists, would be critical players in other moments through the 1970s and 1980s. The 1970s campaign to elect Harvey Milk to the San Francisco Board of Supervisors was actively supported by gay and lesbian liberation activists. During Milk's successful 1977 campaign, he convinced the growing LGBTQ population of San Francisco that they could have a role in city leadership, and people turned out to form "human billboards" for him along major streets and highways surrounding and in the city.[64] In doing so, they outed themselves in a way once unthinkable. His successful election to the board in 1977 was a moment of triumph, as he became the first openly gay man elected to serve in a major political office.[65] For many in San Francisco it was invigorating, and the mobilization inspired people across the country. As one 68-year-old lesbian wrote after his election—"I thank god I have lived long enough to see my people emerge from the shadows and join the human race!"[66]

---

[62] Sylvia Rivera, "Y'all Better Quiet Down" speech at New York City's 1973 Christopher Street Liberation Day, YouTube video, posted by Luz Violeta, October 22, 2014, accessed March 16, 2016, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9QiigzZCEtQ.

[63] License: CC BY-SA 3.0. https://vimeo.com/45479858

Milk's election, however, was followed by tragedy. On November 27, 1978, former San Francisco Supervisor Dan White assassinated Milk and San Francisco Mayor George Moscone.[67] White quickly admitted to the murders but a jury convicted him of manslaughter—a lighter charge—and sentenced him to just five years with parole. While San Franciscans marched in silent candlelight protests after the murders, the sentencing brought two days of rioting known as the White Night Riots (Figure 10).[68]

---

[64] Harvey Milk operated his camera shop, Castro Camera, and lived at 573-575 Castro Street, San Francisco, California. He also ran his election campaign from the storefront.

[65] In 1974, Kathy Kozachenko was the first openly gay, lesbian, or bisexual candidate to win public office in the United States when she won a seat on the city council for Ann Arbor, Michigan. Elaine Noble, who came out as a lesbian during her campaign, was the first openly gay, lesbian, or bisexual candidate elected to a state-level office when she won the race for the Massachusetts House of Representatives in 1974. See Tina Gianoulis, "Noble, Elaine (b. 1944)," GLBTQ: An Encyclopedia of Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender, & Queer Culture website, http://www.glbtq.com/social-sciences/noble_e.html, archived at https://web.archive.org/web/20061019230759/http://www.glbtq.com/social-sciences/noble_e.html.

[66] John D'Emilio, Urvashi Vaid, and William Turner, eds. *Creating Change: Sexuality, Public Policy, and Civil Rights* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2000).

[67] Moscone and Milk were murdered at San Francisco City Hall, part of the Civic Center Historic District, listed on the NRHP on October 10, 1978 and designated an NHL on February 27, 1987.

[68] Early on in the White Night Riots, the chief of police ordered the police not to retaliate against the protesters. Despite orders, police officers entered the Elephant Walk Bar on Castro Street and began beating patrons. By the time the chief of police had ordered officers out of the Castro, sixty-one police officers and one hundred civilians had been hospitalized.

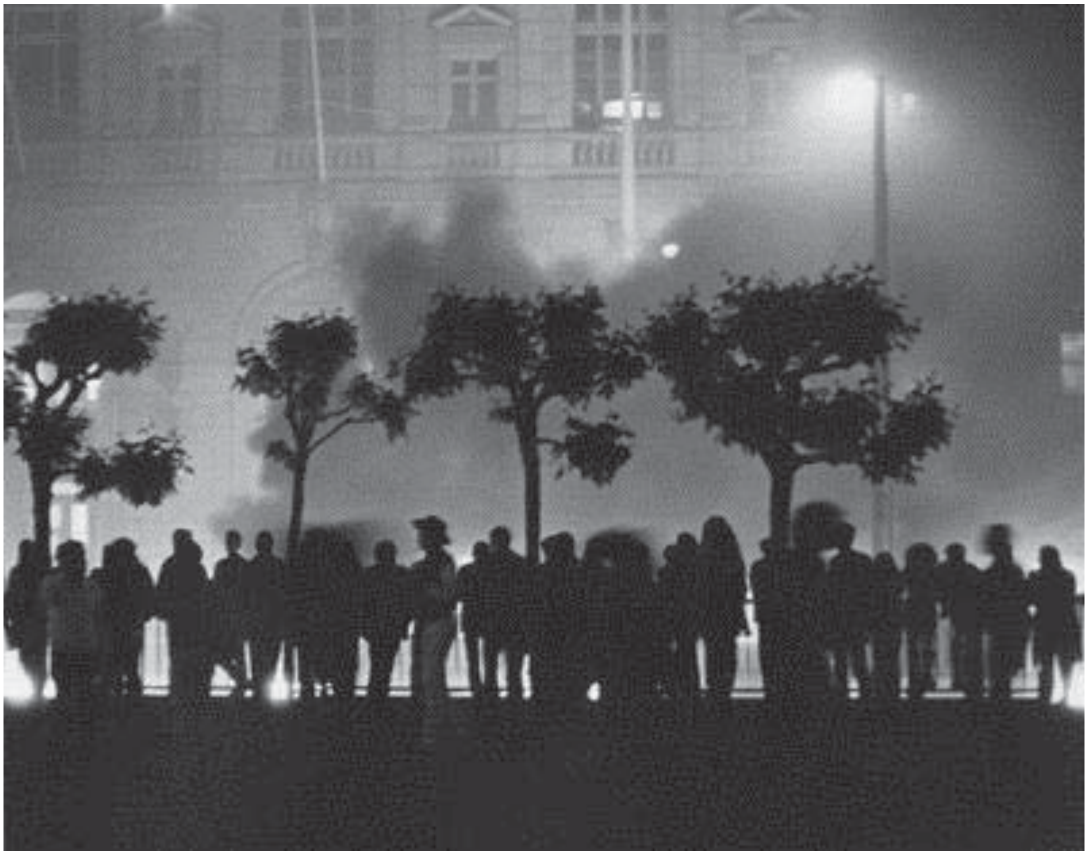


Figure 10: Rioters outside San Francisco City Hall the evening of May 21, 1979, reacting to the voluntary manslaughter verdict for Dan White that ensured White would serve only five years for the double murders of Harvey Milk and George Moscone. San Franciscans protested peacefully following the murders, but rioted in the streets (the White Night riots) following the verdict. Photo by Daniel Nicoletta, 1979.[69]

Milk's assassination was followed just a few years later by a far more devastating blow. At a moment when gay men and lesbians were claiming their right to freely express their sexuality, in 1981 the Centers for Disease Control (CDC) quietly announced the emergence of a new and deadly disease. Because it seemed to affect mostly gay men, the disease was initially labeled "GRID"—gay-related immune deficiency. Shortly thereafter, because of protests that GRID stigmatized the gay population and the fact that the virus was also found in intravenous drug users, Haitians, and patients who had received blood transfusions, the name was changed to

---

[69] License: Free to use. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Rioters_outside_San_Francisco_City_Hall_May_21_1979.jpg

AIDS—acquired immune deficiency syndrome. By the end of 1981, there were 234 known cases and the numbers increased dramatically each year; by 1987 over forty thousand people had been infected.

The CDC's announcement precipitated a general public hysteria with calls for quarantining homosexuals and IV drug users. Responses to the epidemic saw healthcare workers refuse to treat AIDS patients and first responders refuse to resuscitate men suspected of being gay. Religious evangelicals including Pat Robertson and Jerry Falwell characterized AIDS not as a disease caused by a virus, but rather as god's punishment for an immoral lifestyle. They dubbed AIDS the "Gay Plague." Moreover, the response of the federal government under the leadership of President Ronald Reagan was extraordinarily slow. Reagan did not mention AIDS until 1985 and did not hold a press conference to address it until 1987.[70]

In response to this neglect LGBTQ people formed organizations throughout the country to combat the disease. These efforts included the formation of cooperatives to research medications and protests to pressure drug companies and the Food and Drug Administration to speed up their efforts to find effective, affordable treatments. A new type of protest began in 1987 when New York City activists founded ACT UP (AIDS Coalition to Unleash Power).[71] Focused on increasing public visibility around the disease and criticizing the lack of action by the federal government to address the epidemic, ACT UP took to the streets in "die-ins," lying on the ground in t-shirts emblazoned "Silence=Death" until law enforcement removed them (Figure 11). They posted statements on billboards and flyers, and distributed buttons throughout New York and other cities—doing all they could to draw attention to the disease and ways to prevent its spread, including safer-sex workshops and handing out free condoms. By the early 2000s, the total number of fatalities from the disease in the United States topped one-half million while globally the pandemic had claimed over six million lives and was marked by over twenty-two million infected individuals. While there are treatments that allow those that can afford them to live longer, there is not yet a cure for AIDS.[73]

---

[70] Randy Shilts, *And the Band Played On: Politics, People, and the AIDS Epidemic* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1987); Jennifer Brier, *Infectious Ideas: U.S. Political Responses to the AIDS Crisis* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007); "Fact Sheet 2016," UNAIDS website, http://www.unaids.org/sites/default/files/media_asset/20150901_FactSheet_2015_en.pdf; "A Timeline of HIV/AIDS," AIDS.gov website, https://www.aids.gov/hiv-aids-basics/hiv-aids-101/aids-timeline, accessed May 20, 2016.

[71] ACT UP had their first meeting at the Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender Community Center, 208 West 13th Street, New York City, New York in March 1987.

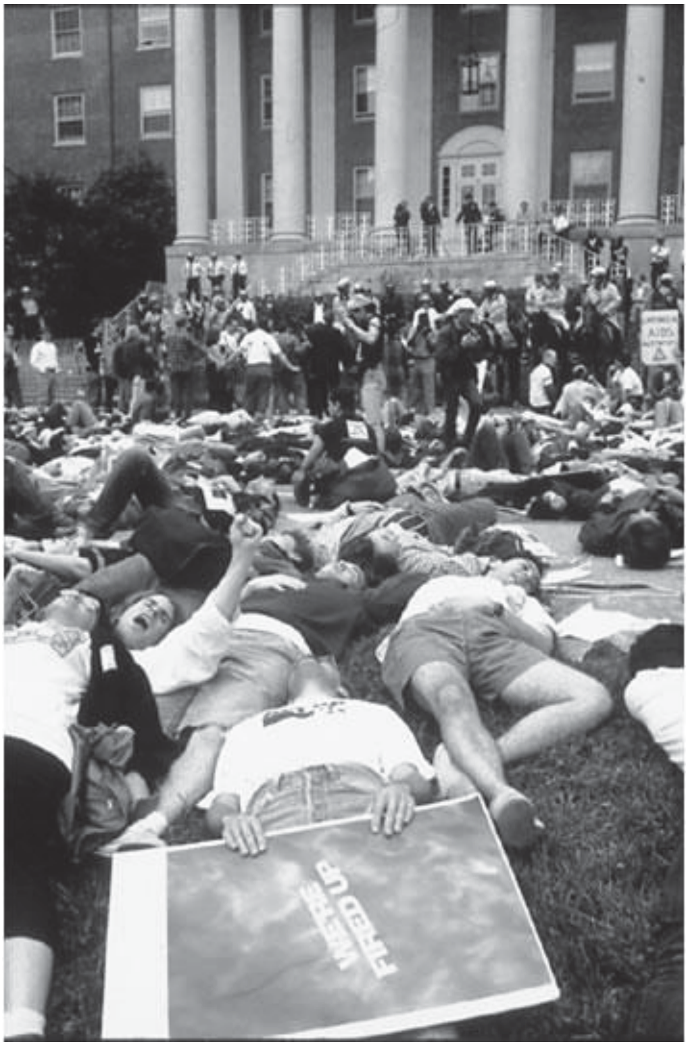


Figure 11: A mass "die in" on the lawn of the National Institutes of Health during ACT UPs May 21, 1990 "Storm the NIH" demonstration. Photo by William or Ernie Branson for the National Institutes of Health.[72]

The public panic around AIDS also led to an increase in attacks on LGBTQ people. In gay communities across the country, street patrols formed to help prevent anti-LGBTQ violence.[74] The violent murder of Matthew Shepard in Laramie, Wyoming in 1998 received huge national and international attention.[75] The antigay protests at his funeral generated unprecedented sympathy and outrage for the struggles of LGBTQ people in America. Despite this outpouring of support, the disturbingly high number of murders in the last few years of transgender women of color has not caused the same level of public outcry. In the first two months of 2015, transgender women of color were murdered at a rate of almost one per week.[76] Out of all the documented anti-LGBTQ homicide victims in 2014, 80 percent were people of color and 55 percent were transgender women whereas transgender survivors of color were 6.2 times more likely to experience police violence.[77] Transgender people are also four times more likely to live in poverty than the rest of the general population and the prevalence of HIV among transgender women is nearly fifty times higher than for other adults.[78] As always, the race, class, and gender status of activists and victims determines how much or little attention will be paid to the situations of individuals, and continues to mark the value attached to particular lives.

---

[72] License: CC BY-NC-SA 2.0. https://www.flickr.com/photos/nihlibrary/5489664638

[73] "A Brief Timeline of AIDS," Fighting AIDS Continuously Together website, accessed April 14, 2016, http://www.factlv.org/timeline.htm.

[74] The increase in anti-LGBTQ violence also led to an increase in people taking self-defense classes, formalizing buddy systems while out, and people arming themselves with mace and other weapons. The antiviolence patrols were carried out by groups like Queer Nation and the Gay Safe Street Patrols. See, for example, Hugo Martin, "Gays Form Patrols to Battle Hate Crimes: Self Defense: With Attacks on Homosexuals Increasing, the West Hollywood Effort is Part of a Mobilization Throughout the Southland," *Los Angeles Times*, December 3, 1991, http://articles.latimes.com/1991-12-03/local/me-628_1_anti-gay-hate-crimes.

Why LGBTQ History Matters

Despite these moments of tragedy, despair, and sorrow, we should also mark those signifying LGBTQ resilience and triumphs. In the last two decades there have been a number of significant changes in legislation that have had a major impact on the everyday lives of LGBTQ people in

---

[75] On October 6, 1998, Matthew Shepard was brutally beaten and left to die at the intersection of Pilot Peak and Snowy View Roads, Laramie, Wyoming.

[76] Samantha Michaels, "It's Incredibly Scary to Be a Transgender Woman of Color Right Now," *Mother Jones*, June 26, 2015, accessed March 15, 2016, http://www.motherjones.com/politics/2015/06/transgender-women-disproportionately-targeted-violent-hate-crimes.

[77] National Coalition of Anti-Violence Programs, *Hate Violence Against Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, Queer and HIV-Affected Communities* (New York: National Coalition of Anti-Violence Programs, June 2015). Significantly, this report includes data only from organizations who are partners with NCAVP that is headquartered in New York City. Founded in 1995, the National Coalition of Anti-Violence Programs (NCAVP) brings together anti-violence programs in cities and regions across the United States. Although this report is by far not perfect, it's more thorough than the annual FBI report on hate crimes.

[78] Center for American Progress and Movement Advancement Project, *Paying an Unfair Price: The Financial Penalty for Being LGBT in America* (Denver, CO: Movement Advancement Project, 2014), accessed January 8, 2016, http://www.lgbtmap.org/file/paying-an-unfair-price-full-report.pdf; "HIV Among Transgender People," Centers for Disease Control and Prevention website, last modified April 18, 2016, accessed January 8, 2016, http://www.cdc.gov/hiv/group/gender/transgender/index.html.

America. A series of court decisions in the early 2000s overturned previous rulings that had kept in place the often reinforced state and federal laws which constrained and limited the possibilities for LGBTQ people. In 2003 the United States Supreme Court's decision in Lawrence v. Texas demonstrated the importance of activism, visibility, and of writing LGBTQ history. On June 16, 2003 the highest court in the nation struck down the Texas sodomy law that made consensual sex between men illegal. In doing so, the court implicitly rendered other sodomy and so-called "crimes against nature" laws unconstitutional. Sodomy laws had a long history in the United States of being used to criminalize and imprison predominantly gay men as sex offenders, as well as being used as the rationale for denying or removing children from the custody of gay and lesbian parents.[79]

The majority decision written by Justice Anthony Kennedy reflected the work of those who had been recording LGBTQ histories. In fact, Kennedy based a substantial portion of his opinion on the historical research outlined by historian George Chauncey and nine other LGBTQ scholars. As John D'Emilio remarked in an article discussing his reactions to the decision, when Justice Kennedy "used words such as 'transcendent' and 'dignity' when referring to intimate same-sex relationships" it was a "dizzying and heady moment for me"—"oh my god, I thought, 'history really does matter!'" LGBTQ history is American history; it "really does matter" in part by helping to shape the politics and policies of our local, state, and federal institutions and leaders.[80]

---

[79] See also Stein (this volume).

[80] John D'Emilio, "The Day the Supreme Court Quoted My Book," *History News Network*, July 14, 2003, http://historynewsnetwork.org/article/1563; Rick Perlstein, "What Gay Studies Taught the Court," *Washington Post*, July 13, 2003, B03, https://www.washingtonpost.com/archive/opinions/2003/07/13/what-gay-studies-taught-the-court/d8e3988c-dfa7-498c-a281-15d2b043a3a0; Peter Edidin, "In Changing the Law of the Land, Six Justices Turned to Its History," *New York Times,* July 20, 2003, http://www.nytimes.com/2003/07/20/weekinreview/20WORD.html.

Most recently, the US Supreme Court in United States v. Windsor (2013) and Obergefell v. Hodges (2015) struck down the federal Defense of Marriage Act (and similar statutes passed by individual states), legalizing same-sex marriage nationally (Figure 12).[82] At the same time as the Windsor decision, however, the Supreme Court also gutted key provisions of the long-standing 1964 Voting Rights Act. In one fell swoop, the court created cause for optimism and hope among some LGBTQ people and simultaneously delivered a devastating blow to the continuing struggle for racial justice and equity—a blow that affects straight and LGBTQ people

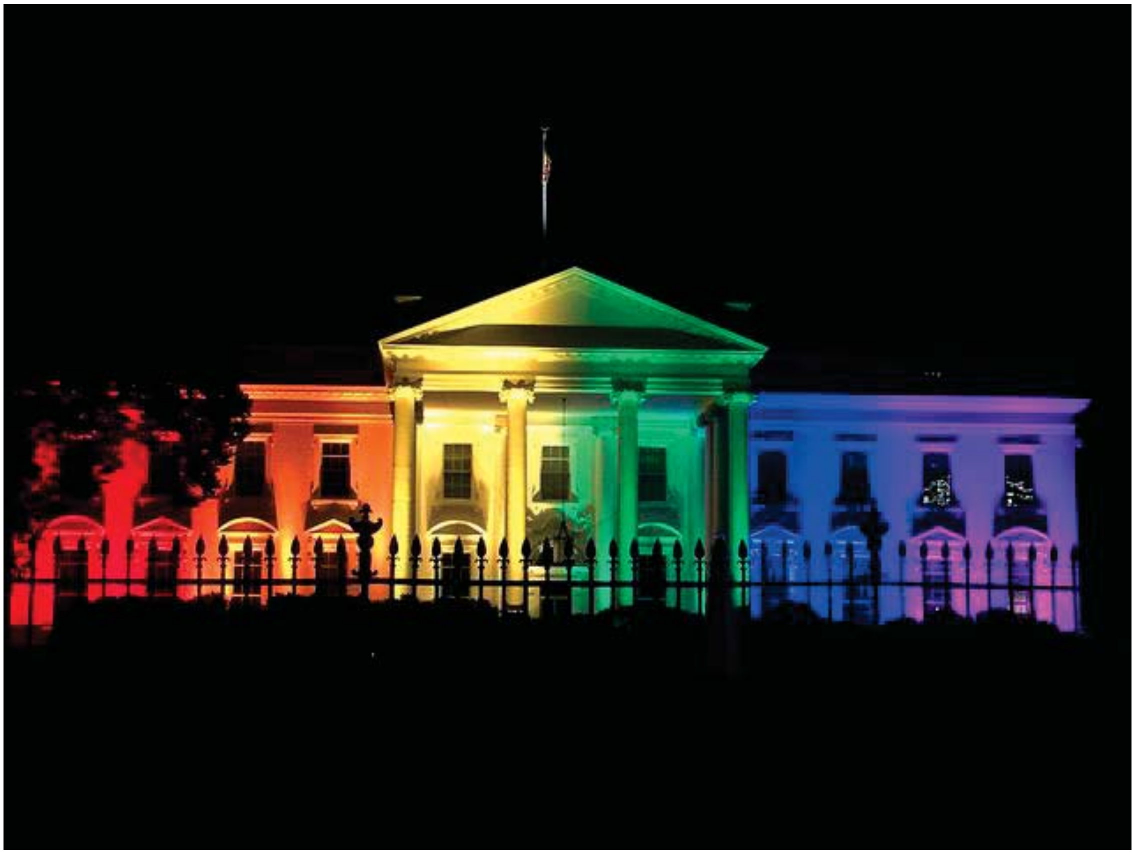


Figure 12: The White House is lit up in the colors of the rainbow to celebrate the Supreme Court decision in Obergefell v. Hodges, which struck down the federal Defense of Marriage act and legalized same-sex marriage across the country. Photo by David Shelby for the United States Department of State, June 2015.[81]

---

[81] License: CC BY-NC 2.0. https://www.flickr.com/photos/iip-photo-archive/19080149740

[82] United States v. Windsor, online at http://www.supremecourt.gov/opinions/12pdf/12-307_6j37.pdf; "Obergefell v. Hodges," *SCOTUSblog*, http://www.scotusblog.com/case-files/cases/obergefell-v-hodges; for Shelby County v. Holder, see Adam Liptak, "Supreme Court Invalidates Key Part of Voting Rights Act," *New York Times*, June 25, 2013, http://www.nytimes.com/2013/06/26/us/supreme-court-ruling.html.

alike. The legalization of same-sex marriage has created backlash in two related and overlapping types of legal responses. The first is modeled on federal religious freedom provisions and aims to remove sexual orientation and gender identity from state legal protections; the second are the so-called bathroom bills that target transgender people directly.[83] As the American Civil Liberties Union notes on its website, “There are bills in state legislatures across the country and in Congress that could allow religion to be used to discriminate against gay and transgender people in virtually all aspects of their lives.”[84] In North Carolina, HB2 has codified this discrimination to directly target transgender people by requiring them to use bathrooms and other facilities in government buildings and public schools that match the sex on their birth certificates. In May 2016, the federal Department of Justice responded by filing suit related to gender discrimination; later in the month, a joint letter from the Departments of Education and Justice issued guidelines directing public schools to allow transgender students to use facilities that match their gender identity.[85]

These moments speak to the politics of intimacy and the importance of sexual and gender diversity to politics. Above all, these recent moments show that in order to effectively fight for the civil and equal rights of all LGBTQ people in this country, we need to remember and recall the struggles of the past. It is vital to remember moments in the life of LGBTQ America that have made up our history and that many have sought to claim and restore. Indeed, the National Park Service Initiative to recognize, interpret, and make visible LGBTQ historic places across the country is central to this claiming and restoration. These moments have certainly been marked by oppression and despair, tragedy and violence, but also by struggles to build communities and cultures, create coalitions, and contest the designation of LGBTQ lives as not worthy of respect or dignity.

---

[83] Both of these types of laws also affect straight or non-transgender people, making those who may be perceived as LGBTQ for whatever reason, also targets for legal discrimination.

[84] “Anti-LGBT Religious Exemption Legislation Across the Country,” American Civil Liberties Union website, May 5, 2016, accessed May 7, 2016, https://www.aclu.org/anti-lgbt-religious-exemption-legislation-across-country.

[85] Colin Campbell and Craig Jarvis, “LGBT Protections End As NC governor Signs Bill,” *The News and Observer* (Raleigh, NC), March 23, 2016, accessed May 7, 2016, http://www.newsobserver.com/news/politics-government/politics-columns-blogs/under-the-dome/article67731847.html; Emanuella Grinberg, “Feds Issue Guidance on Transgender Access to School Bathrooms,” *CNN,* May 14, 2016, http://www.cnn.com/2016/05/12/politics/transgender-bathrooms-obama-administration/index.html; “Obama Administration Sues North Carolina Over Anti-LGBT Law,” *BBC News,* May 9, 2016, http://www.bbc.com/news/world-us-canada-36252949.

As the selection of stories in this chapter illustrates, every historical narrative is by definition exclusive. Telling a story is similar to taking a photograph: it brings our attention to only a very small fraction of the world. LGBTQ histories are as varied and distinct as the fields and approaches of those who teach or research or live it. Thus, the histories that we have agreed upon on at this moment are not set in stone and constantly need to be interrogated by the public, by us, by you. It is up to the visitors as excavators in their own right to interrogate this heritage project—the texts and sites—and provide their own narratives that would help to complicate and expand the current boundaries of what we now consider part of LGBTQ history. Be in the place, take time to understand the stories that are told, but always be vigilant to the histories, stories, and identities that are missing. LGBTQ history is a project in the making as we continue to excavate previously untold stories and pay attention to important moments as we move forward.

PRESERVING LGBTQ HISTORY

The chapters in this section provide a history of archival and architectural preservation of LGBTQ history in the United States. An archeological context for LGBTQ sites looks forward, providing a new avenue for preservation and interpretation. This LGBTQ history may remain hidden just under the ground surface, even when buildings and structures have been demolished.

04

THE HISTORY OF QUEER HISTORY: ONE HUNDRED YEARS OF THE SEARCH FOR SHARED HERITAGE

Gerard Koskovich

Searching for the history of lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender history may seem a particularly queer conceit—and searching for meaningful places associated with efforts to document, preserve, interpret, and share that history may seem queerer still. After all, every individual has a past, so at first glance it may appear that every social group must have a shared heritage. For those who benefit from a position of power

---

Acknowledgements: I am grateful to the many individuals who responded to my queries and requests for leads in the course of my work on this chapter; a number are cited in the footnotes. I also wish to acknowledge the following for their assistance: Alan Miller, Canadian Lesbian and Gay Archives, Toronto; Joanna Black and Alex Barrows, GLBT Historical Society, San Francisco, California; Lora Martinolich, Glendale Public Library, Glendale, California; Desiree Yael Vester, Lesbian Herstory Archives, Brooklyn, New York; Loni Shibuyama, One Archives at the USC Libraries, Los Angeles, California; the staff of the San Francisco Public Library; and the staff of the UCLA University Archives, Los Angeles, Calfornia. For reading and commenting on drafts, I thank Marcelo DeSousa, Marcia Gallo, Alexander Gray, and Gayle Rubin, and for taking photographs reproduced in the chapter, I thank Daniel Barthel, Lou Phillips and Chris Reilly.

and respect, that heritage can take the form of historical knowledge elaborated over the course of centuries and conveyed via institutions of state and culture such as schools, museums, and monuments. Those marginalized by hierarchies of class, race, language, or immigrant status are often ignored in such settings, yet they have managed to convey their heritage through more informal means, with elders telling their children or grandchildren stories of earlier times that succeeding generations pass along as a vital family inheritance.

LGBTQ people, by contrast, customarily are born into families that have little or no connection with lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender life. While growing up, they have not benefited from hearing stories at home that reflect their emerging same-sex desires or their sense of a gender that differs from the one assigned to them at birth. As historian and theorist of sexuality David Halperin observes, “Unlike the members of minority groups defined by race or ethnicity or religion, gay men cannot rely on their birth families to teach them about their history or culture.”[1] Although Halperin focuses on the experience of gay men, the statement applies equally well to lesbian, bisexual, and transgender individuals.

Traditionally, history as a formal discipline and a cornerstone for national heritage likewise represented little or nothing of LGBTQ lives. What were seen as the homoerotic misdeeds of the occasional ancient Roman emperor or Renaissance monarch might have surfaced in passing in a historical volume or a college course, but historians customarily ignored evidence of same-sex desires and nonnormative gender identities—or regarded it as inconsequential or as a sign of immoral, criminal, or deviant behavior best forgotten. LGBTQ people similarly saw scant reflection of their own past in museums, public monuments, local historical societies, and the popular history distributed by mainstream media, let alone at officially recognized historic places. As Paula Martinac notes in her 1997 book *The Queerest Places*, “One thing that historic sites and travel guides never taught me was about a most important part of myself—my heritage as a gay person in this country."[2]

---

[1] David M. Halperin, *How to Be Gay* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2012), 7.

As a movement to defend homosexual men and women established itself in the United States in the second half of the twentieth century, the silence—and silencing—did not go unremarked. Around 1979, the San Francisco Lesbian and Gay History Project described the situation in these stark terms: "Our letters were burned, our names blotted out, our books censored, our love declared unspeakable, our very existence denied."[3] The sense that LGBTQ people had been deprived of their heritage likewise echoes in the title of an anthology that provided a foundational text for the remarkable growth of the field in the 1990s: *Hidden From History: Reclaiming the Gay and Lesbian Past* (1989).[4] Beyond the disregard or outright disapproval of society in general, however, evidence of a desire for history extends back at least to the late nineteenth century among people with same-sex attractions and nonnormative gender identities in the United States.[5] Scholars have yet to research this subject in a comprehensive way, but we can trace a few of the outlines through the one hundred years before the consolidation of an academic discipline of LGBTQ history in the 1990s.

The Prehistory of Queer History

Despite the strictures of kin and the limits of formal history, at least some LGBTQ Americans caught glimpses of their own heritage in an era when the topic was not addressed in public or family settings. Before the emergence of print media produced by and for LGBTQ people in the United States, stories of the queer past no doubt circulated confidentially between individuals and within local queer social networks.[6] For those who gained access to such networks, conversations among the members could include individuals who experienced same-sex desires or whose sense of gender did not match social expectations recounting their own memories, as well as recollections shared by others whose stories extended further back in time. Such folk interest in queer history is difficult to trace before the late nineteenth century, both because evidence is scarce and because the shifting meanings, forms, and interrelations of gender, same-sex desire, and homosexual acts over a longer period make the task increasingly complex.

---

[2] Paula Martinac, *The Queerest Places: A National Guide to Gay and Lesbian Historic Sites* (New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1997), xi.

[3] "San Francisco Lesbian and Gay History Project," flyer (circa 1979); GLBT Historical Society (San Francisco), San Francisco LGBT Groups Ephemera Collection (collection no. GRP EPH), folder: "San Francisco Gay and Lesbian History Project, 1979–1983."

[4] Martin Bauml Duberman, Martha Vicinus, and George Chauncey Jr., eds., *Hidden From History: Reclaiming the Gay and Lesbian Past* (New York: New American Library, 1989).

[5] The phrase "desire for history" is borrowed from the title of a posthumous collection of essays by the gay community-based historian Allan Bérubé, edited with an introduction by John D'Emilio and Estelle B. Freedman, *My Desire for History: Essays in Gay, Community and Labor History* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2011). Bérubé discusses the complexity of his own desires—homosexual, intellectual, historical—in "Intellectual Desire," a talk he gave in 1992, reprinted in the collection, pages 161–181.

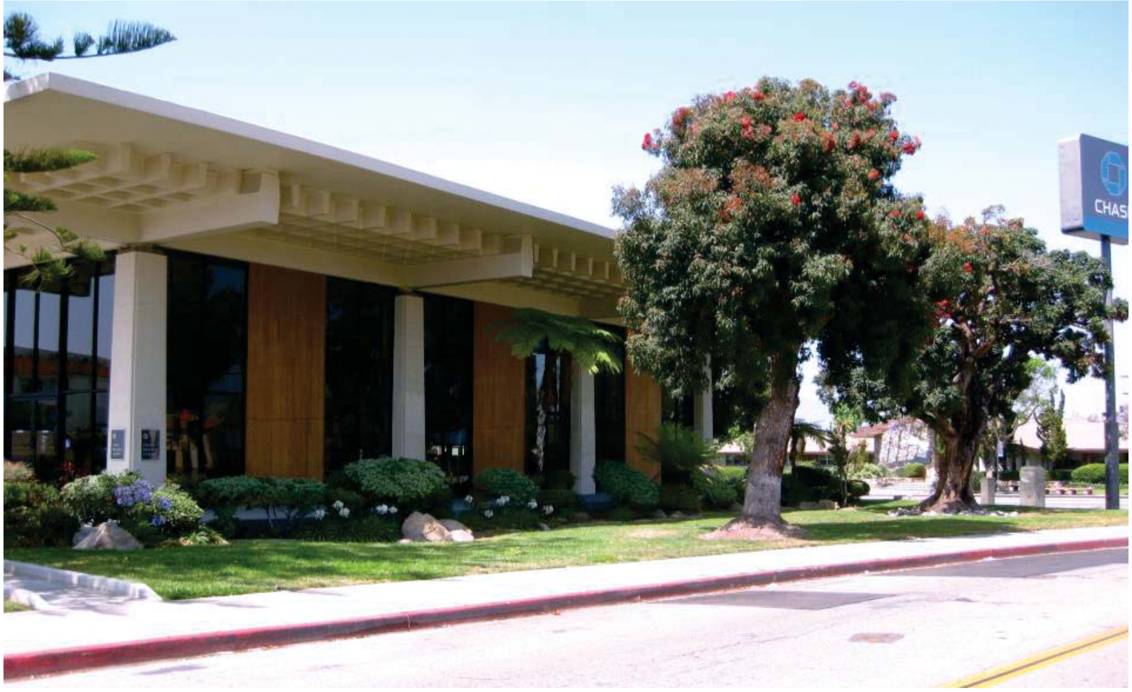


Figure 1: The final home of Ruth Fuller Field in the 1930s was in the Gailmore Apartments at 500 N. Glendale Boulevard in Glendale, California. The site is now the location of a Chase Bank building constructed in 1965 (pictured). Photo courtesy of photographer Chris Reilly, 2015.

---

[6] On the shift from oral and confidential networks of communication to wider and more public communication via print media, see Martin Meeker, *Contacts Desired: Gay and Lesbian Communications and Community, 1940s–1970s* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006).

One telling incident of oral transmission of memory from around 1900 appears in *The Stone Wall*, the autobiography of Ruth Fuller Field (1864–1935), published in 1930 under the pseudonym Mary Casal (Figure 1).[7] The author describes her introduction to a circle of lesbian friends in Brooklyn, including a somewhat older but much more worldly woman whose short hair is “tinged with gray” and who tells stories of her many same-sex affairs over the years. Hearing these memories had a powerful effect on Field: “How much suffering would have been saved me and what a different life I would have led if I had known earlier that we are not all created after one pattern….”[8] The knowledge of the past produced by contacts of the sort Field experienced most often would have been personal, fragmentary, and fragile—subject not only to the variations inevitable in stories told and retold but also to the vagaries of memory embodied in stories passed from one individual to another and gradually lost.

Looking further, individuals with the cultural capital of literacy and the means to buy or borrow print materials could come upon tantalizing evidence, although finding it often required enduring the trauma of repeated assertions that same-sex desires and nonnormative gender are by nature signs of moral impairment or mental illness. Notably, medical, psychological, and legal publications dealing with sex not infrequently featured historical details of what was characterized as sexual and gender irregularity over the centuries or of the supposed prevalence of homosexuality among noted figures of the past.[9] One example is *Human Sexuality: A Medico-Literary Treatise on the History and Pathology of the Sex Instinct for the Use of Physicians and Jurists* (1912) by J. Richardson Parke (1858–1938), a physician of dubious background whose practice was located near Washington Square Park in Philadelphia (Figure 2).[10] Borrowing from earlier English, French, and German writers, his comments on the past range from “Sexual Depravity in Early Rome” through “Sexual Inversion Among Artists” to the “‘Freda Ward’ Case” (a lesbian murder case in Memphis, twenty years before the book was published).[11] Obscenity laws putatively restricted the sale of such publications to the professional class, yet as Parke acknowledges in his preface, they nonetheless found their way into the hands of avid laypeople.[12] By the 1920s and 1930s, a handful of popular books also offered details about the history of homosexuality and nonnormative gender.[13]

---

[7] Mary Casal, *The Stone Wall: An Autobiography* (Chicago: Eyncourt Press, 1930), 178–180. On the identity of the pseudonymous author, see Sherry A. Darling, “A Critical Introduction to *The Stone Wall: An Autobiography,”* PhD diss., Tufts University, Department of Drama, 2003), 2. For a brief overview of Field’s life, excerpts from *The Stone Wall*, and a bibliography of works by and about Field, see “Mary Casal, Pseudonym of Ruth Fuller Field: The Autobiography of an American Lesbian,” introduction by Jonathan Ned Katz, Outhistory.org, accessed August 5, 2015, http://www.outhistory.org/exhibits/show/casal.

[8] Casal, *The Stone Wall*, 178–180. The woman is referred to in *The Stone Wall* only as “the Philosopher” or “Phil.” Darling, “A Critical Introduction,” 91–92, identifies her as Vittoria Cremers, an early follower of Theosophy. Darling does not give Cremers’s date of birth, but various authors indicate 1859 or 1860, based on records indicating Cremers was 26 when she married in 1886. See, for instance, Richard Kaczynski, *Perdurabo: The Life of Aleister Crowley* (Berkeley, CA: North Atlantic Books, 2012), 221. Neither Field nor Darling provide a date for Field’s first encounter with Cremers, but it was before the death in 1906 of Johnstone Bennett, another member of the group whom Field met at the same time; for Bennett’s death, see Darling, “A Critical Introduction,” 87.

---

[9] For a discussion of homosexual men drawing on such materials to create folk histories in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, see George Chauncey, *Gay New York: Gender, Urban Culture, and the Making of the Gay Male World, 1890–1940* (New York: Basic Books, 1994), 282–286.

[10] J. Richardson Parke, *Human Sexuality: A Medico-Literary Treatise on the History and Pathology of the Sex Instinct for the Use of Physicians and Jurists* (Philadelphia: Professional Publishing Company, 1912). Parke had been found guilty of counterfeiting patent medicines in 1887; see “Legal Reports: Imitating Patent Medicines in America,” *The Chemist and Druggist* (April 16, 1887): 473. For Parke’s birth and death dates, see Susan G. Kennedy-Ajax, “My Genealogy Home Page: Information About Joseph Richardson Parke,” Genealogy.com, accessed June 13, 2015, http://www.genealogy.com/ftm/k/e/n/Susan-G-Kennedy-Ajax/WEBSITE-0001/UHP-0109.html.

[11] Parke, *Human Sexuality*, viii (list of subheads for chap. 6, “Inversion of the Sexual Impulse”). On the Freda Ward case, see Lisa Duggan, *Sapphic Slashers: Sex, Violence, and American Modernity* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2000); also see Lisa J. Lindquist, “Images of Alice: Gender, Deviancy, and a Love Murder in Memphis,” *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 6, no. 1 (July 1995): 30–61.

[12] Parke, *Human Sexuality*, 11–12. Note that Parke himself had been arrested in 1909 on a complaint of obscenity for sending an earlier edition of *Human Sexuality* through the mail, but no charges were brought; see Theodore Schroeder, *“Obscene” Literature and Constitutional Law: A Forensic Defense of Freedom of the Press* (New York: Privately Printed, 1911), 71–72.

[13] See, for example, O.P. Gilbert, *Men in Women’s Guise: Some Historical Instances of Female Impersonation* (New York: Brentano’s, 1926), trans. Robert B. Douglas; LaForest Potter, *Strange Loves: A Study in Sexual Abnormalities* (New York: Robert Dodsley, 1933); and Dr. Caufeynon, *Unisexual Love: A Documentary Study of the Sources, Manifestations, the Physiology and Psychology of Sexual Perversion in the Two Sexes* (New York: New Era Press, 1934). Although not stated by the publisher, *Unisexual Love* is an adaptation from a French book by a prolific author of trashy fiction and putative nonfiction with sexual themes: Dr. Caufeynon (pseudonym of Jean Fauconney), *L’Homosexualité chez l’homme et chez la femme: physiologie et psychologie de l’inversion sexuelle—étude documentaire sur ses origines et ses manifestations dans les deux sexes* (Paris, France: Librairie Offenstadt, 1909).

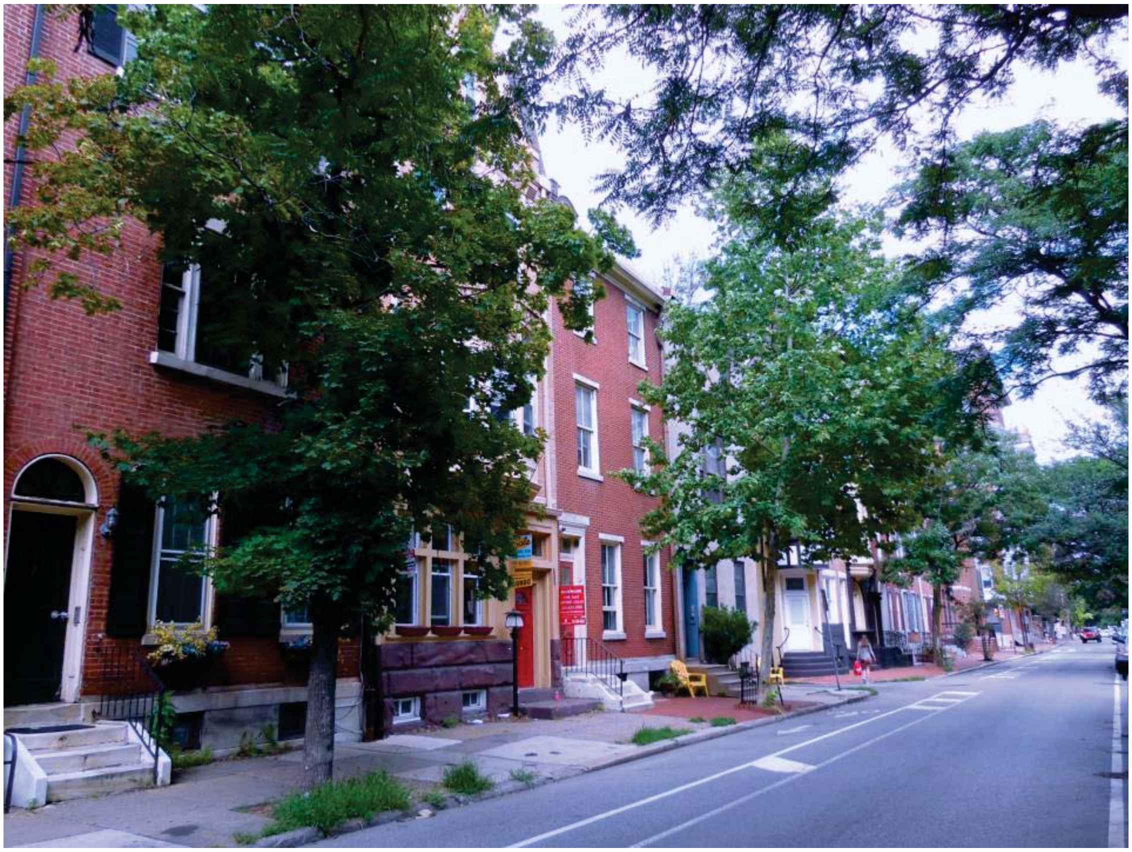


Figure 2: Dr. J. Richardson Parke lived and practiced medicine at a brick townhouse on Spruce Street in Philadelphia at the time he published *Human Sexuality* in 1912 (seen at center with yellow chairs in front in this image). Photo courtesy of photographer Lou Phillips, 2015.

Biographies, autobiographies, and memoirs are another genre where stories of the recent past for homosexual and bisexual women and men and for gender-variant individuals occasionally turned up. While books of this sort usually required close reading to decipher coded references and strategic silences, a few addressed the subject directly and in ways that questioned or countered dominant narratives of depravity and pathology. Field's *The Stone Wall* is a striking example: living in retirement in California, she recorded both her own memories and the memories of the somewhat older lesbian she had met in Brooklyn decades before, thus ensuring that further generations of LGBTQ people could learn their stories of the past.[14] Similarly exceptional are two volumes, *The*

---

[14] Field lived in California for the last twenty years of her life; at the time of her death, her address was the Gailmore Apartments, 500 North Glendale Avenue (now demolished) in Glendale, a city near Los Angeles; see Darling, "A Critical Introduction," 24. The site is now the location of a Chase Bank branch built in 1965. For the apartment building, see *Glendale City Directory 1928* (Glendale, CA: Glendale

Autobiography of an Androgyne (1918) and *The Female-Impersonators* (1922), that look back to queer life in New York City in the 1890s, both written by the pseudonymous Earl Lind (ca. 1874–?), also known as Ralph Werther and Jennie June, a feminine-identified man whom some might now see as a precursor to contemporary transwomen.[15] Published by specialized small presses, Field's and Lind's books received limited circulation, yet knowledge of their existence reached those on the lookout for such titles.[16] Long after publication, new readers continued discovering them through copies passed hand to hand or sold in shadowy zones of the used book market.

The fragments of the LGBTQ past found scattered in nonfiction and fiction in this early period enabled individuals and social networks to constitute alternative cultural histories that were missing from the textbooks and that helped sustain them in the face of social opprobrium and marginalization. The result was not critical scholarship, but a folk historiography demonstrating that queer and gender-variant people had always existed, had been accepted in some cultures distant in time and place, had been persecuted for centuries, yet were at times capable of

---

Directory Co., 1928), 78; for the bank building, see City of Glendale Property Information Portal website, record for 500 North Glendale Avenue, accessed February 8, 2016, https://csi.glendaleca.gov/csipropertyportal. Field's publisher, Eyncourt Press, was based in Chicago at 440 South Dearborn Street; see the display ad for *Jonathan Meeker, Pioneer Printer of Kansas* by Douglas McMurtrie, the owner of the press, and Albert H. Allen in *The Rotarian* (August 1930): 52. The site is now a parking lot.

[15] Earl Lind ("Ralph Werther" "Jennie June"), *Autobiography of an Androgyne* (New York: Medico-Legal Journal, 1918), and Ralph Werther–Jennie June ("Earl Lind"), *The Female-Impersonators* (New York: Medico-Legal Journal, 1922); the publisher's office was located in an existing apartment building on West 83rd Street near Central Park in New York City. The identity of the author behind the pseudonyms has not been established, his year of birth can only be estimated based on internal evidence from his books, and his date of death is unknown; see Scott Herring, "Introduction" in Ralph Werther, *Autobiography of an Androgyne,* edited and with an introduction by Scott Herring (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2008), xvi. For the complexities of the author's sexuality and gender identity in the context of his times, see Herring, "Introduction," xxiv–xxvi.

[16] Herring, "Introduction," xviii, notes that the books by Earl Lind/Ralph Werther/Jennie June were offered by a "small-scale, specialized scientific press 'by mail only.'" He adds that the titles received no reviews and soon vanished from sight; see page x. Both volumes were, however, reprinted in 1975 by the Arno Press (New York City) in the Homosexuality: *Lesbians and Gay Men* in Society, History, and Literature Series, edited by Jonathan Katz and others. *The Stone Wall* also had a traceable afterlife. For example, the first nationally circulated lesbian periodical in the United States, published a retrospective review three decades after the book appeared. See Gene Damon (pseudonym of Barbara Grier), "Books: *The Stonewall: An Autobiography,*" *The Ladder* 4, no. 8 (May 1960): 18–19. The title also was reprinted in the 1975 Arno Press series.

greatness. The phenomenon even found its way into at least one novel of the period: in Blair Niles's *Strange Brother* (1931), the young white protagonist, Mark Thornton, has moved to New York City to live as a homosexual.[17] An older friend had sent Mark a copy of Walt Whitman's *Leaves of Grass* before Mark left his small hometown. In New York he discovers English sex reformer and homosexual emancipationist Edward Carpenter's *Love's Coming of Age* (1902) "by chance in a second-hand book shop on Fifty-Ninth Street."[18] When another friend asks him to ship some books to a doctor, he encounters a volume of English sexologist Havelock Ellis's *Studies in the Psychology of Sex* (1900–1905), where he reads about "the history of abnormal love" and learns that it "had existed always, everywhere…everywhere from the beginning."[19] Finding self-affirmation in his discoveries and inspired by Alain Locke's influential anthology *The New Negro* (1925), Mark even dreams of editing a book of historic texts defending "manly love."[20]

As the fictional Mark Thornton's discovery of homosexual history through happenstance and personal contact suggests, creating an alternative queer heritage was not a simple matter. Many bookstores and public libraries wanted little or nothing to do with the most forthright books, and no readily available bibliographies existed to guide interested readers—yet the effort was vital for many LGBTQ people. As Donald

---

[17] Blair Niles, *Strange Brother* (New York: Liveright, 1931). The novel had a long afterlife, with a new hardback edition released in 1949 by Harris; a pocket paperback with lurid cover art published in 1952 by Avon; and a hardback published in the 1975 Arno Press reprint series. All the publishers were based in New York City.

[18] Niles, *Strange Brother*, 78. For the used bookstore where Mark Thornton finds *Love's Coming of Age*, the novelist may have had in mind the longtime shop of E. A. Custer at 107 East 59th Street near Park Avenue, which was open at least until 1918. The store is described in Bruno Guido, *Adventures in American Bookshops, Antique Stores and Auction Rooms* (Detroit, MI: The Douglas Book Shop, 1922), 40–43. The address appears in "Books Wanted," *The Publisher's Weekly* (April 21, 1917): 1284. The site is now the location of a later multistory building with a leather goods shop in the storefront at number 107.

[19] Niles, *Strange Brother*, 299–309; ellipses in the original. The publication dates for the books mentioned in this paragraph are for the American first editions: Edward Carpenter, *Love's Coming of Age* (Chicago: Stockham, 1902), and Havelock Ellis, *Studies in the Psychology of Sex*, 6 vols. (Philadelphia: F.A. Davis, 1900–1905); presumably the character was reading vol. 2, *Sexual Inversion* (1901).

[20] Niles, *Strange Brother*, 234–235. Mark's inspiration was Alain Locke, ed., *The New Negro: An Interpretation* (New York: Albert and Charles Boni, 1925).

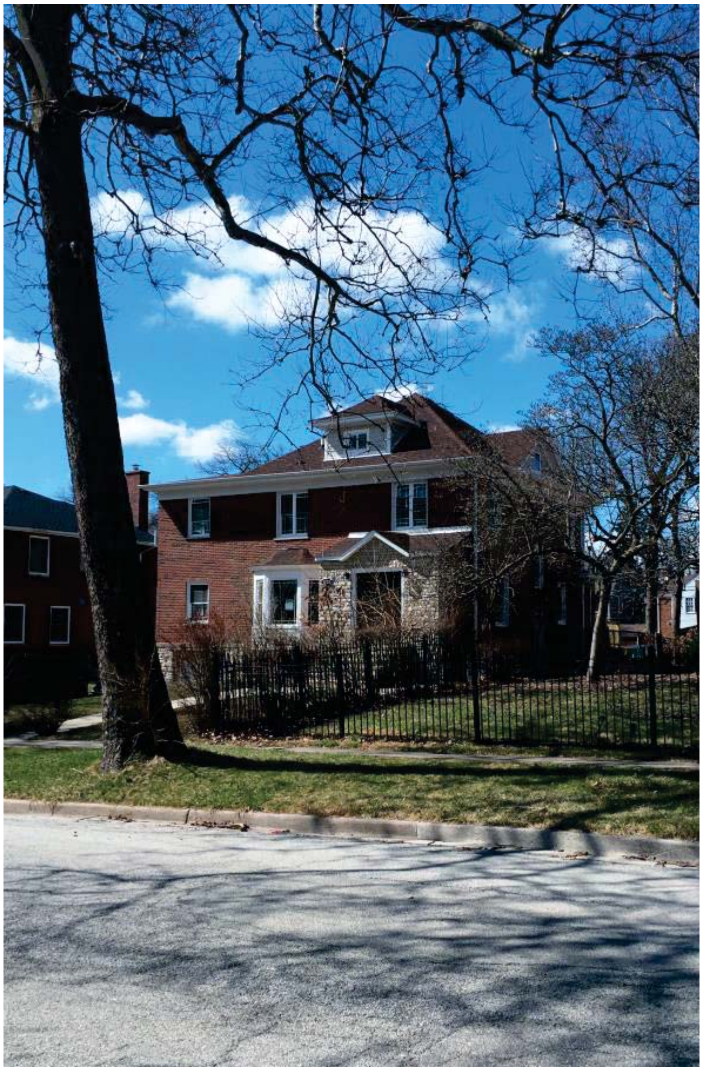


Figure 3: The home of Jeanette Howard Foster's parents on Pleasant Avenue in Chicago's Beverly neighborhood. As an adult, Foster lived here with her parents during part of the 1920s and 1930s. Modifications include the construction of an addition with a garage at left, completed in 2016. Photo courtesy of photographer Daniel Barthel, 2016.

Webster Cory (pseudonym of Edward Sagarin, 1913–1986) notes in his 1951 book *The Homosexual in America: A Subjective Approach*, scouring the historical record for heroes "is characteristic of any minority having an inferior social status"; he adds that homosexual men and women in particular were "anxious to find in literature justification and clues to happiness…."[21]

A well-documented example is offered by Jeannette Howard Foster (1895–1981). In the mid-teens of the twentieth century, when she was an undergraduate at Rockford College (now Rockford University) in Rockford, Illinois, she began a lifelong search for books referring to romantic and erotic relationships between women, including women portrayed as bisexual or favoring men's clothing.[22] By the 1920s she was collecting such books and by the 1930s was giving much of her free time to bibliographical research, including travel to libraries holding otherwise inaccessible titles (Figure 3). During both of these decades, she lived for periods of time in her parents' Chicago home and kept her growing collection there.[23] After obtaining a PhD in library science at the University of Chicago and holding a series of posts as a librarian, Foster ultimately produced a groundbreaking study reflecting both her search for a personal heritage and her academic training: *Sex Variant Women in Literature: A Historical and Quantitative Study* (1956). She courageously published the book under her own name and at her own expense in the midst of the anti-homosexual panic of the 1950s.[24] Foster's publication provided a foundation for work on the cultural history of lesbianism that would appear in the subsequent two decades.[25]

---

[21] Donald Webster Cory, *The Homosexual in America: A Subjective Approach* (New York: Greenberg, 1951), 157, 167. The author likely drew on personal observations of these phenomena going back to the 1930s. On Edward Sagarin, see Gerard Sullivan, "Cory, Donald Webster," in Robert Aldrich and Gary Wotherspoon, eds., *Who's Who in Contemporary Gay and Lesbian History From World War II to Today* (London and New York: Routledge, 2001), 92–93.

[22] Jeannette H. Foster, *Sex Variant Women in Literature: A Historical and Quantitative Study* (New York: Vantage Press, 1956); in the unpaginated "Foreword," the author dates the start of her bibliographical search to learning about a student expelled for lesbianism when she was in college.

Homophile Organizers and History Enthusiasts

With the emergence in the 1950s of the earliest enduring American homosexual organizations and periodicals—a phenomenon often referred to as the homophile movement—the search for a shared heritage began to shift from largely private and fragmentary pursuits to more public and structured ones. The first national groups were the Mattachine Society,

---

For further detail on the incident, see Joanne Ellen Passet, *Sex Variant Woman: The Life of Jeannette Howard Foster* (New York: Da Capo Press, 2008), 44–45.

[23] On the scope of Foster's research, see Passet, *Sex Variant Woman*, especially pages 121 and 129. As an adult building her collection and researching lesbian literature, Foster spent two periods living with her parents in the home where she had grown up: in 1922–1923 while studying for her master's degree and in 1933–1934 as a doctoral student; see Passet, *Sex Variant Woman*, 16, 68–75, 114–117. Located on Pleasant Avenue in the Beverly neighborhood of Chicago, Illinois, the house is extant, although a comparison with the 1906 photograph reproduced in Passet, *Sex Variant Woman*, 16, shows that it has undergone extensive modifications, notably with an addition including a garage constructed on one side of the house in 2016.

[24] Marion Zimmer Bradley, "Variant Women in Literature," *The Ladder* 1, no. 8 (May 1956): 8–10, observes that Foster was reduced to publishing through a vanity press due to trade publishers' refusal to take on serious books of limited interest. Also see Marcia M. Gallo, *Different Daughters: A History of the Daughters of Bilitis and the Rise of the Lesbian Rights Movement* (New York: Carroll & Graf, 2006), 38. On the postwar anti-homosexual panic, see David K. Johnson, *The Lavender Scare: The Cold War Persecution of Gays and Lesbians in the Federal Government* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004).

[25] For example, Gallo, *Different Daughters*, 37–38, notes Foster's influence on the bibliographical efforts of Marion Zimmer Bradley. For an instance from the subsequent generation of lesbian scholars, see note 47 below.

founded in 1950, which focused on the concerns of homosexual men; One Incorporated, founded in 1952, which primarily concentrated on men but also took an interest in women's issues; and the Daughters of Bilitis (DOB), founded in 1955, which brought together lesbian women.[26] Both One Incorporated and the Mattachine Society were initially based in Los Angeles, with Mattachine moving to San Francisco late in 1956; DOB was headquartered in San Francisco from the start. All three published long-running periodicals that usually appeared monthly: *The Mattachine Review* (1955–1966); *One* (1953–1967, with a brief reappearance in 1972); and *The Ladder* (1956–1972).[27] In addition, One Incorporated later launched a scholarly publication, *One Institute Quarterly: Homophile Studies* (1961–1970).

The earlier informal knowledge of queer history produced by individual effort and disseminated through social networks reached a nascent public readership via these new periodicals, with homosexual history buffs contributing articles on a fairly regular basis.[28] As John D'Emilio notes,

---

[26] A fairly extensive scholarly literature has been produced on the politics and organizational strategies of the homophile period. For a founding study in the field, see John D'Emilio, *Sexual Politics, Sexual Communities: The Making of a Homosexual Minority in the United States, 1940–1970* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983). For monographs on individual organizations, see Gallo, *Different Daughters*, which focuses on the Daughters of Bilitis; James T. Sears, *Behind the Mask of Mattachine: The Hal Call Chronicles and the Early Movement for Homosexual Emancipation* (Binghamton, NY: Harrington Park Press, 2006); and C. Todd White, *Pre-Gay L.A.: A Social History of the Movement for Homosexual Rights* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2009), which focuses on One Incorporated.

[27] Sites associated with the periodicals include the Williams Building at 693 Mission Street in San Francisco, where the Mattachine Society rented offices for most of its existence and where the Daughters of Bilitis shared the space starting early in 1957 before moving to its own office in the Department Store Center Building at 165 O'Farrell Street in San Francisco in 1958; the Williams Building also housed the Pan-Graphic Press, a small-press publishing and offset printing firm established by Mattachine members that printed the *Mattachine Review* and *The Ladder*. For the Mattachine Society, 693 Mission Street appears for the first time in "Mattachine Review: Where to Buy It," *Mattachine Review* 1, no. 5 (September–October 1955): 35; it remained the address through the final issue, "Organizational Directory," *Mattachine Review* 11, no. 1 (July 1966): 14–15. For Pan-Graphic Press, see Hal Call, "Mattachine Review" in *Homosexuals Today 1956*, ed., Marvin Cutler (pseudonym of W. Dorr Legg) (Los Angeles: One Incorporated, 1956), 58–60. For DOB, see the masthead of *The Ladder* 1, no. 5 (February 1957), which gives the address as 693 Mission Street for the first time; for the move to 165 O'Farrell St., see Del Martin, "We've Moved," *The Ladder* 2, no. 6 (March 1958): 4–5. For sites associated with *One*, see notes 37 and 43 below.

[28] The homophile movement's use of history has yet to receive in-depth scholarly attention; the discussion here is based largely on the author's review of the organizations' periodicals. Also note that the first documented homosexual advocacy group in the United States was the Society for Human Rights in Chicago in 1924–1925. It published two newsletter issues, but no copies are known to survive; a few paragraphs of content preserved in French translation make no mention of historical topics. See Clarens, "Friendship and Freedom," *L'Amité*, no. 1 (April 1925): 13, posted at Séminaire

"Through bibliographies, books reviews, and essays on history and literature, the publications filled an informational void and became valuable tools for self-education."[29] He adds that such articles reflected the groups' effort "to legitimate homosexuality as a significant and pervasive component of human experience…."[30] Despite their attention to evidence of the past, however, homophile history enthusiasts expressed virtually no interest in historic preservation, likely because publicly marking places meaningful to queer memory would have attracted traumatizing reactions in an era when LGBTQ territories remained clandestine, policed, and contested.[31]

A survey of the first five years of the three main homophile magazines suggests the extent to which history held an important place in the movement. The *Mattachine Review*, for instance, ran approximately twenty substantial articles with a historical focus during its first five years. These included brief biographies of figures from the past such as the Roman emperor Hadrian; lengthy reviews of popular books such as G. Rattray Taylor's *Sex in History* (1954); a two-part series on what the author characterized as homosexuality among Native Americans, drawing on observations from European explorers and colonists; the tale of Civil War hero Jennie Hodges, presented as a woman who passed as a man to serve in the Union Army; and a ten-year retrospective of the Mattachine

---

Gay, accessed May 28, 2015, http://semgai.free.fr/doc_et_pdf/L_amitie.pdf. The article also is available in reprint in Lucien Mirande, *Inversions 1924–1925, L'Amitié 1925: Deux revues homosexuelles françaises* (Lille, France: GayKitschCamp, 2006), 228–229. The Society for Human Rights operated out of the rooming house where Henry Gerber lived in the Old Town Triangle neighborhood of Chicago, Illinois. It was designated an NHL on June 19, 2015; see Diana Novak Jones, "Old Town Site of Nation's First Gay Rights Group Designated National Landmark," *Chicago Sun-Times*, June 19, 2015, accessed January 29, 2016, http://chicago.suntimes.com/news/7/71/705597/old-town-site-nations-first-gay-rights-group-designated-national-landmark.

[29] D'Emilio, *Sexual Politics, Sexual Communities*, 110.

[30] D'Emilio, *Sexual Politics, Sexual Communities,* 111.

[31] The only article mentioning recognition of an LGBTQ historic site recorded in my survey of national homophile journals suggests how fraught the topic could be: An article reprinted from the Canadian weekly *Macleans* describes London celebrations in 1954 marking the centenary of Oscar Wilde's birth. It recounts the unveiling of a plaque at Wilde's former home identifying him as a "dramatist and wit," yet disparages homosexuality as a "crime or disease" and as a "dreadful cult." For the author of the article, Wilde merits a historic site as a great writer, yet still deserves nothing but scorn as a homosexual. See Beverly Baxter, "London Letter: Has Oscar Wilde's Crime Been Redeemed?" *Mattachine Review* 1, no. 4 (July–August 1955): 22–25.

Society's own history.[32] The magazine also published a multipart bibliography with more than one thousand listings for fiction and nonfiction books dealing with homosexuality, including out-of-print titles dating back decades.[33]

The Ladder also played its part in bringing alternative homosexual histories into print, publishing approximately twelve substantial history-related articles in its first five years. Mostly dealing with literary and cultural history, the articles included a succinct biography of British novelist Radclyffe Hall (1886–1943), a survey of cross-dressing by women, a synopsis of films with lesbian themes produced from the early 1930s on, and a discussion of lesbianism and the law from ancient Rome to twentieth-century America.[34] In addition, the magazine contributed to lesbian bibliography by publishing a standing "Lesbiana" column of capsule book reviews, primarily recent fiction, but also fiction from the first half of the twentieth century and occasionally nonfiction titles touching in some way on lesbian history. Initially written by Marion Zimmer Bradley (1930–1999), the column ran unsigned before being taken over by Barbara Grier (1933–2011) under the pseudonym Gene Damon in September 1957.[35]

---

[32] See the following, all in the *Mattachine Review*: Mack Fingal, "Hadrian and Antinous: The Love-Life of an Emperor," 1, no. 6 (November–December 1956): 21–22; "Books: *Sex in History* by G. Rattray Taylor," 3, no. 3 (March 1957): 8–10; Omer C. Stewart, "Homosexuality Among American Indians and Other Native Peoples of the World," 6, no. 1 (January 1960): 9–15, and 6, no. 2 (February 1960): 13–18; "Mattachine Society Inc.: First Decade, 1950–1960," 6, no. 4 (April 1960): 2, 26–30; and Joseph Charles Salak, "Civil War Heroine," 6, no. 11 (November 1960): 5–6. Apparently none of the authors were professional historians, but one was an academic: Omer C. Stewart was a professor of anthropology at the University of Colorado; see "Mattachine Breaks Through the Conspiracy of Silence," *The Ladder* 4, no. 1 (October 1958): 18.

[33] See D'Emilio, *Sexual Politics, Sexual Communities*, 111. For the first installment of the bibliography, see "Bibliography of Books on the Homosexual (and Related) Subjects," *Mattachine Review* 3, no. 8 (August 1957): 24–29.

[34] See the following, all in *The Ladder*: Gene Damon, "Radclyffe Hall," 3, no. 3 (December 1958): 8–9; Gene Damon and Lee Stuart, "Transvestism in Women," 3, no. 5 (February 1959): 11–13; LauraJean Ermayne, "The Sapphic Cinema," 4, no. 7 (April 1960): 5–9; and David Hamblen, "Lesbianism and the Law," 5, no. 2 (November 1960): 6–9.

[35] See Gallo, *Different Daughters*, 36–37. The first installment of "Lesbiana" ran in *The Ladder* 1, no. 6 (March 1957): 12. It included reviews of a 1955 edition of the collected works of Pierre Louÿs, the French poet whose *Songs of Bilitis* (1894; English translation 1926) inspired the name of the Daughters of Bilitis; Radclyffe Hall's *The Well of Loneliness* (1928); and a new edition of a "long out-of-print classic," *Colette's Claudine at School* (1900; English translation 1930). "Lesbiana" continued appearing regularly through the end of the run. For reprints of the columns from the final six years of

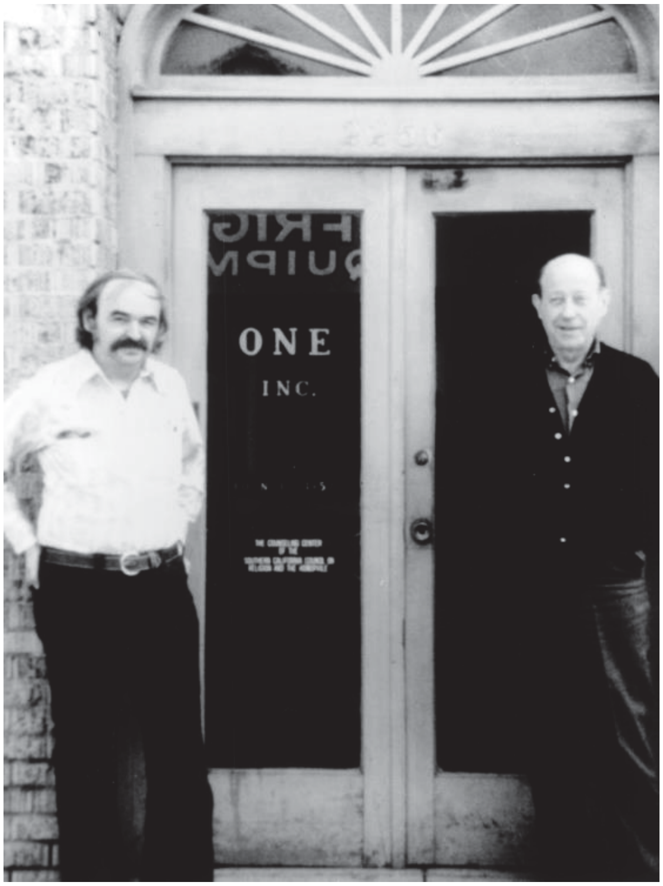


Figure 4: The front door of One Institute at 2256 Venice Boulevard in the Arlington Heights neighborhood of Los Angeles, circa 1970. At left: Jim Kepner; at right: W. Dorr Legg. Photographer unknown. Courtesy of the One Archives at USC Libraries (Los Angeles).

The third national homophile group, One Incorporated, merits particular notice for working to develop alternative understandings of homosexuality into a structured field of study with history as a key component. Much like the Mattachine Society and the DOB, the organization started out with a periodical that included substantial articles dealing in whole or part with history—approximately seventeen in the first five years of *One* magazine.[36] In 1956, the leaders of the organization went beyond publishing the occasional history article: they moved to elaborate a systematic approach to thinking and teaching about homosexuality by establishing the One Institute for Homophile Studies. The Institute described itself as "an adult education facility offering courses of undergraduate and graduate levels. Classes in history, literature and social studies centered upon homosexuality and its relation to world cultures, religion, law, morals, psychology, medicine, and

---

the magazine, see Barbara Grier, also known as Gene Damon, *Lesbiana: Book Reviews From The Ladder, 1966–1972* (Reno, NV: Naiad Press, 1976).

[36] In the case of *One*, the count is less clear than for the *Mattachine Review* and *The Ladder* for two reasons: the run on microfilm from the New York Public Library consulted by the author lacks scattered issues, so an article or two may be missing; in addition, the editors of the publication tended to run think-piece essays that draw only in passing on historical evidence and arguments, so determining which to count as substantial history articles is a somewhat subjective matter.

the arts" (Figure 4).[37] Among the instructors from the beginning was Harry Hay (1912–2002), a founder of the Mattachine Society who had devoted himself in particular to the ethnohistory of homosexuality and gender variation in American Indian cultures.[38]

In an era when academic historians and university history departments ignored not only the history of homosexuality but also the history of sexuality in general, developing a cross-cultural history curriculum on homosexuality from ancient times to the modern era was an objective of the One Institute from the outset.[39] Expanding from the inward-looking, self-affirming search for a personal heritage that LGBTQ people had pursued informally for decades, the institute argued that learning about the history of homosexuality also served an important purpose for society as a whole. One of the instructors, James Kepner (1923–1997), put it in these terms: "The task of countering majority bias is in the long run as vital to the majority itself as it is for the homophile or other social deviants. Does anyone seriously think he can really understand the history, not only of ancient Greece or modern Germany, but of any era or country, while ignoring the homosexual pieces in the puzzle?"[40]

---

[37] "One Institute of Homophile Studies," *One Institute Quarterly: Homophile Studies* 1, no. 1 (Spring 1958): inside front cover. Classes were held at the offices of One Incorporated, located at 232 South Hill Street in downtown Los Angeles from 1953 to 1962, then at 2256 Venice Boulevard in the Arlington Heights neighborhood from 1962 to 1983; see "History," One Archives at the USC Libraries website, accessed June 1, 2015, http://one.usc.edu/about/history. The Hill Street building no longer exists. The Venice Boulevard structure is extant and is listed as a "known resource" in GPA Consulting, Carson Anderson, and Wes Joe, *SurveyLA: LGBT Historic Context Statement* (Los Angeles: Office of Historic Resources, Department of City Planning, City of Los Angeles, 2014), 30.

[38] See W. Dorr Legg, *Homophile Studies in Theory and Practice* (Los Angeles: One Institute Press & San Francisco: GLB Publishers, 1994), 27, note 15. For an example of Hay's ethnohistorical analysis that provided a basis for his work with the One Institute, see Harry Hay, "The Homosexual and History … An Invitation to Further Study," in *Radically Gay: Gay Liberation in the Words of Its Founder*, ed., Will Roscoe (Boston: Beacon Press, 1996), 94–119; written in 1953, the essay draws on talks Hay had presented at a Mattachine Society discussion group in 1952–1953. In his introduction to the text, Roscoe, pages 92–93, provides a brief assessment of the sources of Hay's historiography.

[39] See White, *Pre-Gay L.A.,* chap. 4, "The Establishment of One Institute." As White notes on page 74, a report prepared by One Incorporated that led up to the founding of the institute underscored the failure of higher education to address the subject of homosexuality with the exception of approaches involving "medical, psychoanalytic and other biases…." On the early history classes at the institute, see Legg, *Homophile Studies,* 27–28, 31–32, and chap. 5, "Homosexuality in History."

[40] Jim Kepner, "Editorial," *One Institute Quarterly: Homophile Studies* 1, no. 1 (Spring 1958): 3.

Both course lectures and student papers from this enterprise provided content for the institute's scholarly journal, *One Institute Quarterly: Homophile Studies*. The full run includes approximately twenty-two substantial history articles. Taken together, they provide a sweeping view of ancient, Renaissance, early modern, and nineteenth-century histories, along with considerations of Asian history and ethnohistory. The contributors drew largely on published primary and secondary sources in English, generally emphasizing intellectual and cultural history. The historical articles mostly discuss male homosexuality, with lesbian and transgender topics more often featured in essays employing sociological, medical, and psychological frameworks.[41] With no trained historians involved and no access to outside fellowships or significant funding, archival research evidently was beyond the means of the institute's early participants.[42] The organization lasted well beyond the period of the homophile movement, ultimately receiving state accreditation in 1981 to issue graduate degrees; it ceased operation as a teaching institution in 1994.[43]

---

[41] For examples, see Harry Benjamin, "Transvestism and Transsexualism," *One Institute Quarterly: Homophile Studies* 1, no. 3 (Fall 1958): 102–104, written by an endocrinologist; and Virginia Arman, "Some Facts About Lesbians: Introduction," *One Institute Quarterly: Homophile Studies* 2, no. 4 (Fall 1959): 111–112, written by a psychologist.

[42] Only one academic was involved in the early years of the One Institute of Homophile Studies: Merritt Thompson (under the pseudonym Thomas R. Merritt), an emeritus dean of the School of Education at the University of Southern California; see White, *Pre-Gay L.A.*, 74–76. The leader of the institute, W. Dorr Legg, had bachelor's degrees in landscape architecture and music from the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, and had briefly taught at the State University of Oregon, Eugene; see Wayne R. Dynes, "Legg, W. Dorr (1904–94)," in Aldrich and Wotherspoon, eds., *Who's Who,* 244–245.

[43] See "History," One Archives. On the authorization to grant degrees, also see White, *Pre-Gay L.A.*, 206. In its final years from 1983 to 1994, One Incorporated was based at the Millbank Estate, a large villa in the Arlington Heights neighborhood of Los Angeles. The only PhD awarded to a student in the institute's program went to Michael Lombardi for his German history dissertation, "The Translation of the Works by Karl Heinrich Ulrichs with Special Emphasis on Research on the Riddle of Man-Manly Love," PhD diss., One Institute for Homophile Studies, 1984; see Michael Lombardi-Nash, e-mail to the author, June 10, 2015. Lombardi-Nash went on to publish translations of foundational documents in LGBTQ studies, including Karl-Heinrich Ulrichs, *The Riddle of Man-Manly Love: The Pioneering Work on Male Homosexuality* (Buffalo, NY: Prometheus Books, 1994) and Magnus Hirschfeld, *The Homosexuality of Men and Women* (Amherst, NY: Prometheus Books, 2000).

Community Archivists, Independent Scholars, and Academic Pioneers

The gay liberation and lesbian-feminist movements of the late 1960s and 1970s produced a wave of highly visible organizing across the United States that quickly surpassed the reach of the much smaller homophile organizations.[44] As the movement garnered members and allies, it also encountered widespread and at times harsh opposition. As with other groups that embraced identity politics at the time, gay and lesbian people responded in part by looking for support from a shared past they could publicly assert as their own.[45] Given the generational and political divides between older homophile activists and younger liberationists, many among the latter group may have been unaware that they were continuing a search that itself had a long history.[46] Some of the younger history enthusiasts, however, eagerly found guidance in the bibliographies developed in the homophile period.[47]

Three interlinked phenomena demonstrate the growing interest in the United States in the history of gay men and lesbians—and to a lesser extent transgender and bisexual people—starting with the era of gay liberation in the 1970s and continuing through the 1980s:

---

[44] The scholarly literature on the gay liberation and lesbian-feminist movements is considerable. For a recent overview, see Marc Stein, *Rethinking the Gay and Lesbian Movement* (New York: Routledge, 2012), chap. 3–4.

[45] Susan Ferentinos notes the link between identity politics and interest in community history in this period; see her book *Interpreting LGBT History at Museums and Historic Sites* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2015), 22.

[46] Gayle Rubin comments on the gaps and links in the production of “queer knowledge” between the homophile and gay liberation eras in “Geologies of Queer Studies: It’s Déjà Vu All Over Again,” in Gayle S. Rubin, *Deviations*: *A Gayle Rubin Reader* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2011), 347–349. Also see “Sexual Traffic: Interview With Gayle Rubin by Judith Butler,” in Ibid., 301–302.

[47] For instance, Gayle Rubin describes her delight when discovering around 1970 that lesbian bibliographies already existed from the homophile period; see Rubin, “Geologies of Queer Studies,” in Rubin, *Deviations*, 348–349. Both the Daughters of Bilitis and DOB member Marion Zimmer Bradley had published such bibliographies as stand-alone publications in the years from 1958 to 1967; see Maida Tilchen, “The Legendary Lesbian Treasure Map,” in Barbara Grier, *The Lesbian in Literature* (Tallahassee, FL: Naiad Press, 1981), xi–xii. For a bibliography focused on male homosexuality by an author who was associated with the One Institute, see Noel I. Garde, *The Homosexual in Literature: A Chronological Bibliography, Circa 700 B.C.–1958* (New York: Village Books, 1959).

- The founding of the first organizations devoted primarily or entirely to documenting, researching, interpreting, and disseminating this history.

- The contributions of a growing number of independent scholars.

- The emergence of the first historians to address the subject of homosexuality in the setting of university humanities departments.

To some extent, these developments reflected the decades-old desire for self-affirmation and a common heritage among people with same-sex attractions and nonnormative gender identities. As Jeffrey Escoffier notes, lesbian and gay scholars in this period initially "looked for antecedents as a way of claiming ancestors, of validating themselves through the achievements of great and famous queers and dykes."[48] In addition, they advanced and transformed the historical project of the homophile period, sharpening its assertion of a shared past not only into a tool for the formation of identity and community, but also into a political strategy for influencing internal and external debates about lesbian and gay communities and for demanding respect from society as a whole.[49] The resulting production of community-based historical institutions, resources, and scholarship laid the groundwork for the establishment of LGBTQ history as a seriously regarded subject of academic study and for the emergence of queer heritage initiatives in the traditional field of historic preservation.

The effort to create LGBTQ archives and libraries as independent entities starting in the 1970s brought focus to a less-noticed enterprise of the three national homophile groups: all had collected relevant books and periodicals—and in the case of One Incorporated, the holdings had grown considerably to support the educational initiatives of the One Institute.[50] Academic libraries and archives, by contrast, had taken little interest in documenting the history of homosexuality and nonnormative gender expression—a situation that persisted into the 1990s. The rare exceptions proved the rule: the Kinsey Institute at Indiana University, founded in 1947, had gathered such materials as part of its wider focus on human sexuality, but the collection remained largely inaccessible to outside researchers in the field of history until the 1980s.[51] Another forerunner was the Joseph A. Labadie Collection at the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, with holdings focused on radical social movements. The collection expanded to include sexual reform movements under the leadership of Edward C. Weber (1922–2006), a gay man who served as director from 1960 to 2000 and who began accessioning homophile materials in the early 1960s.[52]

---

[48] Jeffrey Escoffier, *American Homo: Community and Perversity* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), 110.
[49] On uses of lesbian and gay history in the context of political debates in the 1980s, see Escoffier, *American Homo*, 169–170.

Starting in the 1970s the void left by academic libraries was filled by community-based LGBTQ archives and libraries, many of which not only collected books, periodicals, and papers, but also responded to the equivalent exclusion from museum collections by gathering works of art and artifacts. Furthermore, most of the organizations assumed additional functions of traditional public history institutions by documenting historic places associated with LGBTQ life and by offering exhibitions and public programs. As scholar Ann Cvetkovich notes, by gathering and interpreting LGBT historical materials outside traditional academic frameworks, such groups played a vital role in addressing "the traumatic loss of history that has accompanied sexual life and the formation of sexual publics, and they assert the role of memory and affect in compensating for institutional neglect. Like other archives of trauma, such as those that commemorate the Holocaust, slavery or war, they must enable the acknowledgment of a past that can be painful to remember, impossible to forget, and resistant to consciousness."[53]

---

[50] See Gerard Koskovich, "Libraries and Archives," in John C. Hawley, ed., *LGBTQ America Today: An Encyclopedia*, vol. 2 (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2009), 684–692. On the One Incorporated library, also see Leslie Colfax, "Library," in Cutler, *Homosexuals Today*, 83–84, and White, *Pre-Gay L.A.*, 78.

[51] See *The Kinsey Institute for Research in Sex, Gender and Reproduction* (Bloomington, IN: Kinsey Institute, 1984), especially pages 19–21. The Institute has been located on the Indiana University campus in Bloomington, Indiana, since its founding: in Biology Hall (Swain Hall East) from 1947 to 1950, in Wylie Hall from 1950 to 1955, in Jordan Hall from 1955 to 1967, and subsequently in Morrison Hall. See "The Kinsey Institute: Chronology of Events and Landmark Publications," The Kinsey Institute website, accessed June 13, 2015, http://www.kinseyinstitute.org/about/chronology.html. Wylie Hall was listed on the NRHP as part of the Old Crescent Historic District on September 8, 1980.

[52] See Tim Retzloff, "Edward Weber, Retired Labadie Collection Curator at U of M, Dies at 83," *Pride Source*, April 20, 2006, accessed June 1, 2015, http://www.pridesource.com/article.html?article=18419. Also see Rubin, *Deviations*, 15–16. The Labadie Collection is housed in the Harlan Hatcher Graduate Library at 913 South University Avenue on the University of Michigan campus in Ann Arbor. From the construction of the library in 1920 until 1970, the collection was located in the original building, now known as the North Building; in 1970, Ed Weber oversaw the move to its current home in the Special Collections Library in the then-new South Building. See Julie Herrada, curator, Joseph A. Labadie Collection, e-mail to the author, June 19, 2015.

The first such formally established organization in the United States was the Lesbian Herstory Archives (LHA), conceived in 1974 during discussions at a lesbian-feminist consciousness-raising group in Manhattan of which writer, activist, and self-defined "white Jewish fem lesbian" Joan Nestle was a member.[54] As the LHA notes in the history posted on its website, "At one meeting in 1974, Julia Stanley and Joan Nestle, who had come out before the gay liberation movement, talked about the precariousness of lesbian culture and how so much of our past culture was seen only through patriarchal eyes"; with others responding to the observation, "a new concept was born—a grassroots lesbian archives."[55]

---

[53] Ann Cvetkovich, *An Archive of Feelings: Trauma, Sexuality and Lesbian Public Cultures* (Duke, NC: Duke University Press, 2003), 241.

[54] On the founding, see "Lesbian Herstory Archives: History and Mission," Lesbian Herstory Archives website, accessed June 6, 2015, http://www.lesbianherstoryarchives.org/history.html; on Nestle's self-definition, see Joan Nestle, *A Fragile Union: New and Collected Writings* (San Francisco: Cleis Press, 1998), "Introduction"; posted on JoanNestle.com, July 1998, accessed June 6, 2015, http://www.joannestle.com/fragileu.html. For a history of the institution through the late 1990s, see Polly J. Thistlethwaite, "Building 'A Home of Our Own': The Construction of the Lesbian Herstory Archives," in James V. Carmichael Jr., ed., *Daring to Find Our Names: The Search for Lesbigay Library History* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1998), 153–173.

[55] Lesbian Herstory Archive, "Lesbian Herstory Archives: History and Mission." Julia Stanley (1941–2013) was better known as Julia Penelope, an early openly lesbian academic and a lesbian-separatist author and theorist; see Tracy Baim, "Passages: Author Julia Penelope Dead at 71," *Windy City Times*, January 24, 2013, accessed June 19, 2015, http://www.windycitymediagroup.com/lgbt/PASSAGES-Author-Julia-Penelope-dead-at-71/41298.html.

In 1975, the institution installed its collections in the apartment on 92nd Street in the Upper West Side shared by Nestle and her then-partner, Deborah Edel (Figure 5). Volunteers, researchers, and visitors frequented the space for the next seventeen years, after which the institution relocated to its current location, a brownstone in the Park Slope neighborhood of Brooklyn.[56] Nestle's apartment also provided a home to Mabel Hampton (1902–1989), a working-class African American lesbian elder who had donated her own collection to LHA and was a mainstay among the volunteers. She lived there part-time starting in 1976 and full-time for the last three years of her life.[57] Hampton was one of a number of

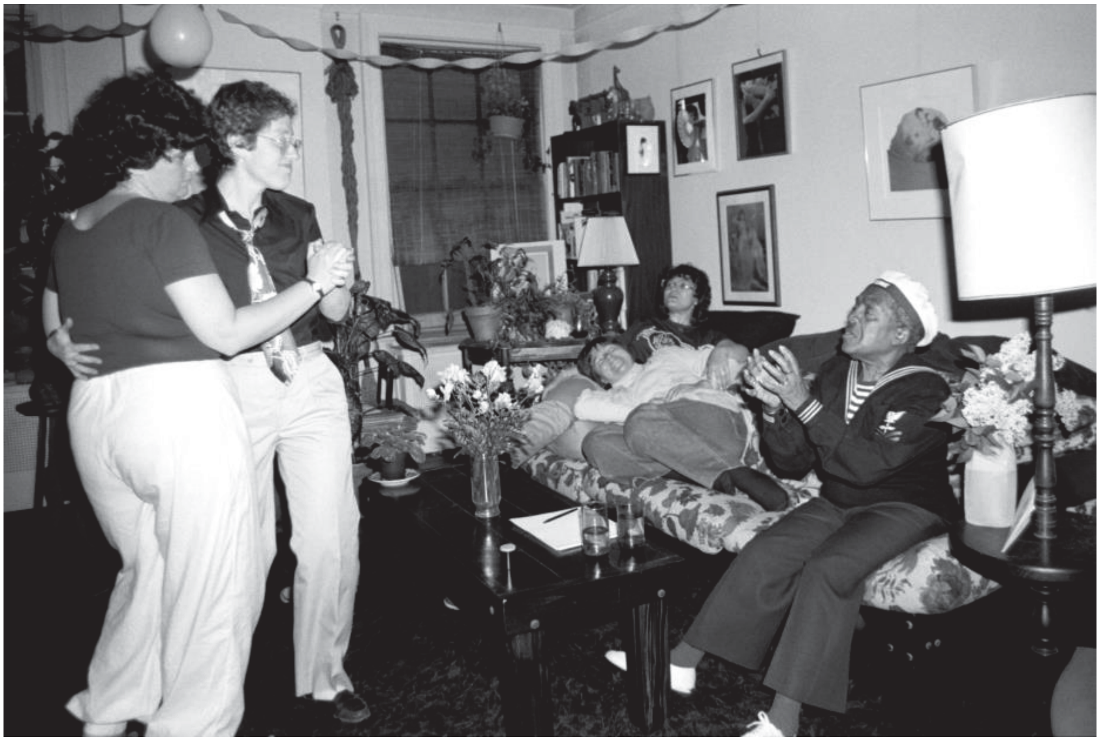


Figure 5: A birthday party for Mabel Hampton at the Lesbian Herstory Archives in the apartment of Joan Nestle, circa 1979. At far left: Joan Nestle and Deborah Edel; at far right: Mabel Hampton. Photo courtesy of photographer Morgan Gwenwald, circa 1979.

---

[56] The LHA purchased the brownstone where it is still located at 484 14th Street in the Park Slope Historic District of Brooklyn in 1990 and opened to the public there in 1993. See Lesbian Herstory Archives, "Lesbian Herstory Archives: History and Mission." According to Deborah Edel, the collection was moved from Nestle's apartment in the first half of 1992; e-mail from Edel to the author, June 15, 2015. Thistlethwaite, "Building 'A Home of Our Own,'" 155, likewise dates the move to 1992. The Park Slope Historic District was listed on the NRHP on November 21, 1980.

[57] Joan Nestle, e-mails to the author, May 22, 2015 and June 8, 2015. For an overview of Hampton's life, see Joan Nestle, "I Lift My Eyes to the Hill: The Life of Mabel Hampton," published in *A Fragile Union* (1998) and as a seven-part series on the author's blog, *Don't Stop Talking 2*, October 27, 2011, accessed June 7, 2015, http://joannestle2.blogspot.com/2011/10/in-memory-on-october-26-i-lift-my-eyes.html.

women of color who played significant roles in the early years of LHA; others have provided ongoing leadership as members of the governing collective.[58]

The other major archives and library founded in the 1970s started as the Western Gay Archives, the name that Los Angeles homophile movement pioneer James Kepner gave his personal collection. In the first half of the 1970s, he began inviting researchers to his apartment one afternoon a week to use the materials he had amassed in the previous three decades. Kepner transformed his private collection into a formal nonprofit association and renamed it the Natalie Barney/Edward Carpenter Library of the National Gay Archives in 1979, at which time the collection moved to a Hollywood storefront where it was regularly open to the public.[59] In contrast to the lesbian-feminist orientation of the LHA with its emphasis on recuperating women's history, the Southern California institution adopted a comprehensive approach from the outset, looking to gather historical and contemporary materials reflecting in any way on homosexuality, bisexuality, and gender variation.[60] Through name changes, moves, and a merger with One Incorporated, the archives and library remained in the hands of a community-based organization until 2010, when the group donated the materials to the University of Southern California.[61]

These two groundbreaking institutions embodied in several ways the organizational outlines for the LGBTQ archives and libraries that would be established around the United States throughout the 1980s, into the 1990s, and beyond.[62] Some would grow out of community organizing efforts, as did the LHA. This group includes the Gerber/Hart Library and Archives in Chicago, founded in 1981, and the Gay and Lesbian Historical Society in San Francisco, founded in 1985.[63] Others would grow from private collections, as did the National Gay Archives. This group includes the Quatrefoil Library, created in 1983 in Minneapolis from the personal library that David Irwin (1920–2009) and Dick Hewetson started in the mid-1970s, and the Stonewall Library, created in 1987 in Fort Lauderdale, Florida, from a private collection launched in 1973 by Mark Silber.[64]

---

[58] Thistlethwhaite, "Building 'A Home of Our Own,'" 161.
[59] On the Western Gay Archives and its transformation into the National Gay Archives, see James Kepner, "An Accidental Institution: How and Why a Gay and Lesbian Archives?" in Carmichael, ed., *Daring to Find Our Names*, 179. Also see One Archives, "History"; this page gives 1971 as the year in the introduction and 1975 in the chronological timeline that follows. White, *Pre-Gay L.A.*, 78 and 202, gives the year as 1975. For a brief summary of Kepner's life, see "Biography," Finding Aid of the Jim Kepner Papers, Coll. 2011.002, One Archives (Los Angeles), posted at the Online Archive of California, accessed June 12, 2015, http://www.oac.cdlib.org/findaid/ark:/13030/kt8d5nf4c6/admin/#ref3. The National Gay Archives storefront was located at 1654 North Hudson Avenue in Hollywood from 1979 to 1988 (now demolished); see One Archives, "History."
[60] Notably, Kepner reported that early purchases for his collection starting in 1942 included both nonfiction and fiction and books dealing with both gay and lesbian themes. See Kepner, "An Accidental Institution," 176.
[61] See One Archives "History."

All of those organizations developed wide-ranging holdings embracing lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender materials, limited in some cases only by a regional focus. Furthermore, all were committed to documenting the racial and ethnic diversity of LGBTQ communities. In practice, however, evidence of the experience of cisgender white men often constituted a majority of the collections, in part because systems of privilege meant that more such material had been produced and preserved in the first place.[65] Other community-based archives followed the model of the LHA, seeking to address such challenges by focusing specifically on underrepresented groups. Institutions in this category include the National Transgender Library and Archive, which Dallas Denny created as a personal collection in 1990 in Tucker, Georgia (Figure 6), then donated in 1993 to the American Educational Gender Information Service, which in turn transferred it to the Labadie Collection at the University of Michigan in 2000.[66] Another example is the Historical Archive of the Latino GLBT

---

[62] A precise count of the community-based archives established during this period is difficult to establish, as many were small, local, and ephemeral, with collections that ultimately merged with those of larger organizations or were placed at university libraries or general historical societies; see "Introduction," in Lesbian and Gay Archives Roundtable, "Lavender Legacies Guide" (updated 2012), Society of American Archivists website, accessed June 8, 2015, http://www2.archivists.org/groups/lesbian-and-gay-archives-roundtable-lagar/lavender-legacies-guide-introduction.

[63] On the Gerber/Hart Library, see Michael McCaslin, "A Brief History of Gerber/Hart Library," *Illinois Libraries* 81, no. 4 (Fall 1999): 228–31; posted on Illinois Periodicals Online, accessed October 25, 2015, http://www.lib.niu.edu/1999/il9904228.html; the article notes that Gerber-Hart's first location was in the offices of Gay Horizon at 3225 North Sheffield Avenue, Chicago, Illinois. On the Gay and Lesbian Historical Society (now known as the GLBT Historical Society), see Gerard Koskovich, "Displaying the Queer Past: Purposes, Publics, and Possibilities at the GLBT History Museum," *QED: A Journal in GLBTQ Worldmaking* 1, no. 2 (2014): 61–78; the article indicates that the society's collections initially were housed in the apartment of cofounder Willie Walker on Seventeenth Street near Sanchez Street in San Francisco's Castro District.

[64] On the Quatrefoil Library, see Adam G. Keim, *History of the Quatrefoil Library* (Golden Valley, MN: Friends of the Bill of Rights Foundation, 2009), posted on the library's website, accessed June 8, 2015, http://www.qlibrary.org/wordpress/wp-content/uploads/2014/04/QUATRE_FINAL_E-BOOK.pdf; Keim notes that the library was housed from its founding until 1986 in Irwin and Hewetson's condominium on Grand Avenue near Dale Street in St. Paul, Minnesota. On the Stonewall Library (now known as the Stonewall National Museum and Archives), see "About Us: History," Stonewall National Museum and Archives website, accessed June 8, 2015, http://www.stonewall-museum.org/about-us/history. The Stonewall Library collections initially were located in founder Mark Silber's house on Jefferson Street near South Sixteenth Avenue in Hollywood, Florida; see David Jobin, executive director, Stonewall National Museum and Archives, e-mail to the author, May 19, 2015.

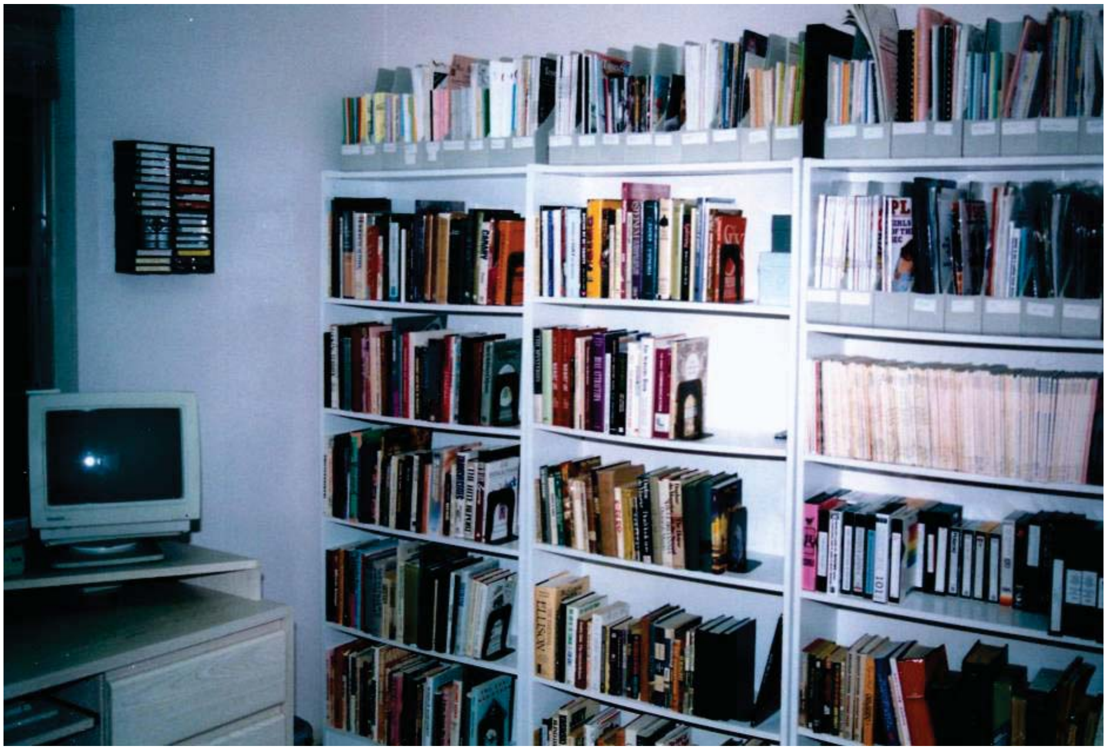


Figure 6: A portion of the National Transgender Library and Archive in the home of Dallas Denny, Tucker, Georgia. Photo courtesy of photographer Dallas Denny, circa 1995.

---

[65] For a brief discussion of gaps in LGBT archives and the systems that produce them, see Amy L. Stone and Jamie Cantrell, eds., *Out of the Closet, Into the Archives: Researching Sexual Histories* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 2015): 8–9.

[66] See Dallas Denny, e-mails to the author May 25, 2015; June 11, 2015; and June 13, 2015; also see the catalog record for the holdings at the University of Michigan Library website, accessed June 11, 2015, http://mirlyn.lib.umich.edu/Record/004366562. According to Denny, the collection was located in her home on Chisholm Court in Tucker, Georgia, from 1991 until it was transferred to the University of Michigan.

History Project, started as a personal collection by José Gutierrez in Washington, DC, in 1993 and incorporated as a nonprofit in 2007.[67]

The 1970s and 1980s also saw the emergence of independent scholars working individually and in collaboration to research the history of homosexuality and nonnormative gender expression.[68] These historians drew not only on a depth and range of published primary sources that surpassed those employed by the homophile movement, but also on the production of oral histories and sustained archival research, often gathering the materials directly from LGBT elders or working in association with the new community-based archives. As Susan Ferentinos notes, "The field of LGBT history owes a great debt to these mostly amateur community historians, for they saw the need to collect the history long before mainstream archives, and these early efforts form essential contributions to the historical collections of today. In a similar vein, many of the earliest books on LGBT history in the United States were written by historians (professionally trained or otherwise) who were unaffiliated with universities."[69]

A major independent scholar whose work emerged in this milieu is historian Jonathan Ned Katz, who conducted much of his early research at the Bobst Library at New York University in the years before LGBTQ community libraries and archives were founded.[70] "My work on gay history began with my play *Coming Out*, produced by the Gay Activists Alliance, NYC, in June 1972, and reproduced the following year," Katz recalls. "There was also a Boston production, I guess in 1973. The play used documents of LGBT history for dramatic purposes. The attention the play got led to my being offered a contract for a book on gay history, which turned into *Gay American History* in 1976. I always say that my work on gay history comes directly out of the political movement."[71] Katz adds that "I started out by trying to find out everything that was already known about LGBT history. I collected all the existing bibliographies on homosex and cut them up and put them in chrono order on 3 x 5 cards. It was revelatory."[72]

---

[67] See "About Us: Our History" and "Historical Archive", Latino GLBT History Project website, accessed June 8, 2015, http://www.latinoglbthistory.org. The collections have been housed in Gutierrez's apartment on S Street NW at the corner of Seventeenth Street in Washington, DC, since he began gathering the materials; José Gutierrez, message to the author, October 26, 2015.

[68] For a discussion of the efforts of lesbian and gay independent scholars in this period, see Escoffier, *American Homo*, 104–110.

[69] Ferentinos, *Interpreting LGBT History*, 22.

[70] See Jim Downs, "The Education of Jonathan Ned Katz," *Chronicle of Higher Education*, February 21, 2016, accessed February 22, 2016, http://chronicle.com/article/The-Education-of-Jonathan-Ned/235343/. On the Bobst Library, see Jonathan Ned Katz, e-mail to the author, May 22, 2015. On the cultural and intellectual significance of Katz's work in the 1970s, see Escoffier, *American Homo*, 109, 126–127.

Katz's 1976 book, *Gay American History: Lesbians and Gay Men in the U.S.A.—A Documentary*, brought together an array of primary sources from the sixteenth through the twentieth centuries, along with Katz's historical commentaries and an eighty-three page bibliography.[73] As with the play that preceded it, the book included histories of women and men, white people, people of color, and individuals with diverse desires and gender expressions, many reflecting the experience of eras well before the conception of gay, lesbian, bisexual, or transgender identities. *Gay American History* was the first volume in the field brought out by a major New York publishing house. This connection helped give the book unprecedented reach, drawing the attention of many LGBTQ individuals and not a few academic historians to the potential depth and range of this area of history. Katz also helped develop basic resources for gay and lesbian studies by serving as general editor of "Homosexuality: Lesbians and Gay Men in Society, History, and Literature," a series of some one hundred books from the Arno Press in New York City that reprinted scarce and long out-of-print titles and brought unpublished original scholarship into print.[74]

---

[71] Jonathan Ned Katz, e-mail to the author, May 7, 2015. Also see Jonathan Katz, *Coming Out! A Documentary Play About Gay Life and Liberation in the U.S.A.* (New York: Arno Press, 1975), which includes an introduction by the author recounting the productions of the play, along with a selection of reviews and news coverage, and Jonathan Ned Katz, "Recalling My Play 'Coming Out!' June 1972," OutHistory.org, last modified September 3, 2013, accessed June 8, 2015, http://outhistory.org/oldwiki/Jonathan_Ned_Katz,_Recalling_My_Play_%22Coming_Out!%22_June_1972. These sources note that *Coming Out!* was first presented at the Gay Activist Alliance Firehouse at 99 Wooster Street. The building now houses a watch store on the ground floor. It is located in the SoHo-Cast Iron Historic District, listed on the NRHP and designated an NHL on June 29, 1978.

[72] Jonathan Ned Katz, e-mail to the author, May 22, 2015.

[73] Jonathan Katz, *Gay American History: Lesbians and Gay Men in the U.S.A.—A Documentary* (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1976).

At a time when American universities remained almost entirely unwelcoming to the history of homosexuality, the period from 1972 to 1980 saw the first three graduate students successfully complete doctoral dissertations dealing with the subject: Rictor Norton, Salvatore Licata, and Ramón Gutiérrez.[75] With a new assertiveness reflecting the impact of gay liberation politics, these young researchers took on the sustained intellectual labor and constrained economic circumstances of graduate school, even though they had every reason to believe they would face considerable challenges establishing careers in academia.[76] As Gayle Rubin notes, advisers of graduate students doing such work at the time not infrequently "told them bluntly that they were committing academic suicide, and these warnings were not unrealistic."[77] In their overall approach to queer history, the early dissertations look back to the traditions of folk and homophile histories and forward to future thinking about LGBTQ people and their place in the past. Their pioneering authors opened the way for three more PhDs in the field in the 1980s, earned by John D'Emilio, Michael Lombardi, and George Chauncey.[78]

---

[74] See Escoffier, *American Homo*, 109. Also see the preliminary announcement for the series, which was subsequently expanded to include additional titles: *Homosexuality: Lesbians and Gay Men in Society, History, and Literature. A Collection of 54 Books and 2 Periodicals. First Announcement* (New York: Arno Press, 1975); in addition to Katz as general editor, the editorial board consisted of two university professors, Louis Crompton of the University of Nebraska, Lincoln, and Dolores Noll of Kent State University; a graduate student at Cornell University, James Steakley, who went on to a career as a professor at the University of Wisconsin, Madison; and another independent scholar who was a veteran of the homophile movement, Barbara Gittings (1932–2007).

[75] On the lack of welcome for lesbian and gay history—and for lesbian and gay studies in general—in universities in the 1970s, see Escoffier, *American Homo*, 104–110. For the development of careers in the field, see Marc Stein, "Committee on Lesbian and Gay History Survey on LGBTQ History Careers," Committee on Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender History website, June 2001, accessed June 9, 2015, http://clgbthistory.org/resources/reports/lgbtq-history-careers.

[76] For an overview of the production of doctoral dissertations on LGBTQ history, see "Dissertations and Theses," see "Dissertations and Theses," Committee on Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender History website, accessed June 9, 2015, http://clgbthistory.org/resources/dissertations. For the development of careers in the field, see Marc Stein, "Committee on Lesbian and Gay History Survey on LGBTQ History Careers," Committee on Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender History website, June 2001, accessed June 9, 2015, http://clgbthistory.org/resources/reports/lgbtq-history-careers.

[77] Gayle Rubin, "Blood Under the Bridge: Reflections on 'Thinking Sex,'" in Rubin, *Deviations*, 198. Brenda Marston reports that such obstacles continued into the next decade: when she was a graduate student hoping to study lesbian history at the University of Wisconsin, Madison, in the early 1980s, an adviser told her, "It will ruin your career." See Brenda Marston, "Archivists, Activists, and Scholars: Creating a Queer History," in Carmichael, ed., *Daring to Find Our Names*, 137.

The first individual in the United States to receive a PhD for work dealing with the history of homosexuality was Rictor Norton, a graduate student in English at Florida State University in Tallahassee from 1967 to 1972.[79] His dissertation traces literary representations of male homosexuality through pastoral mythology from the ancient world to the Renaissance, with an afterword on modern European and American authors. Norton's work brought scholarly rigor to the queer tradition of alternative cultural and literary histories, but having come out publicly, he found that his advisor opposed his search for an academic post.[80] In 1973, he moved to London, where he worked in journalism and publishing and has produced numerous publications on gay history as an independent scholar.[81]

The second PhD in the United States on the history of homosexuality went to Salvatore Licata (1939–1990), a graduate student in history at the University of Southern California in Los Angeles from 1971 to 1978. In part recalling the early efforts of the Mattachine Society to record its own history, his dissertation focused on the American gay movement from the early twentieth century to 1974.[82] Licata taught an early course section titled "Sexual Nonconformity in America" as part of a freshman American history seminar at USC in 1976.[83] He later taught gay history at San Francisco State University, but did not obtain a permanent academic post; when he died of AIDS in 1990, he had been working for several years as a journalist and community educator on HIV.[84]

---

[78] Committee on Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender History, "Dissertations and Theses"; John D'Emilio, "Out of the Shadows: The Homosexual Emancipation Movement in the United States," PhD diss., Columbia University, 1982; Lombardi, "The Translation of the Works by Karl Heinrich Ulrichs," 1984; George Chauncey, "Gay New York: Urban Culture and the Making of the Gay Male World, 1890–1940," PhD diss., Yale University, 1989.

[79] On Norton's graduate school experiences, see Rictor Norton, e-mails to the author, June 3, 2015 and June 4, 2015.

[80] Rictor Norton, "The Homosexual Literary Tradition: An Interpretation," PhD diss., Florida State University, Tallahassee, 1972; the dissertation formed the basis for Norton's book *The Homosexual Literary Tradition: An Interpretation* (New York: Revisionist Press, 1974). Norton notes that he spent much of his time as a grad student at FSU's Strozier Library, located on campus at 116 Honors Way, Tallahassee, Florida; Norton, e-mail to the author, June 4, 2015.

[81] For a brief biography of Norton, a list of his publications, and links to many of his articles, see Gay History & Literature: Essays by Rictor Norton, updated August 22, 2015, accessed June 10, 2015, http://rictornorton.co.uk.

[82] Salvatore John Licata, "Gay Power: A History of the American Gay Movement, 1908–1974," PhD diss., University of Southern California, 1978.

The third American doctoral dissertation that discusses the history of homosexuality is the work of Ramón Gutiérrez, a graduate student in the History Department at the University of Wisconsin, Madison, from 1974 to 1980.[85] Although in part addressing the ethnohistory of American Indians that previously had attracted the attention of homophile organizers, Gutiérrez dropped their approach to same-sex desire and nonnormative gender expression as isolated phenomena; instead, he integrates them into his analysis of larger systems of sex, gender, marriage, and family in colonial New Mexico from the late seventeenth century to the mid-nineteenth century.[86] In contrast to Norton and Licata, Gutiérrez built an academic career and now holds an endowed chair in history at the University of Chicago.[87]

Independent scholars and academics also worked together in several initiatives during this period. One such effort was the Buffalo Women's Oral History Project, founded in 1978 by Elizabeth Lapovsky Kennedy,

---

[83] See "Schedule of Classes and Registration Instructions, Spring Semester 1976," *Bulletin of the University of Southern California* 71, no. 9 (November 15, 1975): 30. The course was held in Room 206 of Waite Phillips Hall of Education at 3470 University Avenue (now Trousdale Parkway) on the USC campus; for the building, see "Schedule of Classes and Registration Instructions," 2. Currently known simply as Phillips Hall, the structure remains in use as the home of USC's Rossier School of Education.

[84] See "Salvatore J. Licata, 50, an Educator on AIDS," *New York Times*, January 4, 1990, accessed June 9, 2015, http://www.nytimes.com/1990/01/04/obituaries/salvatore-j-licata-50-an-educator-on-aids.html.

[85] Ramón A. Gutiérrez, e-mail to the author, June 15, 2015.

[86] Ramón A. Gutiérrez, "Marriage, Sex, and the Family: Social Change in Colonial New Mexico, 1690-1846," PhD diss., University of Wisconsin, Madison, 1980. The dissertation formed the basis for a subsequent book: Ramón A. Gutiérrez, *When Jesus Came, the Corn Mothers Went Away: Marriage, Sexuality, and Power in New Mexico, 1500-1846* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1991). While working on his dissertation, Gutiérrez spent nine months in 1979–1980 conducting research at the New Mexico State Records Center and Archives, then located in a former post office at 404 Montezuma Avenue in Santa Fe; Ramon A. Gutiérrez, e-mail to the author, June 15, 2015. The structure is extant and apparently is still owned by the State of New Mexico, but no longer houses the Records Center and Archives.

[87] See the faculty homepage of Ramón A. Gutiérrez, University of Chicago website, accessed June 10, 2015, https://history.uchicago.edu/directory/ram%C3%B3n-guti%C3%A9rrez.

Madeline D. Davis, and Avra Michelson.[88] They jointly conceived an initiative to record oral histories of the Buffalo lesbian community, create an accessible archive of the interviews and supporting documents, and write a book based on the materials. With other collaborators over time, including Wanda Edwards (1955–1995), an African American graduate student, the project continued for fourteen years, capturing memories reflecting the diversity of gender expression, race, and urban territories among the city's working-class lesbians before 1970.[89] Kennedy and Davis ultimately produced a book drawn from the work of the project: *Boots of Leather, Slippers of Gold: The History of a Lesbian Community* (1993). Their introduction sums up the project in these words: "Uncovering our hidden history was a labor of love, and restoring this history to our community was a political responsibility."[90]

Another such initiative was the San Francisco Lesbian and Gay History Project, which had a wide-ranging national impact over time. Founded in summer 1978, the project provided a network of support and intellectual exchange for participants who were carrying out research, writing, and public history initiatives.[91] Meeting initially in the apartment of founding member Allan Bérubé (1946–2007) in the Haight-Ashbury District (Figure 7) and occasionally sponsoring public presentations in community settings, the History Project remained active into the mid-1980s.[92] John D'Emilio and Estelle Freedman, both of whom were members, recall that "remarkably, given the strong tendencies toward lesbian separatism in the 1970s, the project remained a mixed-sex group, although lesbians met separately as well as with the male participants. While almost entirely white, it also was a mixed-class group and one that defined itself as politically activist."[93]

---

[88] Kennedy was a professor of women's studies at the State University of New York; Buffalo; Davis was a librarian and lesbian activist who had returned to school to obtain a master's degree but did not pursue an academic career; Michelson had received a master's in American studies in 1976 but went on to work as an archivist. On Kennedy and Davis and on the Buffalo Women's Oral History Project in general, see Elizabeth Lapovsky Kennedy and Madeline D. Davis, *Boots of Leather, Slippers of Gold: The History of Lesbian Community* (New York: Routledge, 1993), xvi; and Elizabeth Lapovsky Kennedy, e-mail to the author, July 20, 2015. On Michelson's training and career, see Avra Michelson, "Description and Reference in the Age of Automation," *American Archivist* 50 (Spring 1987): 192. Kennedy lived in a rambling shingled house on a corner lot in the 300 block of Bryant Street in Buffalo at the time; see Kennedy, e-mail to the author, June 15, 2015. The structure is extant. Other sites associated with the project remain to be identified.

[89] Edwards went on to work as a musician, editor, and legal assistant; see Kennedy and Davis, *Boots of Leather, Slippers of Gold*, xvi, and "Wanda D. Edwards, Musician, Artist," *Buffalo News*, December 22, 1995, A12.

[90] Kennedy and Davis, *Boots of Leather, Slippers of Gold*, xvi.

[91] See Rubin, "Blood Under the Bridge," in Rubin, *Deviations*, 199–200; and John D'Emilio and Estelle B. Freedman, "Allan Bérubé and the Power of Community History," in D'Emilio and Freedman, eds., *My Desire for History*, 10–12. For the date the project was founded, see "San Francisco Gay History Project," typescript funding proposal (1978), 1; GLBT Historical Society (San Francisco), San Francisco Lesbian and Gay History Project Records (collection no. 1988-05), box 1, folder 1: "SFGHP Project Proposal 1978." Published sources based on the authors' recollections, by contrast, variously give the year as 1978 or 1979; see Rubin, *Deviations*, 362, note 57, and Escoffier, *American Homo*, 169. Note

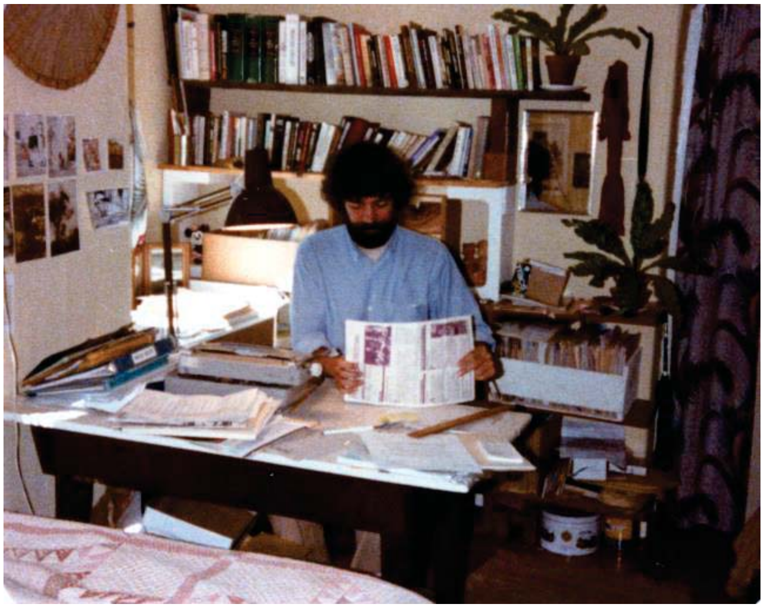


Figure 7: Historian Allan Bérubé in his apartment on Lyon Street near Oak Street in San Francisco, California in 1979. The earliest meetings of the San Francisco Lesbian and Gay History Project were held here. Photographer unknown. Courtesy of the GLBT Historical Society (San Francisco).

Many of those involved in the History Project went on to produce significant work. Independent scholars who were active with the group include Bérubé, recipient of a MacArthur Fellowship for his historical research; Academy Award-winning filmmaker Rob Epstein; author and

---

that the group originally called itself the San Francisco Gay History Project; the name was changed to add the word "lesbian" sometime between June 1, 1979, and March 4, 1980; see the dated promotional materials in GLBT Historical Society (San Francisco), San Francisco Lesbian and Gay History Project Papers (collection no. 1988-05), box 1, folder 2: "Publicity: Flyers, Articles, Events."

[92] Bérubé's apartment was located on Lyon Street just south of the Panhandle of Golden Gate Park; see GLBT Historical Society (San Francisco), Allan Bérubé Papers (collection no. 1995-17), box 1, folder 7: "125 Lyon Street Apartment Papers." The first public program sponsored by the project was a presentation of the slide show "Lesbian Masquerade" on June 21, 1979, at the Women's Building of San Francisco, located at 3543 Eighteenth Street in the Mission District. See "Dear Friends," promotional letter signed by Amber Hollibaugh and Allan Bérubé (June 1, 1979); GLBT Historical Society (San Francisco), San Francisco Lesbian and Gay History Project Papers (collection no. 1988-05), box 1, folder 2: "Publicity: Flyers, Articles, Events."

[93] D'Emilio and Freedman, eds., *My Desire for History*, 10–11.

editor Jeffrey Escoffier; historian and bibliographer Eric Garber (1954–1995); and activist and writer Amber Hollibaugh.[94] The History Project also was the setting where Garber and independent scholar Willie Walker (1949–2004) launched a database of San Francisco LGBTQ historic sites that has subsequently supported the work of numerous researchers on the history of queer places in the city.[95] The group likewise nurtured Walker's proposal that led to the creation in 1985 of the GLBT Historical Society, now a renowned LGBTQ archives and museum (Figure 8).[96]

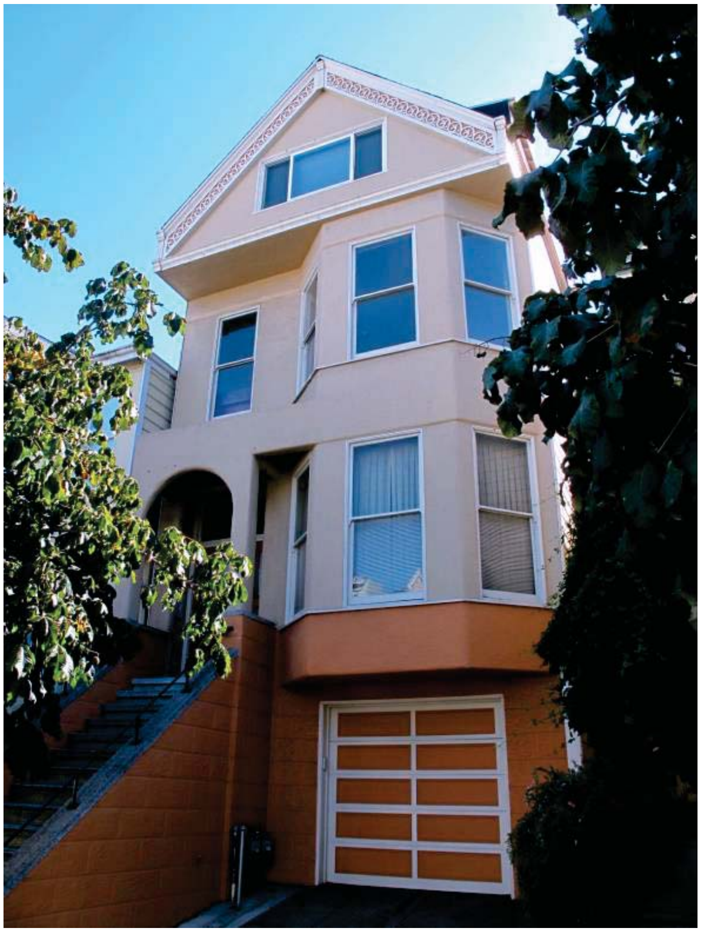


Figure 8: The collections of the GLBT Historical Society were housed in the apartment of co-founder Willie Walker in this building on Seventeenth Street in the Castro District in San Francisco from 1985 through 1990. Photo courtesy of photographer Gerard Koskovich, 2012.

---

[94] For examples of the members' work, see Allan Bérubé, *Coming Out Under Fire: The History of Gay Men and Women in World War Two* (New York: Free Press, 1990); *The Times of Harvey Milk,* directed by Rob Epstein (1984); Jeffrey Escoffier, *Bigger Than Life: The History of Gay Porn Cinema from Beefcake to Hardcore* (Philadelphia: Running Press, 2009); Eric Garber and Lynn Paleo, *Uranian Worlds: A Guide to Alternative Sexuality in Science Fiction, Fantasy and Horror* (Boston: G.K. Hall, 1990); and Amber Hollibaugh, *My Dangerous Desires: A Queer Girl Dreaming Her Way Home* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2000).

[95] On the sites database, see Damon Scott, interview with the author, May 19, 2015. Scott indicates that Garber and Walker passed the database along to the GLBT Historical Society, where Scott himself later incorporated further data, including sites identified by Elizabeth A. Armstrong in research for her book *Forging Gay Identities: Organizing Sexuality in San Francisco, 1950–1994* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002). The database is now available to researchers at the society's reading room in San Francisco.

[96] See Diana Kiyo Wakimoto, "Queer Community Archives in California Since 1950," PhD diss., Queensland University of Technology, Brisbane, Australia, 2012, 93–94. Also see Wyatt Buchanan,

The careers of academics who were involved with the Lesbian and Gay History Project suggest the extent to which universities remained a challenging setting for LGBTQ scholarship during this period: several produced exceptional work, yet endured long struggles to achieve full university appointments in their chosen fields. For instance, D'Emilio was a graduate student at the time he joined the project. After completing his PhD, he initially taught at the University of North Carolina, Greensboro, then took a position at the National Gay and Lesbian Task Force Policy Institute. Ultimately he was hired as professor in 1989 at the University of Illinois, Chicago, from which he retired in 2015.[97] When Freedman joined the project, she was already teaching at Stanford University, where she was awarded tenure in 1983 only after a lengthy public battle. She established a distinguished career as a feminist historian and now holds an endowed professorship at Stanford.[98] A third member, Gayle Rubin, was an anthropology graduate student who went on to publish highly influential essays in feminist theory, sexuality studies, and the history of leather and SM. After many years of short-term posts at various institutions, she obtained tenure in 2011 at the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, where she is now an associate professor.[99]

"Willie Walker—Archivist for the Bay Area Gay Community," *San Francisco Chronicle*, October 22, 2004, accessed June 10, 2015, http://www.sfgate.com/bayarea/article/Willie-Walker-archivist-for-Bay-Area-gay-2679957.php. Note that the obituary erroneously refers to the San Francisco Lesbian and Gay History Project as the "San Francisco History Project." On the GLBT Historical Society and its GLBT History Museum, see Koskovich, "Displaying the Queer Past"; Don Romesburg, "Presenting the Queer Past: A Case for the GLBT History Museum," *Radical History Review* 120 (2014): 131–144; and Jennifer Tyburczy, *Sex Museums: The Politics and Performance of Display* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2016), 115–124.

[97] See D'Emilio's curriculum vitae, posted on his emeritus faculty page on the University of Chicago website, accessed January 30, 2016, http://hist.uic.edu/history/people/emeriti/john-d'emilio.

[98] See "Curriculum Vitae: Estelle B. Freeedman," Stanford History Department website, accessed January 30, 2016, http://ebf.stanford.edu/cv.html Jan. 30, 2016; and Nancy Williams, "Estelle Freedman Wins Long Battle for Tenure," *Stanford Daily* 184, no. 1 (September 26, 1983): 1, 15; accessed January 30, 2016, http://stanforddailyarchive.com/cgi-bin/stanford?a=d&d=stanford19830926-01.2.3.

[99] Gayle Rubin, e-mail to the author, February 2, 2016; and Rubin curriculum vitae, November 15, 2015, copy in possession of the author.

Coda: The Queer 1990s and Beyond

The 1990s and beyond have seen LGBTQ history widely recognized as both a valid field of academic study and a subject of popular interest. Several developments demonstrate this shift away from the long period in which individuals and communities searching for stories of the LGBTQ past encountered the barriers of shaming and pathologizing, silence and silencing, the struggle to find and share sources for production of knowledge, and the risk of disapproval and opposition when possibilities for scholarship began to emerge. Since the beginning of the 1990s, academics working in LGBTQ history have been active around the United States, with an increasing number of universities supporting research, acquiring library special collections, and offering courses related to the subject.[100] One marker of the establishment of the field is the production of PhDs: the count jumped from three in the 1970s and three in the 1980s to thirty-seven in the 1990s followed by eighty-three from 2000 to 2013.[101] Doctorates in the 1990s included the first focused on lesbian history and the first substantially dealing with transgender history.[102] Among the institutions awarding these doctorates were Harvard, Stanford, the University of California, the University of Iowa, the University of

---

[100] For research, see Committee on Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender History, "Dissertations and Theses." For a sampling of LGBTQ history courses offered at more than fifty institutions of higher education in the United States from 1997 to 2015, see "Syllabi," Committee on LGBT History website, accessed January 31, 2016, http://clgbthistory.org/resources/syllabi. For the growth of LGBT special collections and archival holdings in academic libraries, see Stone and Cantrell, eds., *Out of the Closet*, 7; also see Lesbian and Gay Archives Roundtable, "Lavender Legacies Guide."

[101] Although Ramón Gutiérrez submitted his dissertation in 1980, I include it in the count for the 1970s because virtually all of his doctoral work took place during that decade.

[102] See Lisa Duggan, "The Trials of Alice Mitchell: Sex, Science, and Sensationalism in Turn of the Century America," PhD diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1992, which deals with the Freda Ward lesbian murder case, and David Serlin, "Built for Living: Imagining the American Body Through Medical Science, 1945–65," PhD diss., New York University, 1999, which focuses substantially on transgender and genderqueer history including the lives of Christine Jorgensen (1966–1989), one of the first highly visible American transwomen, and Gladys Bentley (1907–1969), an African American blues singer who spent much of her life as a butch who dressed in men's clothing. As best I can document, no dissertations focusing entirely or substantially on the history of bisexuality have been produced to date in the United States.

Louisiana, the University of New Mexico, the University of North Carolina, and Yale.[103]

Drawing on the boom in dissertations as well as the ongoing research and writing of professors and independent scholars, the 1990s and 2000s also saw university presses and commercial publishers bring out a significant number of titles in the field of LGBTQ history. Reflecting insights from feminist studies, sexuality studies, ethnic studies, and queer studies, these publications often focus on the extent to which the forms and meanings of sexuality and gender change through time; on the intersectionality of experiences of sexuality, gender, race, immigration, and class; on questioning the concept of stable sexual and gender identities that form unitary communities; and on understanding same-sex desire, same-sex sexual activity, and nonnormative gender as aspects of systems of sex, gender, and power that structure society as a whole. In addition, the 1990s brought the first books from major commercial publishers addressing bisexual and transgender history: *Transgender Warriors: Making History from Joan of Arc to RuPaul* (1996) by transgender activist, journalist, and grassroots historian Leslie Feinberg (1949–2014), and *Vice Versa: Bisexuality and the Eroticism of Everyday Life* (1995) by Marjorie Garber, a professor of English at Harvard.[104]

---

[103] Committee on Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender History, “Dissertations and Theses”; the totals exclude dissertations produced at institutions outside the United States. The list has not yet been updated to show PhDs granted since 2013. Note that the wide recognition of LGBTQ history should not be taken as an indication that universities have prioritized hiring in the field: most of those who receive PhDs focused on LGBTQ history do not find work in history departments, and many do not find work in any academic setting. See Stein, “Committee on Lesbian and Gay History Survey,” and Allison Miller, “Historians on the Edge: The LGBTQ Historians Task Force Report and the AHA,” *Perspectives on History*, February 2016, accessed February 29, 2016, http://historians.org/publications-and-directories/perspectives-on-history/february-2016/scholars-on-the-edge-the-lgbtq-historians-task-force-report-and-the-aha.

[104] Marjorie Garber, *Vice Versa: Bisexuality and the Eroticism of Everyday Life* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1995) draws on cultural, literary, medical, and other histories as part of a wider work of contemporary cultural and social criticism. Leslie Feinberg, *Transgender Warriors: Making History from Joan of Arc to RuPaul* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1996) offers an intellectual autobiography tracing the author’s creation of an alternative history that highlights nonnormative gender. On Feinberg, also see Bruce Weber, “Leslie Feinberg, Writer and Transgender Activist Dies at 65,” *New York Times*, November 24, 2014, accessed January 31, 2016, http://www.nytimes.com/2014/11/25/nyregion/leslie-feinberg-writer-and-transgender-activist-dies-at-65.html.

Garber's book notwithstanding, the history of bisexuality has remained one of the least documented areas of the LGBTQ past.[105]

Beyond the academy, LGBTQ people continue looking for the self-affirmation offered by a shared heritage.[106] They are creating queer history projects and archives well beyond the metropolises customarily recognized as centers of LGBTQ culture.[107] In addition, they widely echo James Kepner's prescient warning of almost six decades ago that "ignoring the homosexual pieces in the puzzle" deprives society in general of vital knowledge. Academic historians, public historians, independent scholars, and activists today note that the LGBTQ past forms a meaningful part of history as a whole and emphasize that creating a heritage for LGBTQ people also means honoring a past that rightfully belongs in all its diversity to all Americans. Advocacy for inclusion of LGBTQ history in public school curriculums is one setting where this approach is evident.[108] Another place where it is literally on display is exhibitions at LGBTQ and non-LGBTQ institutions such as libraries, historical societies, and museums.[109] And the field of historic preservation is now bringing the queer past to the attention of the wider public, a development forcefully demonstrated in the National Park Service's LGBTQ Heritage Initiative of which the present publication is a key component.

---

[105] Establishing the history of bisexual history poses several challenges, notably because the bisexual movement in its formative years did not produce its own national publications equivalent to the homophile journals. Furthermore, the homophile journals themselves largely ignored bisexual history, in contrast to their occasional discussion of transgender figures from the past. My review of more recent bisexual periodicals and anthologies suggests that compared to homophile, gay-liberation and lesbian-feminist cultures, bisexual publics may have taken less interest in using history as a political and cultural tool—or bisexual organizers may have faced more obstacles in uncovering historical evidence and in producing and transmitting historical knowledge.

For instance, the complete run of *Bi-Monthly*, published by the Bisexual Center in San Francisco from 1976 to 1985, includes just four articles devoted in whole or part to history: Sally R. Binford, "Anthropological Perspectives on Bisexuality," *Bi-Monthly* 3, no. 3 (March–April 1979): 1, 3–4; Jim Barnes, "Casanova: Some Bi-ographical Notes," *Bi-Monthly* 3, no. 4 (May–June 1979): 3–4; Jim Barnes, "Options Unlimited: Bisexuality in Science Fiction (Part I)," *Bi-Monthly* 6, no. 4 (July–August 1982): 5–6; Jim Barnes, "Options Unlimited: Bisexuality in Science Fiction (Part II)," 6, no. 6 (November–December 1982): 3–6. Likewise, the complete run of *Anything That Moves*, published by the Bay Area Bisexual Network from 1991 to 2001, shows only two such articles: Lisa Jean Moore, "The Native American Berdache," *Anything That Moves*, no. 1 (Winter 1991): 27–30, and Liz Highleyman, "History of the Bi Movement: How We Got Here and Where We're Going," *Anything That Moves,* no. 8 (Summer 1994): 24–25.

[106] For a striking example that echoes the search for heroes common to early LGBTQ folk historiography, see Sarah Prager, "Every LGBTQ+ Person Should Read This," *Huffington Post*, February 2, 2016, accessed February 29, 2016, http://www.huffingtonpost.com/sarah-prager/every-lgbtq-person-should_b_8232316.html.

[107] See Steven L. Brawley, "The Emergence of America's LGBT History Between the Coasts," Boom website, February 15, 2016, updated February 22, 2016, accessed February 29, 2016, http://www.boom.lgbt/index.php/equal/126-our-tribe/851-the-emergence-of-america-s-lgbt-history-between-the-coasts. For community-based archives, also see the roster in Lesbian and Gay Archives Roundtable, "Lavender Legacies Guide," which shows that such collections are now available to the public in all regions and in many major cities of the United States.

---

[108] For instance, the Fair, Accurate, Inclusive and Respectful (FAIR) Education Act went into effect in 2012 in California, mandating inclusion of LGBTQ history in lessons in the state's public K–12 curriculums; see "The FAIR Education Act," FAIR Education Act website, accessed June 13, 2015, http://www.faireducationact.com/about-fair. Another initiative, History UnErased, provides national teacher trainings at the Lowell National Historical Park in Lowell, Massachusetts (established as a national historical park on June 5, 1978); see the History UnErased website, https://historyunerased.com.

[109] Ferentinos, *Interpreting LGBT History*, 110–114, notes numerous instances of libraries, history museums, house museums, historical societies, and LGBTQ community archives in the United States sponsoring LGBT exhibitions since the mid-1990s. For examples of published catalogs from such exhibitions for the same time period, see Jill Austin and Jennifer Bryer, *Out in Chicago: LGBT History at the Crossroads* (Chicago: Chicago History Museum, 2013); Ryan Conrad, *Future of the Past: Reviving the Queer Archives* (Portland, ME: Maine College of Art/Moth Press, 2009); David Frantz and Mia Locks, eds., *Cruising the Archive: Queer Art and Culture in Los Angeles, 1945–1980* (Los Angeles: One National Gay and Lesbian Archives at USC, 2012); Dan Luckenbill, *With Equal Pride: Gay and Lesbian Studies at UCLA—Catalog of an Exhibit at the University Research Library, January–March 1993* (Los Angeles: Department of Special Collections, University Research Library, University of California, 1993); Molly McGarry and Fred Wasserman, *Becoming Visible: An Illustrated History of Lesbian and Gay Life in Twentieth Century America* (New York: New York Public Library/Penguin Group, 1998); Don Romesburg and Amy Sueyoshi, eds., "Passionate Struggle: Dynamics of San Francisco's GLBT History," *Fabulas: The Journal of the Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender Historical Society* (Winter 2008): 1–17; Stephanie Snyder, ed., *Out at the Library: Celebrating the James C. Hormel Gay and Lesbian Center* (San Francisco: San Francisco Public Library, 2005); and Stuart Timmons, *Out West: L.A.'s Influence on the Lesbian and Gay Movement* (Los Angeles: Doheny Memorial Library, University of Southern California, 2003).

05

THE PRESERVATION OF LGBTQ HERITAGE

Gail Dubrow

Introduction

The LGBTQ Theme Study released by the National Park Service in June 2016 is the fruit of three decades of effort by activists and their allies to make historic preservation a more equitable and inclusive sphere of activity. The LGBTQ movement for civil rights has given rise to related activity in the cultural sphere aimed at recovering the long history of same-sex relationships, understanding the social construction of gender and sexual norms, and documenting the rise of movements for LGBTQ rights in American history. This work has provided an intellectual foundation for efforts to preserve the tangible remains of LGBTQ heritage and make that history publicly visible at historic sites and buildings, in museum exhibits, and on city streets. This essay traces the history of the movement to identify, document, designate, interpret, and preserve elements of the built environment and cultural landscape associated with LGBTQ heritage.

Gail Dubrow

Undocumented LGBTQ History at National Historic Landmark Properties and those on the National Register of Historic Places

Sites with queer associations made their way onto the National Register of Historic Places (NRHP) and roster of National Historic Landmarks (NHL) not long after the passage of the 1966 Historic Preservation Act; however their connections to LGBTQ heritage almost always went undocumented in inventory-nomination forms and the subject went unmentioned—or was referred to only in euphemisms—when visitors toured places open to the public. Only in recent years, with rising public acceptance of differences in sexual orientation and gender expression, wider public support for LGBTQ civil liberties, and the creation of a robust body of scholarship in LGBTQ studies has it become possible to document and convey the full significance of these "lavender landmarks." Yet much work remains to be done to fully integrate the histories of lesbian gay, bisexual, transgender, and queer people into local, state, and federal cultural resources management programs.

Not all historic places are open to the public. Among those that are, many—including historic house museums—were established at a time when any discussion of sexuality and gender nonconformity was impermissible in public venues, but especially in the context of LGBTQ issues.[1] Historic houses associated with individuals noted for their literary or political achievements constitute the majority of listed properties with untapped potential to address LGBTQ themes. Nearly all that are open to the public were established at a time when any discussion of sexuality was impermissible in public venues, but especially in the context of LGBTQ issues. Because gay-positive public attitudes have evolved more quickly in major metropolitan areas, historic house museums that lie outside of urban centers have been slower to broadcast their LGBTQ associations.

---

[1] For more on interpreting LGBTQ historic sites, see Ferentinos (this volume).

In some cases, those charged with managing historic properties have been aware of relevant LGBTQ content, but have suppressed it within their interpretive programs. Despite persistent inquiries about LGBTQ connections to the properties, they have resisted taking action, sometimes hesitant to "out" historical figures who worked overtime to hide their sexual orientation. Some site managers have found themselves mired in uncertainty about how to make sense of documented same-sex affections that do not neatly fit into contemporary categories of sexual orientation and identity. So too, while it feeds the logic of homophobia, they fear that the social stigma and shame attached to homosexuality, bisexuality, and gender nonconformity might sully the reputation of the person or people being honored at the property they manage. Finally, in the context of the nation's culture wars, in which the rights of gays, lesbians, bisexual, and transgender people became one of the most divisive issues in American politics, few mainstream organizations relished the idea of actively courting controversy by bringing LGBTQ content to the fore at historic places. For all of these reasons, there are many designated NHLs and

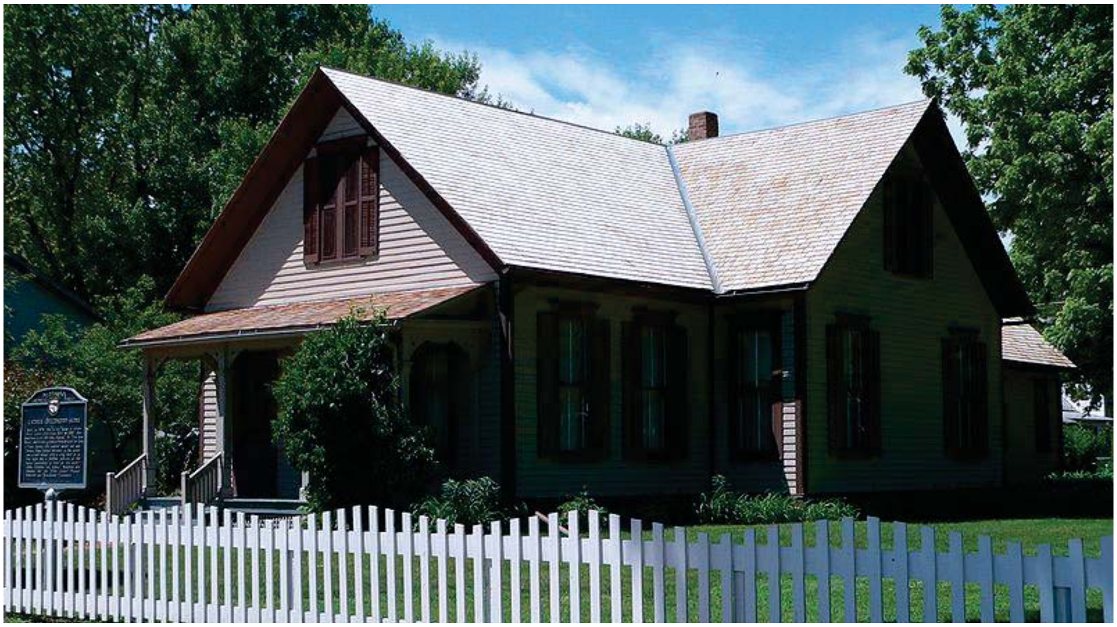


Figure 1: Willa Cather's Childhood Home, Red Cloud, Nebraska, 2010. Photo by Ammodramus.[2]

---

[2] License: Public Domain. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Willa_Cather_house_from_NE_1.JPG

properties listed on the NRHP whose connections with LGBTQ history remain to be articulated, including at historic properties association with Walt Whitman, Willa Cather, Eleanor Roosevelt and her associates, and Frances Perkins.

The small two-story wood-framed house in Camden, New Jersey that Whitman occupied from 1884 until his death in 1892 is open to the public, managed by the New Jersey Division of Parks and Forestry.[3] Whitman's homosexuality is neither mentioned in the NHL nomination for his home, nor on the museum's website, despite the homoeroticism in his work, including his masterpiece, *Leaves of Grass* (the final version of which he wrote at this location) and evidence of his relationships with other men.[4] Likewise, although the NHL nomination for Willa Cather's childhood home in Red Cloud, Nebraska recognized the home as a source of inspiration for her fiction, it was silent on Cather's transgressive gender expression in adolescence and her adult romantic and sexual ties with women (Figure 1).[5] Existing interpretation at the historic house museum as well as the official website also skirt these aspects of her life history, referring only briefly to Cather cropping her hair short, calling herself Willie or William, and adopting male attire as examples of her unusual degree of independence, rather than her defiance of social norms regarding sexual orientation and gender expression.[6] Changing ideas about Cather's place in American literature are mirrored in the evolving interpretation of her Red Cloud childhood home, except for the treatment of her personal life—and its implications for her work—which remain outdated by three decades.

---

[3] The Walt Whitman home is located at 330 Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. Boulevard (formerly Mickle Street), Camden, New Jersey. It was listed on the NRHP on October 15, 1966 and designated an NHL on December 29, 1962. It is a key contributing element of the Walt Whitman Neighborhood Historical District, listed on the NRHP on January 20, 1978.

[4] See, for example, Justin Kaplan, *Walt Whitman: A Life* (New York: Harper Perennial, 2003), 287; John Stokes, *Oscar Wilde: Myths, Miracles and Imitations* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 194n7.

[5] Willa Cather's childhood home is located at 241 North Cedar, Red Cloud, Nebraska. It was added to the NRHP on April 16, 1969 and designated an NHL on November 11, 1971. As an adolescent, Cather developed a masculine alter ego she called William J. that prefigured her unorthodox adult life as a lesbian and woman writer. Photographs of Cather as William exist and her gender-bending persona is well documented by scholars. By the1980s, literary scholars such as Phyllis C. Robinson and Shannon O'Brien, who integrated biographical and literary analysis, were openly addressing the issue of Cather's lesbianism and identifying the specific women she loved over a lifetime. More recently, scholars have analyzed her fiction through the lens of queer theory, finding in her male protagonists and female love objects a coded expression of same-sex attachments, developed at a time when open expressions of lesbian desire were unacceptable among adult women. Phyllis C. Robinson: *Willa: The Life of Willa Cather* (New York: Doubleday, 1983); and Shannon O'Brien, *Willa Cather: The Emerging Voice* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986). For a brief review of Cather's treatment within queer literary theory, see Phyllis M. Betz, "Willa Cather," in *Readers Guide to Lesbian and Gay Studies,* ed. Timothy F. Murphy (Chicago and London: Fitzroy Dearborn Publishers, 2013), 119-120. See also Marilee Lindemann, *Willa Cather: Queering America* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999).

As scholars have uncovered evidence of same-sex intimacies in connection with some of the most prominent figures in American history, including Eleanor Roosevelt and her circle, the managers of landmark destinations such as the Eleanor Roosevelt National Historic Site in Hyde Park, New York, known as Val-Kill, have had to weigh competing pressures

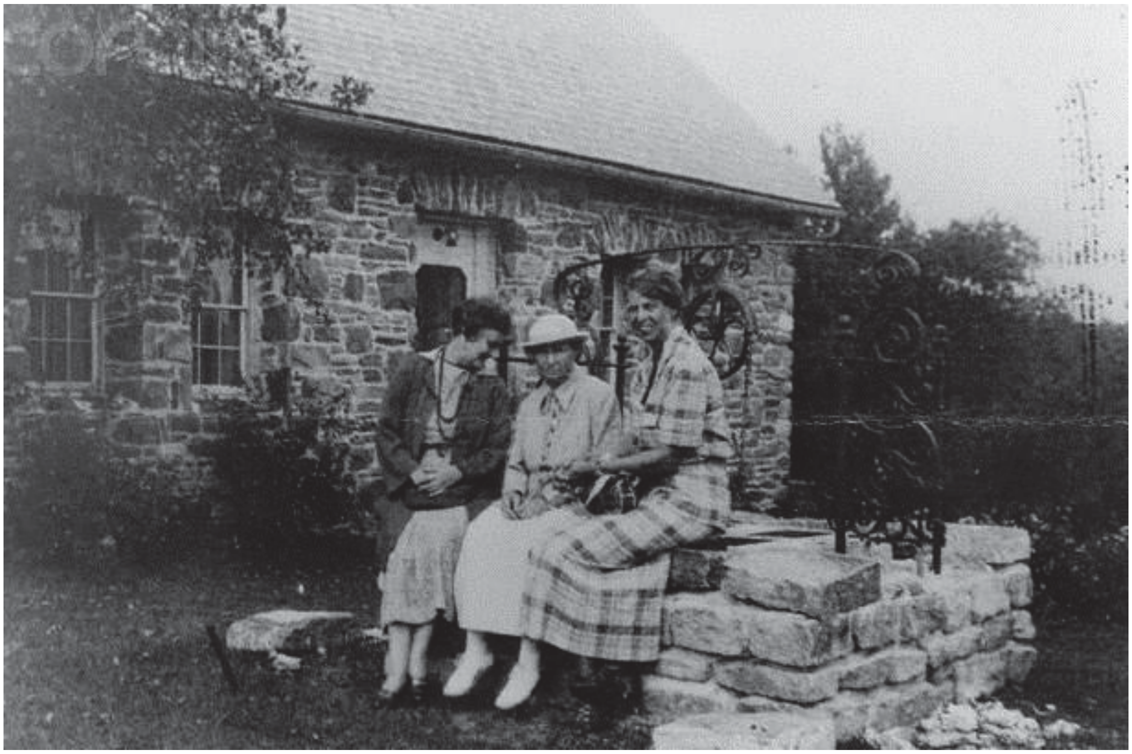


Figure 2: Future first lady Eleanor Roosevelt (right) with her personal aide Malvina Thompson and attorney Elizabeth Read at Salt Meadow, the summer home of couple Elizabeth Read and Esther Lape. Salt Meadow is now part of the Stewart B. McKinney National Wildlife Refuge, Connecticut. Image by © CORBIS.[7]

---

[6] See "Will Cather's Biography: The Early Years, 1873-1890," Willa Cather Foundation website, https://www.willacather.org/willa-cathers-biography.

[7] License: CC BY 2.0. https://www.flickr.com/photos/usfwshq/8511114962

to tackle the subject head-on or deflect potential controversy by only addressing it when visitors make inquiries.[8]

Eleanor Roosevelt was close friends with many influential and powerful lesbians, including couples Nancy Cook and Marion Dickerman and Esther Lape and Elizabeth Read (Figure 2). Roosevelt credited Lape and Read as playing an important role in her development as a political activist; Cook and Dickerman were frequent visitors to Val-Kill, ultimately residing in a stone cottage there for three decades.[9] Eleanor herself had a lengthy and intimate relationship with journalist Lorena Hickok: they vacationed together, Hickok had a bedroom in the White House, and the two wrote extensive and sensual letters to each other daily.[10] Evidence of this passionate relationship challenges long-standing stereotypes of Eleanor as "cold, remote…ugly, terminally insecure, dry-as-dust."[11]

As to whether Eleanor Roosevelt and "Hick" were physically intimate, according to historian Blanche Wiesen Cook:

---

[8] Val-Kill is part of the Eleanor Roosevelt National Historic Site in Hyde Park, New York, established as an NPS unit on May 27, 1977. It was listed on the NRHP on March 20, 1980 and designated an NHL on May 27, 1977.

[9] Eleanor rented an apartment from Lape and Read in New York City's Greenwich Village, staying there on her many trips into the city. Eleanor also visited Salt Meadow, the country retreat of Lape and Read on several occasions. Esther Lape donated Salt Meadow to the US Fish and Wildlife Service in 1972. Located at 733 Old Clinton Road, Westbrook, Connecticut, it now forms the core of the Stewart B. McKinney National Wildlife Refuge. Refuge staff are working on an NRHP for the former Salt Meadow estate that will recognize the same-sex relationship of Lape and Read. See "Elizabeth Fisher Read (1872-1943)," Eleanor Roosevelt Papers Project, George Washington University website, https://www.gwu.edu/~erpapers/teachinger/glossary/read-elizabeth.cfm; and Susan Wojtowicz, "Esther Lape and Elizabeth Read: Pioneers for Women's Rights and Conservation," US Fish and Wildlife Service website, https://usfwsnortheast.wordpress.com/2016/03/21/esther-lape-and-elizabeth-read-pioneers-for-womens-rights-and-conservation.

[10] Leila J. *Rupp, "'Imagine My Surprise': Women's Relationships in Historical Perspective," Frontiers: A Journal of Women Studies 5, no. 3 (1980): 61-70;* Blanche Wiesen Cook, *Eleanor Roosevelt, Volume I, l884-l933* (New York: Viking, 1992); and *Eleanor Roosevelt, Volume II, 1933-1938: The Defining Years* (New York: Viking, 1999); Judith C. Kohl, "Eleanor Roosevelt," in *Lesbian Histories and Cultures: An Encyclopedia*, ed. Bonnie Zimmerman (New York and London: Garland Publishing, 2000).

[11] The furor that accompanied publication of Blanche Wiesen Cook's biography of Eleanor Roosevelt is captured in her reply to Geoffrey Ward, "Outing Mrs. Roosevelt," *New York Review of Books*, March 25, 1993, http://www.nybooks.com/articles/1993/03/25/outing-mrs-roosevelt. Among the interpretive issues Cook highlights is the inability of Ward to consider the possibility that women who exercised power in the public realm also had sexual passions, pointing to the combination of sexism and homophobia that have influenced past interpretations of Eleanor Roosevelt's life.

> We can never know what people do in the privacy of their own rooms. The door is closed. The blinds are drawn. We don't know. I leave it up to the reader. But there's no doubt in my mind that they loved each other, and this was an ardent, loving relationship between two adult women.[12]

Neither the NHL nomination for Val-Kill nor the NPS website mention the same-sex relationships of either Eleanor Roosevelt or Cook and Dickerman. Concerns about the erasure of these aspects of Val-Kill's history have been long-standing, dating to Paula Martinac's 1997 observations in *The Queerest Places* that despite the evidence, "you won't hear even a hint about Eleanor's lesbianism [or bisexuality] in the official Park Service interpretation and film, in which Nancy and Marion are painted as 'good friends,' and Hick – one of the major relationships of her life – isn't mentioned at all."[13] In this case and many others, the ambiguity of evidence surrounding same-sex sexual intimacy, as opposed to intense emotional or romantic attachments, frequently has been used as a rationale for avoiding the issue. Established as a National Historic Site in 1977, Val-Kill would benefit from refreshed interpretation that brings insights from the past twenty-five years of scholarship into the presentation of Eleanor Roosevelt's life and legacy.

Likewise, nominations and interpretations of places associated with Frances Perkins, another major figure in Franklin and Eleanor Roosevelt's New Deal circle, neglect to mention her same-sex relationships.[14] The first woman to serve in a presidential cabinet, Frances Perkins was secretary of labor from 1933 to 1945 (Figure 3). While married to Paul Caldwell Wilson, Perkins maintained a long-standing romantic relationship with Mary Harriman Rumsey, who had founded the Junior League in 1901. Both women made their mark advancing the Progressive movement's labor and consumer reform agenda and subsequent New Deal initiatives. They lived together in DC until Rumsey's death in 1934, after which Perkins shared her life and home in DC with Caroline O'Day, a Democratic congresswoman from New York.[15] Building on her many accomplishments, Perkins went on to fight for the Social Security Act.

---

[12] See "Interview: Blanche Wiesen Cook," *The American Experience*, PBS, 1999, http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/americanexperience/features/interview/eleanor-cook.

[13] Paula Martinac, *The Queerest Places* (New York: Henry Holt, 1997); also see Paula Martinac, "ER at Val-kill," The *Queerest Places: A Guide to LGBT Historic Sites* (blog), January 16, 2009, https://queerestplaces.com/2009/01/16/er-at-val-kill.

[14] The Frances Perkins House in northwestern Washington, DC, secured NHL status under the Women's History Landmark Study. Perkins lived here in the mid-1930s. It was added to the NRHP and designated an NHL on July 17, 1991. The Perkins Homestead at 478 River Road, Newcastle, Maine, was first listed on the NRHP on February 13, 2009 as the Brick House Historic District for its archeological significance. The property was added to the NRHP and designated an NHL on August 25, 2014. This NHL nomination, prepared by a board member of the Frances Perkins Center (dedicated to preserving the homestead and her legacy) explains the complications of Perkins' marriage (her

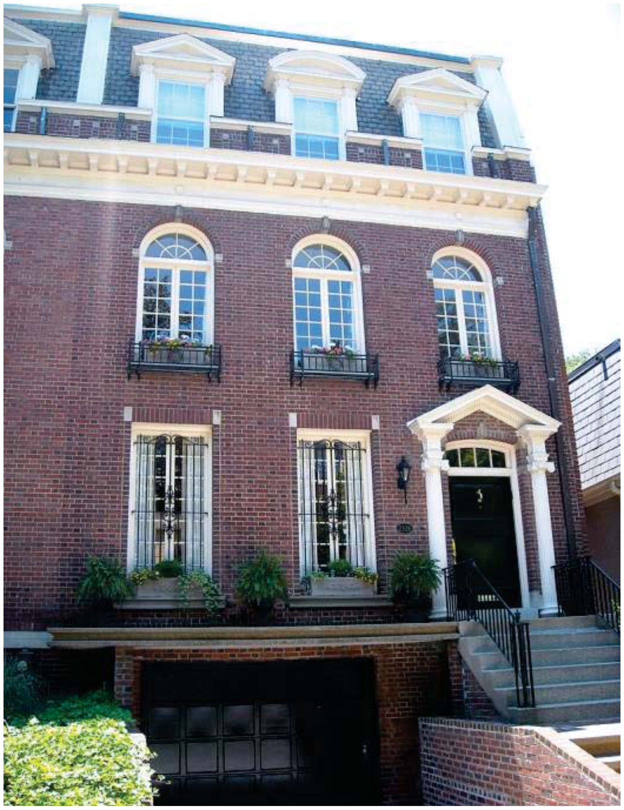


Figure 3: Frances Perkins House, Washington, DC. Photo by AgnosticPreachersKid, 2008.[16]

The interpretation and understanding of these places—and all of the others with silenced LGBTQ history—would benefit from representing the full complexity and histories of those who lived there. Part of this process is amendments to the existing nominations, and ensuring that LGBTQ history is incorporated into future nominations. Since anyone can prepare and submit an NHL nomination, the coverage of LGBTQ-related content depends on the author's awareness, comfort level, and facility. Review of draft nominations by NHL and NRHP program staff is therefore key to

---

husband suffered from a mental illness that had him in and out of hospitals and boarding houses), but attributes her shared living arrangements in DC during the mid-1930s to economy measures, skirting entirely the evidence of her intimate same-sex relationships.

[15] Kirstin Downey, *The Woman Behind the New Deal: The Life and Legacy of Frances Perkins* (New York: Anchor Books, 2009), 250.

[16] License: CC BY-SA 3.0. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Frances_Perkins_House.JPG

ensuring quality control. But these programs have, for many years, been chronically understaffed. One way to help ensure successful representation of LGBTQ places in these programs is by more fully engaging LGBTQ scholars in the review process at the state, regional, and federal levels.[17]

Strategies for Improving the Documentation and Interpretation of LGBTQ History at Existing Landmarks

Similar to past efforts to improve the presentation of American women's history at historic properties and museums, designated landmarks open to the public might benefit from a coordinated program of consultation with experts in LGBTQ history to develop more accurate and complete interpretive programs. At the federal level, Planning Grants to Museums, Libraries and Cultural Organizations from the National Endowment for the Humanities are an underutilized source of support to plan for reinterpretations of historic sites and districts that improve the coverage of previously neglected aspects of history and expand the diversity of public history audiences.[18] A 1992 project by the Pennsylvania Humanities Council, aimed at improving the interpretation of women's history at the state's historic sites and buildings, offers one model for bringing the staff at multiple historic properties into an extended dialogue with scholars to mine the possibilities for improved interpretation.[19] As LGBTQ sites are identified in systematic surveys and theme studies, it is important to designate overlooked properties and improve both the documentation and interpretation of places already listed on landmark registers.

---

[17] One source of subject experts is the pool of academic and community historians who contributed to the LGBTQ Theme Study.

[18] See "NEH Grants," National Endowment for the Humanities website, "Museums, Libraries, and Cultural Organizations: Planning Grants" http://www.neh.gov/grants/public/museums-libraries-and-cultural-organizations-planning-grants.

[19] Kim Moon, "'Raising Our Sites': A Pilot Project for Integrating Women's History into Museums," in *Restoring Women's History Through Historic Preservation*, eds. Gail Dubrow and Jennifer Goodman (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003), 248-262.

Scaling Up: Illuminating LGBTQ Presence in National Register Districts

Individual buildings, often historic houses, constitute the vast majority of properties listed on landmark registers with unexplored connections to LGBTQ history. But many historic districts also have unrealized potential to address LGBTQ themes, including those designated at the local, state, and federal levels. Greenwich Village was designated a local historic district by the New York City Landmarks Preservation Commission in 1969.[20] Completed in the same year as the Stonewall uprising, the designation report for Greenwich Village reflects the preservation movement's contemporary emphasis on documenting the architectural significance of buildings in field surveys, rather than elaborating on their social history. To the extent that its historical significance was addressed directly, attention focused on the district's vibrant role as a cultural incubator for theater, literature, and the arts, evidencing no awareness of its overarching national significance as a haven for LGBTQ people over the long arc of the twentieth century, which has been documented in numerous scholarly works in recent decades.

Districts such as Greenwich Village have been protected by whatever land use tools are applicable at the local level, but in many cases their original nominations and related preservation plans need to be updated from a LGBTQ perspective. Among the missing elements in Greenwich Village are apartment buildings that were not only home to bohemians generally, but also havens for lesbians specifically in the interwar years. One co-op building, for example, was home to two power couples in

---

[20] New York City Landmarks Preservation Commission, *Greenwich Village Historic District Designation Report*, vols. 1 and 2 (1969). For more on historic preservation in New York City, see Shockley (this volume).

Eleanor Roosevelt's circle: Molly Dewson and Polly Porter; and Marion Dickerman and Nan Cook, who lived across the hall from one another.[21] The property was proposed for NHL designation under the Women's History Landmark Project in 1991, but rejected by NHL program staff because they had an internal practice of only designating apartment houses when the whole building was deemed significant, rather than selected apartments.[22] Beyond recognizing multifamily housing associated with major political figures, even the well-covered theme of Greenwich Village as a creative cauldron merits updating with respect to the lesbian and gay literary figures who made it their home, including luminaries such as Lorraine Hansberry and James Baldwin.[23] The places associated with them present opportunities to reflect on the confluence of gender, race, and sexuality in the life and work of two pivotal writers in the mid-twentieth century. Beyond individual properties, district boundaries and determinations about which places constitute contributing elements might change when considered from a queer perspective.

The interpretive silences and distortions that overshadow LGBTQ lives at historic properties extend more broadly to historical figures whose circumstances and choices carried them beyond normative expectations of their gender. This is particularly true of women who chose not to engage in intimate relationships with anyone; those who married, but were unable or chose not to have children; free spirits who defied normative expectations of monogamy; or the minority who preferred communitarian living to the relative isolation of a nuclear family. Normative expectations about men and women's proper roles affect the interpretation of all lives—gay, straight, and beyond the usual binaries—making insights from feminist and queer theory relevant to the interpretation of many historic properties.

---

[21] References to this apartment building and its lesbian residents, located at 171 West 12th Street, is found in Roger Streitmatter, ed., *Empty Without You: The Intimate Letters of Eleanor Roosevelt and Lorena Hickok* (Boston: Da Capo Press, 1998), 74. It was included in Andrew Dolkart, *The Guide to New York City Landmarks* (New York: John Wiley & Son, 1992) and in subsequent editions. The Porter family's summer cottage, Moss Acre, in Castine, Maine, is another significant property associated with Dewson and Porter, who summered there annually and made it their permanent residence in retirement. It was designed by the Chicago architectural firm of Handy and Cady in 1892 for the Porter family and was still standing as of 2016. Castine Historical Society, *Images of America: Castine* (Charleston, SC: Arcadia Publishing, 1996), 119.

[22] Gail Dubrow and Carolyn Flynn, "Molly Dewson Residence," proposed NHL Nomination, 1991. A proposed nomination for the tenement apartment in New York City's East Village where Emma Goldman lived and published *Mother Earth News* also was rejected by staff at the time for similar reasons. In both cases, issues of sexuality tainted the proposals, and in Goldman's case, her anarchist politics were regarded by reviewers as controversial.

[23] LPC Staff Christoper D. Brazee, Gale Harris, and Jay Shockley, "James Baldwin and Lorraine Hansberry Residences, Greenwich Village Historic District and Upper West Side/Central Park West Historic District, Manhattan," in *150 Years of LGBT History*, PowerPoint presentation prepared for LGBT Pride 2014, http://www.nyc.gov/html/lpc/downloads/pdf/LGBT-PRIDE_2014.pdf.

Historic resources associated with the Modernist poet Marianne Moore illustrate some of the possibilities for challenging visitors' assumptions about gender norms and preconceptions about sexual orientation and identity in a domestic setting. Marianne Moore's parents were only married for two years, separating before her 1887 birth in Kirkwood, Missouri.[24] Marianne and her brother John Warner were raised by their mother Mary, with help from her female lover, Mary Norcross, until the relationship ended. Photographs from around 1904, showing one Mary sitting affectionately on the other's lap, and the two adults and children on a trip to the shore, are stunning reminders of lesbian family life more than a century ago (Figure 4).[25]

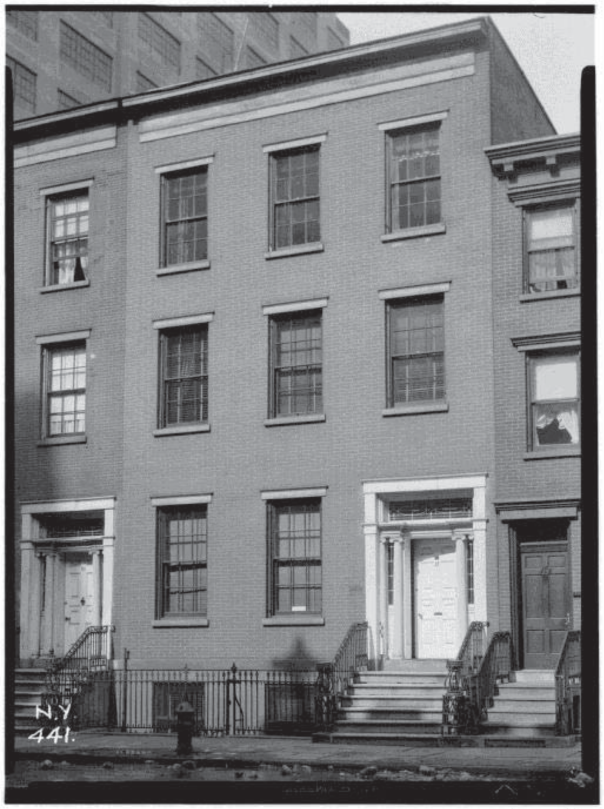


Figure 4: The John V. Gridley House, Marianne Moore's childhood home, New York City, New York, 1936. Photo by Arnold Moses for the Historic American Buildings Survey (HABS NY,31-NEYO,31-1).

---

[24] Her father, who suffered from mental illness, played no role in parenting his children.

[25] These photographs are in the Rosenbach's collection. See for example, "Marianne Moore, Mary Warner Moore, and Mary Jackson Norcross on rocks, Monhegan Island, Maine," (1904), Moore XII: 02:33f, Marianne Moore Collection. One of the childhood homes of Marianne Moore was the John V. Gridley House, 37 Charlton Street, New York City, New York.

Gay and lesbian individuals and couples figured prominently in the Moore household's social circle. After crushes on other women in her youth, however, the poet is not known to have entered into any intimate relationships, either with men or women. She thought it necessary to choose between dedication to her craft and the social expectations that accompanied romantic relationships, marriage, or parenting. Though Marianne's brother married and established an independent home, the poet ended up living with her mother in various apartments in New York City for almost all of her adult life, first moving to Greenwich Village in 1918. Mother Mary provided nearly all of the supports needed for her daughter to focus on writing, although by all accounts it was a complicated mutual dependency. As Marianne Moore rose to prominence as a pioneer of Modernist poetry, she enjoyed a rich social life that included the most notable literary figures of the time: Elizabeth Bishop, H.D, her lover Winnifred Ellerman (aka Bryher), William Carlos Williams, and more. The first time Marianne lived on her own was at the age of sixty, after her mother's death in 1947. In all of these respects, the Moores' lives did not follow the standard narrative for women who came of age in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.[26]

Philadelphia's Rosenbach Museum and Library was the recipient of the poet's papers, photographs, and personal possessions, including the contents of her Greenwich Village apartment at 35 West 9th Street after her death in 1972.[27] Exhibited on the third floor of the townhouse that contains the Rosenbach's collections, Moore's literary works are displayed in a reconstruction of her living room, allowing visitors to contemplate Marianne Moore's creative accomplishments in the social and spatial context of her unconventional upbringing, and adult lives that defied social expectations for two generations of women.

---

[26] Details of Marianne Moore's life and critical appraisals of her literary works are contained in Linda Leavell, Cristanne Miller, and Robin G. Schulze, eds., *Critics and Poets on Marianne Moore: "A Right Good Salvo of Barks"* (Lewisburg, PA: Bucknell University Press, 2005); and Linda Leavell, *Holding On Upside Down: The Life and Work of Marianne Moore* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2013).

[27] See "Marianne Moore Collection," Rosenbach Museum and Library website, https://www.rosenbach.org/learn/collections/marianne-moore-collection. The Rosenbach Museum and Library is located at 2008-2010 Delancey Place, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

Indeed, the reconstruction of Moore's living room is a rare example of alternative constructions of family on display in a museum. With the exception of communitarian settlements such as Shaker Villages or historic properties associated with Catholic religious orders of men and women, there are exceedingly few places where visitors can glimpse the private lives of people who in past times opted out of the mainstream. The recent NRHP designation of the lesbian-feminist collective, the Furies, DC home boldly points to the ways that places originally designed to be single-family dwellings could be re-appropriated for collective living.[28] The NRHP designation of Bayard Rustin's home signals the beginnings of a more racially-inclusive LGBTQ agenda for historic preservation, but is also notable for marking a distinguished American political figure whose home life was based in one unit within a larger urban apartment building—a breakthrough in its own right.[29] Occupied by private owners, neither the Furies' home nor Rustin's apartment are open to the public.

While the Rosenbach's reconstruction of Moore's apartment offers a welcome view of bohemian lives, dislocation from its physical context increases the risk that gays, lesbians, bisexuals, uncoupled people, and even those who chose celibacy will appear to have been more isolated from community than they were in actuality. Women who led unconventional lives, such as Mary and Marianne Moore, felt at home in Greenwich Village precisely because they contributed to shaping a public literary, artistic, and social culture that was their own. From the 1920s on:

> The South Village emerged as one of the first neighborhoods in New York that allowed, and gradually accepted, an open gay and lesbian presence. Eve Addams' Tearoom at 129 MacDougal Street was a popular after-theater club run in 1925-26 by Polish-Jewish lesbian émigré Eva Kitchener (Clothier), with a sign that read, 'Men

---

[28] The Furies Collective house in Washington, DC's Capitol Hill neighborhood, was listed on the NRHP on May 2, 2016.

[29] Bayard Rustin's residence in the Chelsea neighborhood of New York City, New York was listed on the NRHP on March 8, 2016.

> are admitted but not welcome.' Convicted of "obscenity" (for Lesbian Love, a collection of her short stories) and disorderly conduct, she was deported. Later popular lesbian bars were: Louis' Luncheon (1930s-40s), 116 MacDougal Street; [and] Tony Pastor's Downtown (1939-67), 130 West 3rd Street, which was raided on morals charges in 1944 for permitting lesbians to 'loiter' on the premises, but survived with mob backing until the State Liquor Authority revoked its license in 1967.[30]

Because these and other welcoming public places provided a community context for women whose sexual orientation, identity, or choice of living arrangements set them apart from the mainstream, the most powerful approach to presenting the domestic lives of LGBTQ people is likely to be *in situ*, where the inextricable connections between public and private lives are evident.

Fortunately, the Greenwich Village Society for Historic Preservation (GVSHP) has taken the lead in efforts to remedy these sorts of oversights and omissions in preservation planning.[31] In 2006 the Society commissioned a report supporting the establishment of a new South Village Historic District; its author, Andrew Dolkart, noted that the section of MacDougal Street within the proposed district was "'the most important and the best-known locus of gay and lesbian commercial institutions'" by the 1920s.[32] A cluster of new local landmark nominations advanced by GVSHP also bring attention to individual properties significant in LGBTQ heritage, such as Webster Hall, a popular working-class gathering space that included lesbians and gays in the African American culture of drag at costumed balls.[33] The New York City Landmarks Preservation Commission increasingly has addressed LGBTQ history within its designation reports for individual historic properties, as well as proposed historic district designations. Its 2003 and 2004 reports for houses on MacDougal Street detailed the block's importance to lesbians and gays in the 1920s, and reports for the Gansevoort Market (2003) and Weehawken Street Historic Districts (2006) called attention to the cluster of bars and nightclubs serving LGBTQ patrons from the 1970s to the present.[34] The long-term presence of historian Jay Shockley on the Landmarks Preservation Commission's research staff, from 1979 until his retirement in 2014, was key to incorporating LGBTQ history into designation reports.[35] There's no substitute for expertise in LGBTQ heritage on staff and among consultants working for advocacy groups and cultural resources management agencies.

---

[30] "20th Century Lesbian Presence, South Village Historic District (1920s)," in LPC, 150 Years of LGBT History. For more information on LGBTQ sites in New York City, see Shockley (this volume).

[31] For an overview of the GVSHP's LGBTQ-positive initiatives, see "LGBT History of Greenwich Village," Greenwich Village Society for Historic Preservation website, http://www.gvshp.org/lesbianandgayhistory.htm.

[32] Andrew S. Dolkart, *The South Village: A Proposal for Historic District Designation* (New York: Greenwich Village Society for Historic Preservation, 2006), 58.

Greenwich Village is one of many historic districts designated at the local, state, or national level that have overlooked LGBTQ heritage in their documentation. Similarly, the historical significance of Chicago's Boystown, which lies within the eastern section of the Lakeview Historic District, was not articulated in the original NRHP nomination.[36] One consequence is that contributing resources are defined mostly in terms of their architectural distinction, as opposed to their connections with LGBTQ themes or other aspects of significance, particularly in relation to marginalized groups. Without documenting important aspects of social history within historic districts, gaps remain in the knowledge base used to make decisions about planning, preservation, and future development.

---

[33] Webster Hall is located at 119-125 East 11th Street, New York City, New York, see "Webster Hall 402, Pl and Annex Designation List, LP-2273," New York City Landmarks Preservation Commission website, http://www.nyc.gov/html/lpc/downloads/pdf/reports/websterhall.pdf.

[34] Jay Shockley, *Weehawken Street Historic District Designation Report* (New York: New York City Landmarks Preservation Commission, May 2, 2006), 19; and Jay Shockley, *Gansevoort Market Historic District Designation* Report (New York: New York City Landmarks Preservation Commission, 2003), 19. The Gansevoort Market Historic District was added to the NRHP on May 30, 2007.

[35] Shockley was an original member of the 1994 Organization of Lesbian and Gay Architects and Designers (OLGAD) mapping group, a coauthor of the Stonewall nomination, and is now co-director of a project to document the city's LGBTQ landmarks.

[36] Robert Wagner, "Lakeview Historic District," Chicago Illinois 60613 and 60657 (1976). The Lakeview Historic District was added to the NRHP on September 15, 1977; boundary increase on May 16, 1986.

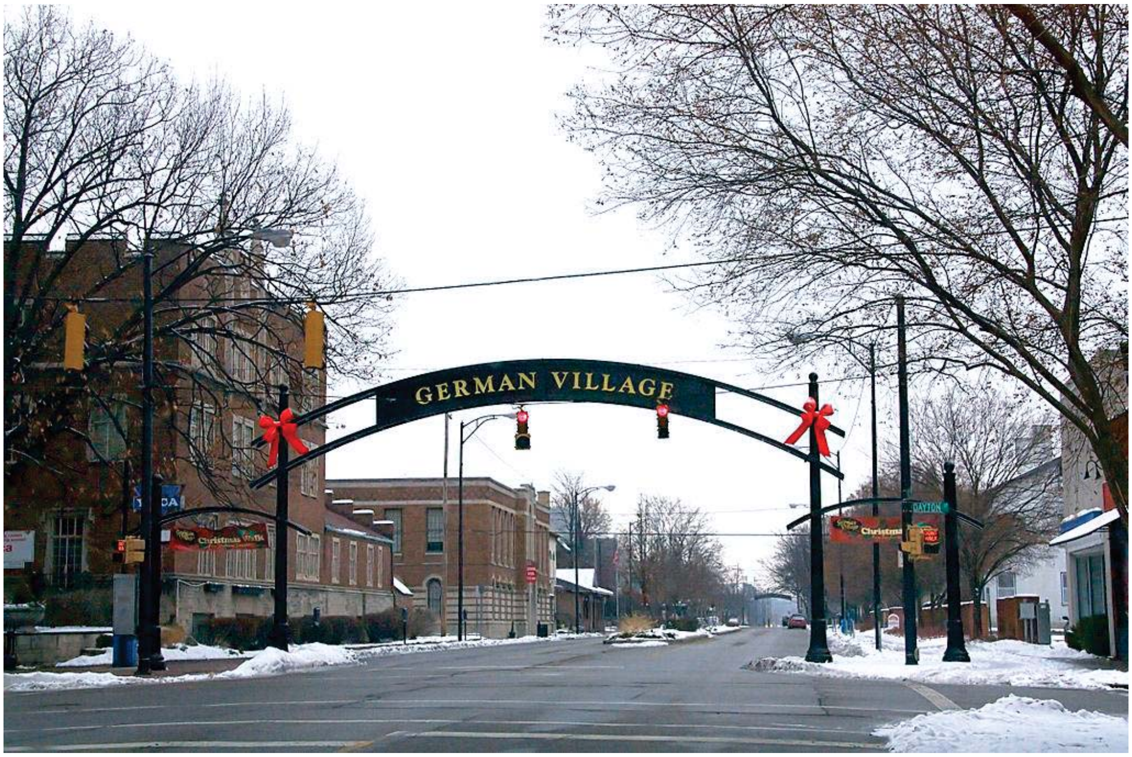


Figure 5: German Village Historic District, Hamilton, Ohio. Photo by Greg Hume, 2010.[37]

New York City's Greenwich Village and Chicago's Boystown are just two examples of neighborhoods with enormous potential for enriched public interpretation. There are many other places between the Atlantic and Pacific coasts that are significant in LGBTQ heritage. One example is the German Village Historic District in Hamilton [Columbus], Ohio (Figure 5). Recognized for its association with German settlement, anti-German sentiment during World War I, the impact of urban renewal on near-downtown neighborhoods, and the power of preservation to revitalize them, a recently developed tour offered by the German Village Society calls attention to the role of gay men in the neighborhood's preservation and revitalization from the 1960s on, efforts which led to listing the district on the NRHP.[38] A new walking tour, "Gay Pioneers of German Village," explains that

---

[37] License: CC BY-SA 3.0. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:GermanVillageHamilton.jpg

[38] Gretchen Klimoski, "German Village: National Register Inventory-Nomination Form," July 1974. The boundaries of the district later were amended to include eleven adjacent acres of historic houses.

> The commonality for many men that came to German Village in the early years was their sexuality [;] they were gay. While this fact was not broadcasted in the open for most of them, it was integral part to whom they were and why they chose to move to German Village in the first place. The Gay Pioneers of German Village tour is intended to interpret the lives of individuals that impacted the community and whose stories just happen to be intertwined by their sexual orientation.[39]

German Village has become an influential model for historic district restoration, winning recognition from the American Planning Association as one of its Great Places in America in 2011. Similarly, the role of gay men in preserving other historic places such as Pendarvis, in Mineral Point, Wisconsin, has been a topic of renewed interpretive interest.[40] In his 2005 book, *A Passion to Preserve*, Will Fellows made a compelling case for recognizing the instrumental role that gay men have played in the historic preservation movement. Now it's time to recognize their contributions, and those of lesbians, bisexual, and transgender Americans at the historic buildings, landscapes, and districts they have so lovingly restored and saved.

Nancy Recchie, "German Village Amendment: National Register of Historic Places Inventory-Nomination Form," 1980. The German Village Historic District was added to the NRHP on February 7, 1991.

[39] Sarah Marsom, "Gay Pioneers Tour Aligns with Preservation Message," German Village Society website, https://germanvillage.com/gay-pioneers-tour-aligns-with-preservation-message.

[40] Will Fellows, *A Passion to Preserve: Gay Men as Keepers of Culture* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2004), 194-198. Pendarvis, located at 114 Shake Rag Street, Mineral Point, Wisconsin was listed on the NRHP on January 25, 1971.

Considering New National Register Districts Associated with LGBTQ Communities

Many urban neighborhoods with clusters of properties significant in LGBTQ history await survey, documentation, recognition, and protection. In Seattle, Washington, for example, two historic neighborhoods have unrealized potential to be recognized for their association with LGBTQ heritage: Pioneer Square, which was central to LGBTQ activity during the pre-World War II period; and Capitol Hill, which became important in the post-Stonewall era.[41] Specific Seattle landmarks of LGBTQ history remain to be designated, for example the Double Header Tavern in Pioneer Square, which laid claim to being the oldest continually operating gay bar in the city (and possibly the United States), having opened in 1934 and closed on December 31, 2015.[42]

Largely framed by neighborhoods as units of study, official surveys of the city's historic resources have generally emphasized architecture at the expense of social history, including LGBTQ themes.[43] Even Seattle's Harvard-Belmont Historic District, which lies in the heart of Capitol Hill, presents its character defining features in terms of "fine homes built by the city's leading financiers, industrialists, merchants, and businessmen in the early years of the twentieth century," overlooking the role of LGBTQ community in shaping neighborhood character.[44] But it is not just a matter of adding the missing information; the way that district boundaries have been framed from neighborhood and architectural perspectives may not align with the social geography of LGBTQ community.[45]

---

[41] For key sites of significance in Seattle's LGBTQ history, see *A Historical Map of Lesbian and Gay Seattle* (Seattle: Northwest Lesbian and Gay History Museum Project, 1996). NLGHMP's projects can be found at http://home.earthlink.net/~ruthpett/lgbthistorynw/index.htm. An expanded and updated version of the 1996 map, *Claiming Space: Seattle's Lesbian and Gay Historical Geography,* published in 2004, is available online at http://cdm16118.contentdm.oclc.org/cdm/ref/collection/p16118coll2/id/35. Seattle's Pioneer Square-Skid Road Historic District was added to the NRHP on June 22, 1970 with boundary increases on July 7, 1978 and June 16, 1988.

[42] The Double Header was located at 407 Second Avenue Ext S, Seattle, Washington, see Yani Robinson, "One last inning for the Double Header," *Jetspace Magazine*, December 31, 2015, http://jetspacemagazine.com/last-inning-for-the-double-header.

[43] See, for example, the "Narrative Statement of Significance for the Pioneer Square – Skid Road National Historic District." For a complete list of context statements completed for Seattle neighborhoods, see http://www.seattle.gov/Documents/Departments/Neighborhoods/HistoricPreservation/HistoricResourcesSurvey/context-pioneer-square.pdf.

Signature urban "gayborhoods" too often have been overlooked by preservation planners, however geographers Michael Brown and Larry Knopp, who mapped Seattle's LGBTQ heritage, including historic places within the Pioneer Square and Capitol Hill neighborhoods, caution that concentrated neighborhoods are also paralleled by more diffuse patterns of queer settlement; "we are everywhere."[46] Historical patterns of residential segregation by race also complicate the geography of LGBTQ settlement. This pattern made San Francisco's Castro District a center for white, gay male community beginning in the 1960s, while across the Bay, the color line combined with a richness of community institutions to make Oakland the locus of African American LGBTQ settlement. Building on the work of Omi and Winant, and Oliver and Shapiro, respectively, Charles Nero offers a reminder of the critical role housing has played as a site of racial formation, constraining African Americans' residential opportunities in American cities. It has framed the racialized geography of LGBTQ communities in ways that have largely unexplored implications for preservation planning.[47]

Moreover, geographic differences among and between cities have implications for varying patterns of spatial development in LGBTQ communities. For example, Los Angeles covers more geographic area than

---

[44] "Harvard-Belmont," Seattle Department of Neighborhoods, City of Seattle website, http://www.seattle.gov/neighborhoods/programs-and-services/historic-preservation/historic-districts/harvard-belmont. The Harvard-Belmont Historic District was listed on the NRHP on May 13, 1982.

[45] While early scholarship addressed the role of gay men in gentrification, a recent body of work interrogates the impact of a new wave of gentrification on LGBTQ communities. See Petra Doan and Harrison Higgins, "The Demise of Queer Space? Resurgent Gentrification and the Assimilation of LGBT Neighborhoods," *Journal of Planning Education and Research* 31, no. 1 (2011): 6-25.

[46] Nancy Wick, "Geographer Puts Gays, Lesbians on the Map," *UW Today*, July 22, 2004, http://www.washington.edu/news/2004/07/22/geographer-puts-gays-lesbians-on-the-map.

[47] For more about community formation, see Hanhardt and Gieseking (this volume). For more about the intersection of LGBTQ identity and race, see also Harris, Roscoe, Sueyoshi, and Gonzalez and Hernandez (this volume).

Manhattan and San Francisco put together, necessitating "a mobility of daily life that scatters ethnic, racial, religious, and other culturally defined communities," including LGBTQ communities. As a result, instead of concentrated "gayborhoods," like those found in the Castro and Greenwich Village, "gay and lesbian communities exist at all scales and levels of visibility… simply put, the complexity of Los Angeles's social and physical geography is the basis for a different narrative."[48] These observations point to the need for more conceptually and methodologically sophisticated approaches to conducting surveys of places significant to LGBTQ communities, designating their landmarks, framing prospective historic districts, and assessing the relative significance of cultural resources.

From Los Angeles' West Hollywood and Las Vegas' so-called Fruit Loop, heading east to gay-friendly enclaves such as Lambertville, New Jersey and New Hope, Pennsylvania, and reaching north to the lesbian haven of Northampton, Massachusetts, the commercial and residential spaces claimed by LGBTQ people in America, while often recognized at the local level, have yet to be fully acknowledged as nationally significant in the context of the NHL and NRHP programs.[49] The tendency to conceptualize urban historic districts as dense, contiguous, and rooted in the downtown core may make it easier to designate neighborhoods historically populated by those white gay men whose relative economic, social, and racial privileges have allowed them to come together in dense urban residential and commercial zones, as opposed to the places where queer women and people of color have tended to make their homes.

---

[48] Moira Rachel Kenney, *Mapping Gay L.A.: The Intersection of Place and Politics* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2001); especially chap. 1: "Locating the Politics of Difference," 5-6. For other examples of geographic differences in LGBTQ communities, see Graves and Watson, Capó, Auer, Shockley, and Herczeg-Konecny (this volume).

[49] Ann Forsyth, "'Out' in the Valley," *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 21, no. 1 (1997): 36-60.

The abundance of historic houses on the NRHP, and predominance of this building type among listings with potential to interpret LGBTQ lives, reflects a prior generation's emphasis on extraordinary individuals as agents of change and underlying biases that favored preserving the architecturally distinguished heritage of a property-holding elite. The rise of the New Social History in the 1960s and 1970s brought greater attention to places associated with the collective struggles, accomplishments, and experiences of the American people. Beyond the questions it raised about whose history is remembered, this paradigm shift in historical scholarship has pointed to the need to preserve a wider array of property types beyond historic houses and districts. Historic resort destinations that established a welcoming climate long before it was a consistent feature of everyday life, such as Provincetown, Massachusetts; Fire Island, New York; and Palm Springs, California, offered unusual degrees of freedom precisely because of the vast scope of the public landscape queer folks claimed as their own: hotels, guest houses, beaches, groves, entertainment venues, and streets.[50] When a single property with a high degree of integrity is designated as emblematic of a larger landscape, such as the Cherry Grove Community House and Theater on Fire Island, it skews the overall picture of LGBTQ community life in past times and places.[51]

Private residences of various types served as safe spaces for launching homophile and gay rights organizations. Henry Gerber's Chicago residence was the organizational base for the briefly lived Society for Human Rights from 1924 and 1925. The Society was the first chartered organization in the United States dedicated to advocacy for the rights of homosexuals, and published *Friendship and Freedom,* the first known publication of a homosexual organization in the United States. While the Society dissolved in 1925 when Gerber and several other members were arrested, Gerber continued to advocate for the rights of homosexuals throughout his lifetime.[52] The brick row house, built in 1885, is a contributing element in the Old Town Triangle Chicago Landmark District, which was listed on the National Register of Historic Places in 1984. The property associated with Gerber was first designated a Chicago City Landmark based on its significance in LGBTQ history in 2001 and became a National Historic Landmark in 2015. Similarly, Harry Hay's various residences in Los Angeles played a similar role by hosting formative meetings of the Mattachine Society in the late 1940s and early 1950s; the Gay Liberation Front at the end of the 1960s; and the Radical Faeries a decade later.[53]

---

[50] For more about LGBTQ resort communities, see Schweighofer (this volume). The Provincetown Historic District was added to the NRHP on August 30, 1989 (but does not include mention of LGBTQ history).

[51] Carl Luss, "Cherry Grove Community House and Theater," 180 Bayview Walk, Cherry Grove, New York. National Register of Historic Places Registration Form, February 12, 2013. The Cherry Grove Community House and Theater was added to the NRHP on June 4, 2013.

Once these sorts of groups gained organizational momentum, expanded membership, and adopted a more confident public posture, the next step was to rent storefronts and office space. Any organization that survived more than a few years, such as the Daughters of Bilitis, moved multiple times, since they were tenants rather than property owners.[54] Other commercial property types historically associated with the formation of LGBTQ communities include bathhouses, bars, and social halls. Ephemeral events often are tied to place without necessarily leaving a permanent imprint, including sites of protests and demonstrations, marches, riots, gatherings, and celebrations. The random accrual of NHL and NRHP listings without intentionally planning for the protection of LGBTQ cultural resources has skewed queer lives in ways that render them as more isolated than they were in actuality. In years to come, as the historic context for LGBTQ heritage is fleshed out and a wider range of property types are documented, a far richer picture will emerge of the LGBTQ dimensions of American history.

---

[52] University of Michigan Public History Initiative, "Henry Gerber House: National Register of Historic Places Registration Form," Chicago, Illinois, December 12, 2014. The Henry Gerber House is a contributing element in the Old Town Triangle Chicago Landmark District, which was listed on the NRHP on November 8, 1984. The property associated with Gerber was first designated a Chicago City Landmark based on its significance in LGBTQ history in 2001 and designated an NHL on June 19, 2015.

[53] Hay's residence in the Silver Lake neighborhood of Los Angeles was the site of meetings of the group called Bachelors Anonymous beginning in the summer of 1948. By 1950 they formally named the organization the Mattachine Society. The Margaret and Harry Hay House in the Hollywood Hills neighborhood of Los Angeles was listed as Los Angeles Historic-Cultural Monument #981. Hay commissioned architect Gregory Ain to design this split-level, International Style house for his mother Margaret in 1939. Margaret was supportive of her son's causes and hosted meetings at her home. The property is regarded as Los Angeles' first gay landmark, as well as the first location that the FBI identified as a known gathering place in California for homosexuals.

[54] Recent efforts to designate a historic property associated with Daughters of Bilitis, established in 1955 in San Francisco, have been complicated by its many locations over the years. Originally located in the Williams Building at 693 Mission Street, it moved to at least three other Mission Street addresses and others on O'Farrell, Grove, and Hyde Streets.

Mapping LGBTQ Historic Places

Beginning in the mid-1990s, grassroots efforts were launched simultaneously in several cities to identify and map places of significance in gay and lesbian history. One notable project was *A Guide to Lesbian and Gay New York Historical Landmarks*, prepared in 1994 by preservationists involved with the Organization of Lesbian and Gay Architects and Designers (OLGAD) in honor of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Stonewall rebellion in New York City.[55] This project drew upon original research by OLGAD members including Ken Lustbader's 1993 Columbia University graduate thesis on preserving lesbian and gay history in Greenwich Village.

Community-based mapping projects, driven largely by volunteer energy, have been intertwined with two related developments to support LGBTQ preservation: the emergence of archives with collections and exhibition programs; and a growing body of scholarship, particularly studies of local history, highlighting LGBTQ individuals, organizations, events, and aspects of everyday life potentially linked to historic places.[56] Mapping projects have reflected this convergence of archival collecting, public history projects, and local scholarship.

---

[55] Organization of Lesbian and Gay Architects and Designers, *A Guide to Lesbian & Gay New York Historical Landmarks* (New York: Organization of Lesbian and Gay Architects and Designers, 1994). For a digitized version, see http://www.gvshp.org/LGBTguide.htm.
[56] See Koskovich (this volume).

Founded in 1994 by Mark Meinke, Jose Gutierrez, Charles Johnson, Bruce Pennington, and James Crutchfield, the volunteer organization Rainbow History initially took on the project of archiving DC's gay history, driven by an overarching concern about the loss of community memory due to the AIDS epidemic and Meinke's specific interest in documenting local drag culture. As the oral histories and archival sources pointed to places of significance, Rainbow History established a database of historic places. As Meinke has explained, "By the end of the first year, the Places and Spaces database of sites, compiled from oral histories, newspaper advertising, and extant community guides had reached 370 sites."[57]

By its second year, the organization used the information it had amassed to begin preparing a NRHP nomination for the Dr. Franklin E. Kameny home and office in the Palisades area of Washington, DC.[59] Between 2003 and 2010, Meinke generated a series of eight self-guided walking tours of LGBTQ historic places in DC, available to the public in brochure form, with members of Rainbow History periodically leading groups on tours. Similar volunteer initiatives that generated public exhibits, maps, and walking tours in Boston, Los Angeles, and Seattle, among other cities, brought new attention to the status of LGBTQ historic sites and buildings long before the mainstream of the preservation movement was ready to extend its embrace.[60] Although it was not

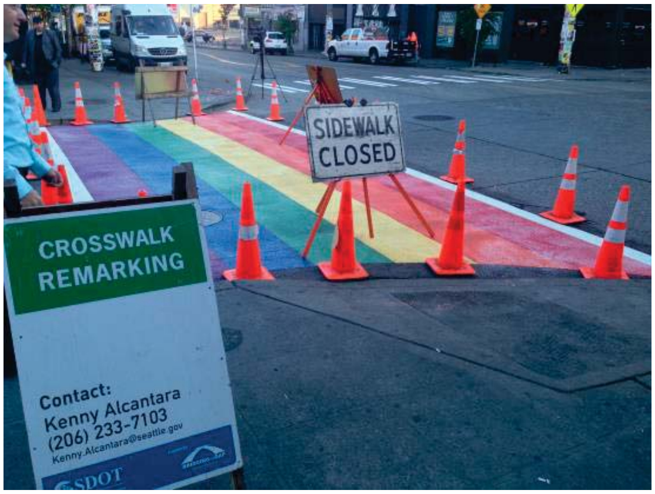


Figure 6: Rainbow crosswalk being installed, Capitol Hill neighborhood, Tenth Avenue and East Pike Street, Seattle, Washington, 2015. Photo by Gordon Werner.[58]

---

[57] Mark Meinke, email communication to author, April 14, 2016.
[58] License: CC BY-SA 2.0. https://www.flickr.com/photos/gordonwerner/19058347036
[59] The Dr. Franklin E. Kameny Residence was added to the NRHP on November 2, 2011.
[60] See for example, the Northwest Lesbian and Gay History Museum Project, *Claiming Space*; or The History Project, dedicated to documenting LGBTQ Boston, which was established in 1980 by

necessarily the case at the time they were originally identified for maps and walking-tour itineraries, some of the extant historic buildings they located eventually became the object of focused preservation activity.

A number of urban design, streetscape improvement, and street naming interventions have amplified a LGBTQ presence in public places. Yearly Pride Celebrations to mark the anniversary of the Stonewall rebellion have built an audience for relevant programming at the local level and offered an impetus for new projects to increase the public visibility of LGBTQ communities, simultaneously presenting opportunities for local, state, and federal government entities to signal their commitment to diversity and inclusion. The City of Philadelphia added rainbows to its Twelfth and Thirteenth Street signs in recognition of its vitality as a so-called "gayborhood," and the cities of West Hollywood and Seattle, in 2012 and 2015 respectively, decorated crosswalks in a rainbow design in conjunction with Pride celebrations (Figure 6).[61] As a strategy to promote LGBTQ tourism, West Hollywood ultimately made its rainbow crosswalks permanent. Related initiatives have popped up in cities including Key West, Philadelphia, Northampton, San Francisco, and Sacramento.[62] Recognizing that progress in LGBTQ rights has also been matched by a backlash, Seattle used rainbow crosswalks to call attention to the consequences of virulent homophobia, marking eleven spots where people had been the victims of homo- and transphobic assaults.[63] This raises the larger question of whether there is room within commemorative programs to address some of the most pernicious and troubling aspects of

---

historians, activists, and archivists, http://www.historyproject.org. Among its earliest initiatives were the exhibit *Public Faces/Private Lives* at the Boston Public Library (1996) and the book *Improper Bostonians: Lesbian and Gay History from the Puritans to Playland* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1998).

[61] Andrew Thompson, "The Success of Philly's Gayborhood May Be Its Undoing," *NBC10.com,* September 17, 2013, http://www.nbcphiladelphia.com/news/local/The-Success-of-Phillys-Gayborhood-May-be-its-Undoing-224067791.html.

[62] Jorge Rivas, "America's Crosswalks are Getting Gayer," *Fusion*, June 3, 2015, http://fusion.net/story/143596/the-gay-crosswalks-are-coming-gay-crosswalks-are-coming.

[63] Lauren Lloyd, "West Hollywood's Permanent Rainbow Crosswalk to Color Streets Come October," *Hollywood LAist,* September 3, 2012, http://laist.com/2012/09/03/west_hollywoods_permanent_rainbow_crosswalks.php; Katia Hetter, "Rainbow Sidewalks and Other LGBT Pride Celebrations," *CNN*, June 29, 2015, http://www.cnn.com/2015/06/24/travel/lgbt-gay-pride-celebrations-2015-feat. In an even bolder move, Reykjavik Pride 2015 painted an entire central street in rainbow colors.

LGBTQ history—discriminatory firings and evictions, unjust incarceration in prisons and mental hospitals, hate speech, and violence—subjects not readily embraced by the tourist industry, which tilts toward substantially more upbeat and heroic narratives.

Strategies for Increasing LGBTQ Visibility in American Cities

A variety of strategies have been adopted to make LGBTQ pioneers, communities, and history visible on public streets, even when there is no direct connection to preserving historic resources. Chicago's Boystown was the object of a 1998 neighborhood streetscape investment by Mayor Richard M. Daley intended to recognize and make visible its significance as an LGBTQ neighborhood. The resulting urban design project erected ten pairs of rainbow pylons, with memorial plaques honoring icons of LGBTQ history, which together define a Legacy Walk along the North

Figure 7: Panorama of Independence Hall, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, 2012. Photo by Jim D.[64]

---

[64] License: CC BY 2.0. https://www.flickr.com/photos/jkdevleer04/6832888247

Halsted Street corridor.[65] Street naming initiatives have commemorated major figures in the LGBTQ rights movement, including Frank Kameny (Washington, DC, 2010), Barbara Gittings (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, 2012), José Sarria (San Francisco, California, 2006), Sylvia Rivera (New York City, New York, 2005), Harvey Milk (San Diego, California, 2012; Salt Lake City, Utah, 2016), Bettie Naylor (Austin, Texas, 2012). In 2015, Staten Island renamed a street to honor Jimmy Zappalorti, a gay military veteran who was brutally murdered in a gay bashing in 1990. In 2011, Los Angeles' Silver Lake Neighborhood Council voted to rename the Cove Avenue Stairway in honor of gay rights pioneer Harry Hay.

Historical marker programs, such as the one run by the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, have begun to commemorate sites associated with LGBTQ heritage. In 2005, they erected a state historical marker across from Independence Hall in Philadelphia to honor the LGBTQ activists who held annual Fourth of July Reminder Day demonstrations there from 1965 to 1969 calling for equality (Figure 7).[66] In 2016, the state erected a state historical marker commemorating the life and work of Barbara Gittings.[67] A state historic marker recognizes the birthplace of lesbian poet Natalie Clifford Barney in Dayton, Ohio, and in Hidalgo County, Texas, a state marker was placed in 2015 at the grave of Gloria Anzaldúa, an influential cultural theorist who had relationships with both men and women. Honorific street naming is also under consideration for the block of Taylor Street in San Francisco where Compton's Cafeteria was located, in recognition of patrons' 1966 protest against homophobic police harassment.[68]

Artists have also played a role in making LGBTQ history more visible at historic sites and buildings, independent of their official status in designation and preservation programs. In a 1994 temporary street sign installation project called Queer Spaces, the artists' collective REPOHistory boldly called attention to nine New York City landmarks of LGBTQ history with text screened onto pink triangles made of chipboard, queering the narrative usually found on historical markers.[69] Similar to other REPOHistory projects, the signs were intended as counter-monuments to provoke public reflection on why some histories are visible, while others remain obscured in public memory. Since 1989, the Visual AIDS organization has used art projects to increase AIDS awareness and prevention, document the work of artists with HIV/AIDS, and promote the artistic contribution of the AIDS movement. It offers a reminder of the impact of the epidemic on an entire generation, including its artists, and points to the enormous shadow it casts over LGBTQ preservation efforts. While none of these strategic interventions in urban design, public art, or streetscape projects has led directly to the preservation of historic resources, together they have helped to gain traction for emerging heritage preservation initiatives.

---

[65] "The Legacy Walk…," The Legacy Project website, http://www.legacyprojectchicago.org/About.html.

[66] Independence Hall is located at 520 Chestnut Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. It is part of Independence National Historical Park, established June 28, 1948 and designated an NHL district on October 15, 1966.

[67] "Barbara Gittings," National LGBT 50th Anniversary website, http://lgbt50.org/barbara-gittings.

[68] Matthew S. Bajko, "Online Extra: Political Notes: SF Street Could Honor Historic Transgender Site," *Bay Area_Reporter*, April 28, 2016, http://www.ebar.com/news/article.php?sec=news&article=71494.

Leveraging the Tourist Industry to Promote LGBTQ Heritage Preservation

A complementary force informing all of these initiatives is a growing segment of the tourist industry that markets its services to LGBTQ people, contributing in direct and indirect ways to creating a market for LGBTQ heritage tourism. Some travel agents, resorts, cruise ships, and lodging owners have built their reputation on being LGBTQ-friendly, advertising places of respite in a heteronormative and homophobic world.[70] Many of these enterprises operate under the banner of the International Gay and

---

[69] "History that Disturbs the Present: An Interview with REPOHistory Artist Greg Sholette," interview by Dipti Desai, April 26, 2007, http://www.gregorysholette.com/wp-content/uploads/2011/04/History-that-disturbs-the-Present1.pdf.

[70] A typical feature reads: "Great Inns for Gay Girls: Ten Lesbian-Owned Bed-and-Breakfasts from Florida to New England," *Curve* 19, no. 3 (April 2009): 50. There is also a body of scholarship on LGBTQ tourism, for example Yaniv Poria, "Assessing Gay Men and Lesbian Women's Hotel Experiences," *Journal of Travel Research* 44, no. 3 (2006): 327-334.

Lesbian Travel Association, founded in 1983, whose reach now extends to eighty countries on six continents.[71] Tourist itineraries that highlight places significant in LGBTQ heritage have been bolstered by this industry, for example in world cities that have hosted the Gay Games, which feature a robust slate of athletic and cultural events.[72] In 1998, when Amsterdam became the first city outside of North America to serve in that role, the usual canal cruises were augmented with tours of local queer heritage.

Over time, some cities have intentionally promoted their reputation as being LGBTQ-friendly in a bid for tourist revenue. Some places that took the lead in legalizing same-sex marriage or civil unions launched campaigns to become destinations of choice for couples unable to tie the knot in their home state. These segmented marketing campaigns have highlighted local history, cultural resources, and commercial establishments of particular interest to queer visitors. Beginning in 2002, for example, the Philadelphia Gay Tourism Caucus began marketing its attractions with a website provocatively titled, “Get Your History Straight and your Nightlife Gay.”[73] This advertising tends to feature current businesses, but sometimes is linked to LGBTQ heritage tours. In Philadelphia, Bob Skiba bridged the marketing of Philadelphia as a gay-friendly tourist destination and related heritage tourism: while president of the Philadelphia Association of Tour Guides in 2008, he prepared a series of maps that documented LGBTQ business in Center City. Later, as curator at the William Way LGBT Community Center’s John J. Wilcox, Jr. Archives, Skiba created a blog called *The Gayborhood Guru*, which translates the city's queer history into site-specific historical information, occasionally leading walking tours of these places under the Way Center's auspices.[74]

---

[71] IGLTA holds an annual convention and sponsors a foundation. One of their heritage tourism-focused members, for example, is Oscar Wilde Tours, whose offerings range from walking tours of Greenwich Village to multiday European itineraries. See IGLTA website at https://www.iglta.org.

[72] The Federation of Gay Games has had a Culture Committee since 1993, whose mission is to identify “the censorship and oppression that block artistic and cultural expression, [examine] the production of successful arts/cultural events, [identify] guidelines to guarantee inclusion, and [explore] nontraditional ways to present art and culture.” Heritage tours have been featured by some of the commercial enterprises attached to the Gay Games, see the Federation of Gay Games website at https://gaygames.org/wp.

[73] This was noted by Sarah Nusser in “What Would a Non-Heterosexist City Look Like? A Theory on Queer Space and the Role of Planners in Creating the Inclusive City,” master’s thesis, Urban Studies and Planning, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 2010. She cited the Visit Philadelphia website which features a map of Philadelphia’s Center City “gayborhood,” see http://gophila.com/pub/campaign/gay.

Small scale heritage tours were established early on in the most queer-friendly cities, notably Trevor Hailey's walking tour, "Cruisin' the Castro," which started in 1989.[75] While much of the mapping of LGBTQ historic places—and occasional tours—have been advanced by nonprofit organizations such as DC's Rainbow History or the Northwest Lesbian and Gay History Museum Project in Seattle, tours that highlight places of contemporary and historical significance have emerged as more elaborate profit-making enterprises in recent years. Paid walking tours can be found in New Orleans and Chicago, while bus tours are available in Manhattan and Los Angeles.[76] The combined forces of LGBTQ pride, queer entrepreneurship, and urban boosterism enhanced the commercial viability of heritage-oriented LGBTQ enterprises from the 1990s onward. It was in this broader context, and amidst growing interest in LGBTQ history generally, that Paula Martinac found a welcoming audience for the 1997 publication of her national guide to historic sites, *The Queerest Places*.[77]

The Rise of LGBTQ Advocacy in Fields Associated with Preservation

Developments within scholarly and professional associations have buoyed LGBTQ preservation efforts both directly and indirectly. In all cases, LGBTQ heritage and cultural resources professionals have built networks of mutual support, organized to advocate for their interests, and promoted visibility for emerging scholarship in their fields, including in flagship journals and on the programs of annual meetings. The Committee on LGBT History, founded in 1979 as the Committee on Lesbian and Gay History, has played an important advocacy role within the American Historical Association (AHA), with which it has been affiliated since 1982.[78] As public memory and the power of place increasingly have become analytical categories within historical scholarship, AHA sessions sponsored by the committee, such as one at the 2013 annual conference in New Orleans on “Locating LGBT History in Urban Spaces,” have become increasingly relevant to the project of queer heritage preservation.[79] The Committee on the Status of LGBTQ Historians and Histories, established in 2013, has played a similar role within the Organization of American Historians (OAH). Links between scholarship and tangible heritage are illustrated by the committee’s offerings at the 2015 OAH meeting, which included a walking tour of the queer history of St. Louis’ Central West End, as well as selections from the exhibit *Gateway to History*, featuring the city’s LGBTQ history.[80] The National Council on Public History also has been a welcoming home for LGBTQ content at its annual meetings.

---

[74] See "The Philadelphia Gayborhood Guru: About the Author," Philadelphia Gayborhood Guru website, https://thegayborhoodguru.wordpress.com/about-the-author.

[75] Upon Hailey's retirement in 2005, Cruisin' the Castro Walking Tours was sold to professional tour guide Kathy Amendola, a sign of the growing commercial viability of LGBTQ heritage enterprises, see the company's website at http://www.cruisinthecastro.com/tours.html.

[76] Sarah Prager, "LGBT History Walking Tours for Every City," Quist website, September 13, 2015, http://www.quistapp.com/lgbt-history-walking-tours-for-every-city.

[77] Paula Martinac, *The Queerest Places: A Guide to Gay and Lesbian Historic Sites* (New York: Henry Hold and Company, 1997).

Founded in 1989, the Lesbian and Gay Archives Roundtable (LAGAR), an interest group within the Society of American Archivists, formed to advance queer history and the status of LGBTQs in the archival profession. In addition to basic advocacy work, LAGAR has created a guide to collections of interest to the LGBTQ community and a manual outlining best practices for community archives.[81]

Within the museum world, the LGBTQ Alliance, a professional network within the American Alliance of Museums (AAM), is committed to advancing a more inclusive agenda. While its concerns include issues of representation and visibility at large institutions, its membership includes managers of historic sites and independent museum professionals who are grappling with how issues of sex and sexuality—as well as race, class, and gender—can be integrated into interpretive programs.[82] A useful tool, two years in the making by Alliance members and released at the May 2016 AAM meeting, articulates "Welcoming Guidelines" that set standards for LGBTQ inclusion in museums.[83] The volume of scholarship related to the interpretation of LGBTQ history at museums and historic sites is growing, from focused case studies of particular sites, for example Michael Lesperance's study of Virginia's Glen Burnie, to a comprehensive treatment in Susan Ferentinos' award-winning book.[84] In a related field with implications for museums, the Queer Caucus for Art, initiated in 1989 as a society of the College Art Association (CAA), has been instrumental in advancing art history, theory, criticism, and art practice related to LGBTQ themes, issuing its first newsletter in 1995 and holding sessions, exhibitions, and related activities at annual meetings of the CAA.[85]

---

[78] For information on the Committee on Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender History, see their website at http://clgbthistory.org.
[79] See “Committee on LGBT History at the 2013 AHA [Convention] in New Orleans, LA,” Committee on LGBT History website, http://clgbthistory.org/aha-convention-2013.
[80] See “2015 OAH Annual Meeting. Sessions by Special Interest: LGBTQ,” Organization of American Historians website, http://www.oah.org/meetings-events/2015/highlights/lgbtq.
[81] See “Lesbian and Gay Archives Roundtable,” Society of American Archivists website, http://www2.archivists.org/groups/lesbian-and-gay-archives-roundtable-lagar#.VwQaOjYrI1I.

The emergence of LGBTQ advocacy groups within the architecture and design professions has had direct consequences for historic preservation.[86] As well as OLGAD's work in New York City,[87] Boston Gay and Lesbian Architects and Designers (BGLAD), formed in 1991 as a committee of the Boston Society of Architects, worked with the Boston Area Gay and Lesbian History Project to produce a map of known lesbian and gay historic places in 1995.[88] *Progressive Architecture* reported on OLGAD's inaugural Design Pride Conference in New York City, held in 1994, which provided a forum for discussing concerns about the status of lesbians and gays in architectural firms and helped to build an audience for an array of new publications about the relationship between (homo)sexuality and space.[89] The Arcus Endowment and Foundation Chair, established at University of California, Berkeley in 2000, is the rare university-based resource supporting emerging experts and projects at the intersection of LGBTQ issues and the professions of architecture, landscape architecture, and planning.[90]

---

[82] See also Ferentinos (this volume). The Glen Burnie House is located at 901 Amherst Street, Winchester, Virginia. It was listed on the NRHP on September 10, 1979.

[83] Renae Youngs, Christopher Leitch, and Michael Lesperance, "Setting the Standard for LGBTQ Inclusion," *Museum*, January/February 2016, 33-35.

[84] For a single-site case study, see Michael Lesperance, "Rearranging the Closet: Decoding the LGBT Exhibit Space," *InPark Magazine*, April 15, 2014, https://www.themsv.org/sites/default/files/InPark%20Magazine%20%E2%80%93%20Rearranging%20the%20Closet_%20Decoding%20the%20LGBT%20Exhibit%20Space.pdf. For comprehensive treatment see Susan Ferentinos, *Interpreting LGBT History at Museums and Historic Sites* (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2015).

[85] Archived newsletter produced by the Queer Caucus for Art can be found online at http://artcataloging.net/glc/glcn.html. A summary chronology of its activities is located at http://artcataloging.net/glc/chronology.html.

[86] See, for example, Kathryn H. Anthony, *Designing for Diversity: Gender, Race, and Ethnicity in the Architectural Profession* (Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 2007).

[87] See Organization of Lesbian and Gay Architects and Designers, *A Guide to Lesbian & Gay New York Historical Landmarks*.

At the American Planning Association (APA) national conference in Boston in 1998, Gays and Lesbians in Planning (GALIP) became a new division of the APA, having functioned as an informal network since they met for the first time in 1992 at the national conference in Washington, DC.[91] Similar to the other scholarly societies and professional organizations previously mentioned, GALIP provides a venue for information exchange, mutual support, and promoting scholarship in city and regional planning. The field of planning has produced numerous articles and two major volumes on LGBTQ themes that incorporate historic preservation on the queer planning agenda.[92] Beyond professional associations, citizen planners began to organize in the mid-1990s to protect queer interests in gay neighborhoods facing runaway development pressures, for example the Bay Area group Castro Area Planning + Action.[93]

---

[88] See *Location: A Historical Map of Lesbian and Gay Boston* (Boston: Boston Area Gay and Lesbian History Project and Boston Gay and Lesbian Architects and Designers, 1995).

[89] Philip Arcidi, "Defining Gay Design," *Progressive Architecture* 75, no. 8 (August 1994): 36. An earlier symposium on "Sexuality and Space," organized by Beatriz Colomina in March 1990, pioneered the topic, though it was not entirely focused on LGBTQ issues. It was the basis for the published volume, *Sexuality and Space*, ed. Beatriz Colomina (Princeton, NJ: Princeton Architectural Press, 1996). Related articles about architecture and same-sex desire, published around the time of the first OLGAD conference, included: Henry Urbach, "Spatial Rubbing: the Zone," *Sites* 25 (1993): 90-95; Aaron Betsky, "Closet Conundrum: How 'Out' Can the Design Professions Be?" *Architectural Record* 182, no. 6 (June 1994): 36; John Paul Ricco, "Coming Together," *A/R/C architecture, research, criticism* 1, no. 5 (1994-1995): 26-31; and Henry Urbach, "Closets, Clothes, Disclosure," *Assemblage* 30 (August 1996): 62-73. The edited volume *Stud: Architectures of Masculinity*, ed. Joel Sanders (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1996), also addressed gay male experience and drew on queer theory for analyses of the social construction of masculinity in urban and architectural space. Also see Aaron Betsky, *Building Sex: Men, Women, Architecture, and the Construction of Sexuality* (New York: William Morrow, 1995); Gordon Brent Ingram, Anne-Marie Bouthillette, and Yolanda Retter, eds., *Queers in Space: Communities, Public Spaces, Sites of Resistance* (Seattle: Bay Press, 1997).

[90] See "Arcus Endowment and Arcus Foundation Chair," College of Environmental Design, University of California, Berkeley, website, http://ced.berkeley.edu/give-to-ced/faculty-support/arcus-endowment-and-arcus-foundation-chair.

[91] See "Gays and Lesbians in Planning," American Planning Association website, https://www.planning.org/divisions/galip.

The intellectual foundations for efforts to map queer space have been reinforced by academic work at the intersection of geography and urban and regional planning, as spatially-oriented social scientists began in the 1990s to engage with sexuality as a category of analysis in addition to race, class, and gender.[94] While early architectural publications tilted toward the experiences of white gay men, geography proved to be more inclusive of the spatial dimensions of lesbian lives.[95] Within the Association of American Geographers (AAG), the specialty group Sexuality and Space formed in 1996, arising out of serious concern about the

---

[92] Early and influential articles explaining the import of LGBTQ populations for planning practice included: Ann Forsyth, “Sexuality and Space: Nonconformist Populations and Planning Practice,” *Journal of Planning Literature* 15, no. 3 (2001): 339-358; and Michael Frisch, “Planning as a Heterosexist Project,” *Journal of Planning Education and Research* 21, no. 3 (March 2002): 264-266. The edited volumes by Petra L. Doan include: *Queerying Planning: Challenging Heteronormative Assumptions and Reframing Planning Practice* (New York: Routledge, 2011); and *Planning and LGBTQ Communities: The Need for Inclusive Queer Spaces* (New York: Routledge, 2015).

[93] Anthony, *Designing for Diversity*, 105.

[94] Influential early work on the geography of LGBTQ communities included: Sy Adler and Johanna Brenner, “Gender and Space: Lesbians and Gay Men in the City,” *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 16, no. 1 (March 1992): 24-34; David Bell and Gill Valentine, *Mapping Desire* (New York: Routledge, 1995); Gill Valentine’s article, “Out and About: Geographies of Lesbian Landscapes,” also published in the *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 19, no. 1 (1995): 96-111; and Ruth Fincher and Jane M. Jacobs, eds., *Cities of Difference* (New York: The Guilford Press, 1998).

[95] Examples of scholarship in the geography of LGBTQ communities include: Adler and Brenner, “Gender and Space: Lesbians and Gay Men in the City”; Bell and Valentine, *Mapping Desire*; Valentine, “Out and About: Geographies of Lesbian Landscapes”; Fincher and Jacobs, *Cities of Difference*; James T. Sears, *Rebels, Rubyfruit, and Rhinestones: Queering Space in the Post Stonewall South* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2001); Michael Brown and Larry Knopp, “Queer Cultural Geographies: We’re Here! We’re Queer! We’re Over There Too!” in *The Handbook of Cultural Geography*, eds. Kay Anderson et al. (London: Sage, 2002), 460-481; Charles I. Nero, “Why Are the Gay Ghettos White?” in *Black Queer Studies: A Critical Anthology*, eds. E. Patrick Johnson and Mae G. Henderson (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2005), 228-245; Michael Brown and Larry Knopp, “Queering the Map: The Productive Tensions of Colliding Epistemologies,” *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 98, no. 1 (March 2008): 40-58; and Michael Brown, Sean Wang, and Larry Knopp, "Queering Gay Space," in *Seattle Geographies*, eds. Michael Brown and Richard Morrill (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2011), 155-162; J. Gieseking, “Crossing Over into Territories of the Body: Urban Territories, Borders, and Lesbian-Queer Bodies in New York City,” *Area,* doi: 10.1111/area.12147.

"unquestioned heterosexuality of the geographic enterprise."[96] Over time, the specialty group has become an intellectually vital force in mapping out a new subfield of geographic study by holding pre-conferences in conjunction with annual AAG meetings and bringing recognition to outstanding scholarship. Two of its members, Larry Knopp and Michael Brown, have been central to a project that mapped Seattle's LGBTQ landmarks.

Established in 2014 after more than a decade of effort, the Queer Archaeology Interest Group is one of more than a dozen affiliates of the Society for American Archaeology, providing a network for LGBTQ archeologists and an engine for advancing research and pedagogy.[97] Beyond providing a gathering place for scholars working in this area, the formation of the interest group is a landmark achievement in its own right by overcoming "the difficulties often associated with being LGBTQI and stigmatization within [the] discipline and society at large."[98] While the theoretical and methodological implications of this field are emerging, it is not yet clear what will be required to integrate insights from queer archeology into the public interpretation of archeological sites. [99] Past struggles to incorporate LGBTQ history into the interpretive programs at historic properties points to the likelihood of a significant lag between the state of knowledge in the field and successful implementation in public archeology practice.

---

[96] A reliable account of the formation of the AAG's Sexuality and Space specialty group is contained in Glen Elder, Lawrence Knopp, and Heidi Nast, "Sexuality and Space," in *Geography in America at the Dawn of the 21st Century*, eds. Gary L. Gaile and Cort J. Willmott (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004), 200-208.

[97] The Society of American Archaeology published a special section, "Toward an Inclusive Queer Archaeology," in its journal, *Archaeological Record* 16, no. 1 (January 2016) that provides the best overview of the current state of the field. For an introduction to the scholarly literature, see Tom Boellstorff, "Queer Studies in the House of Anthropology," *Annual Review of Anthropology* 36 (October 2007): 17-35; Barbara Voss, "Sexuality Studies in Archaeology," *Annual Review of Anthropology* 37 (2008): 317-336; and Thomas A. Dowson, ed., "Queer Archaeologies," a special issue of *World Archaeologies* 32, no. 2 (2000); Robert A. Schmidt, "The Iceman Cometh: Queering the Archaeological Past," in *Out in Theory: The Emergence of Lesbian and Gay Anthropology*, eds. Ellen Lewin and William L. Leap (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2002), 155-185.

[98] Chelsea Blackmore and Dawn M. Ruteki, "Introducing the Queer Archaeology Interest Group: Who We Are and Why We Need Your Support," *The SAA Archaeological Record* 14, no. 5 (November 2014): 18-19.

[99] For a discussion of how LGBTQ archeology can be incorporated into larger questions of interpretation, see Springate, LGBTQ Archeological Context (this volume).

The Rise of a LGBTQ-Inclusive Preservation Movement

Advocacy for LGBTQ issues directly within the preservation movement began to coalesce at the end of the 1980s and firmly took hold in the 1990s, powered by the combined forces of local and national initiatives. Grassroots activities in San Francisco drew the Western Regional Office of the National Trust for Historic Preservation (NTHP) into issues of preservation that involved LGBTQ communities, a position that put it out in front of the parent organization in many respects. At a time when the preservation movement was still resistant to addressing LGBTQ issues and the community had not yet explicitly embraced preservation within its broader agenda for political equality and cultural equity, the advocacy group Friends of 1800 formed in San Francisco to articulate the connections.

Friends of 1800 organized in 1987 as advocates for the preservation of San Francisco's nearly century-old Carmel Fallon building, whose future was threatened by demolition plans intended to make way for a LGBTQ Community Center.[100] Thus, the Friends' initial cause required work to build awareness of and appreciation for the value of historic preservation *within* the LGBTQ community, though it also raised awareness of LGBTQ issues among many preservation professionals. These goals ultimately shaped the organization's mission to preserve "significant historical buildings, landmarks and the architectural heritage of San Francisco with a special interest in the identification and recognition of issues and sites important to GLBT history and culture."[101]

---

[100] The Carmel Fallon Building is located at 1800-1806 Market Street, San Francisco, California. See "About Friends of 1800," The Friends of 1800 website, http://www.friendsof1800.org/friendsof1800.html.

[101] "About the Friends of 1800," The Friends of 1800 website, http://www.friendsof1800.org/friendsof1800.htm.

For a time, Friends of 1800's website was *the* place to go for information on LGBTQ preservation. Following the organization's success in preserving the Fallon Building,[102] the Friends organized a 2001 conference in San Francisco focused on preserving LGBTQ heritage, Looking Back and Forward, in collaboration with the GLBT Northern California Historical Society and the James C. Hormel LGBTQIA Center at the San Francisco Public Library. As organizer Gerry Takano recalled, the conference broke new ground:

> Back then only a few bona fide preservations sanctioned the legitimacy of the glbt community's minority status. The basis of a cultural resource's recognition and significance, instead, was commonly defined by race and ethnic origin, not sexual orientation. Furthermore, the high proportion of gay men and lesbians involved in some form of preservation activity was trivialized as inconsequential and negligible.

For that reason, the conference highlighted a wide array of places significant for their connection with LGBTQ communities, and helped to coalesce advocacy for LGBTQ cultural resources among preservationists.[103] The vocal contingent of LGBTQ preservationists who organized to save the Carmel Fallon Building served as a bridge between the LGBTQ and preservation communities, raising questions of where their concerns fit on each other's agendas. Friends of 1800 also directly advanced the cause of identifying places of significance in LGBTQ heritage by producing the first historic context statement in the United States on LGBTQ properties.[104]

---

[102] The Carmel Fallon Building is San Francisco Landmark #223 (1998).

[103] Gerry Takano, "Tiptoeing through the GLBT Preservation Movement," April 28, 2011, http://www.friendsof1800.org/EVENTS/Tiptoeing-through-GLBT-Preservation.pdf.

[104] Damon Scott for the Friends of 1800, "Sexing the City: The Development of Sexual Identity Based Subcultures in San Francisco, 1933-1979," Final Draft Historic Context Statement, July 2004.

Institutional Transformation: Gaining Traction for LGBTQ Issues within the National Trust for Historic Preservation and the National Park Service

These early initiatives helped to seed a network of concerned LGBTQ preservationists and their allies, who in turn leveraged momentum to press for a more visible place on the program of annual meetings of the NTHP with the goals of embedding issues of sexual orientation within the organization and institutionalizing change. Behind the scenes, there were wrenching struggles over the prominence of LGBTQ topics on the program of NTHP annual conferences, as the organization's leadership was concerned about antagonizing and alienating conservative elements of the membership at a time when the culture wars were raging.

Progress in advancing organizational change advanced incrementally. The first sign of progress was the NTHP's commitment to hosting an October 1996 social gathering for LGBTQ preservationists at its fiftieth annual conference in Chicago. It foreshadowed a more significant commitment the following year to a full educational session, "Hidden History: Identifying and Interpreting Gay and Lesbian Places," at its National Preservation Conference in Santa Fe, New Mexico.[105] The resounding success of that session paved the way for LGBTQ receptions and heritage tours at the National Trust's annual conferences. These steps cumulatively laid the foundation for addressing LGBTQ issues within the NTHP's publications: *Preservation Magazine*, which is a perk of general membership; and *Forum*, which is followed mainly by preservation practitioners and educators.

---

[105] For an account of this struggle within the NTHP, see Gail Dubrow, "Blazing Trails with Pink Triangles and Rainbow Trails," *Restoring Women's History through Historic Preservation*, eds. Gail Dubrow and Jennifer Goodman (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003), 281-299.

Coverage of the San Francisco walking tour “Cruisin’ the Castro” broke the silence about LGBTQ heritage within *Preservation* in 1997.[106] It was followed in 1998 by the publication of my essay, “Blazing Trails with Pink Triangles and Rainbow Flags,” in *Forum*.[107] Drawn from my presentation at the New Mexico session, the article outlined an agenda for action, including: (1) writing gays and lesbians into the history of the preservation movement; (2) improving the interpretation of LGBT history at existing landmarks; (3) identifying and listing overlooked historic resources; (4) increasing public education and awareness of LGBT heritage; (5) building advocacy for the protection of historic resources; and (6) building institutional capacity within preservation advocacy organizations and cultural resource management agencies to address these issues effectively.

Still, it was unclear to what extent the NTHP was prepared to address LGBTQ themes at historic properties in its own portfolio, as evidenced by pressure from *Forum* editors to drop references in the “Blazing Trails” article to the Trust’s planned acquisition of Philip Johnson’s Glass House in New Canaan, Connecticut and negotiations in process over Georgia O’Keeffe’s Ghost Ranch in Abiquiu, New Mexico.[108] My point was that the acquisition of these historic properties would provide the NTHP with the opportunity to demonstrate its commitment to LGBTQ inclusive policies and practices, since same-sex relationships were essential to their creation. The editorial conflict captured the leadership at a moment of deep ambivalence, caught between the demands of LGBTQ preservationists in its own ranks, who were frustrated by chronic silences that devalued their contributions to the movement and obscured important elements of their history, and a conservative faction within the membership still struggling with unvarnished presentations about the horrors of slavery at NTHP properties, much less shame-free narratives about gay, lesbian, bisexual, and transgender people.

---

[106] Dennis Drabelle, “Out and About in the City,” *Preservation* 49, no. 1 (January-February 1997): 76-78

[107] Gail Dubrow, “Blazing Trails with Pink Triangles and Rainbow Flags: New Directions in the Preservation and Interpretation of Gay and Lesbian Heritage,” *Preservation Forum* 12, no. 3 (Spring 1998): 31-44.

[108] Philip Johnson’s Glass House is located at 798-856 Ponus Ridge Road, New Canaan, Connecticut. It was added to the NRHP and designated an NHL on February 18, 1997. Ghost Ranch Education and Retreat Center is located at 280 Private Drive 1708, Abiquiu, New Mexico. It was designated a National Natural Landmark in 1975.

Ultimately, Ghost Ranch remained in the hands of the Presbyterian Church, which runs it as an education and retreat center. To date, the contributions of Maria Chabot to building the house, and her intimate relationship with O'Keeffe, have little purchase. In contrast, the Glass House, which Johnson ultimately bequeathed to the NTHP, has become a model of candor since opening to the public in 1987 (Figure 8). Both the website and site-based programs directly address its gay content as a landmark of modern architecture designed by a gay architect, Philip Johnson, whose partner of forty-five years, David Whitney, was instrumental in shaping their private art collection. The fact that Johnson stepped out of the closet late in life helped make it possible to address his sexual orientation and same-sex partnership without the shadow of outing

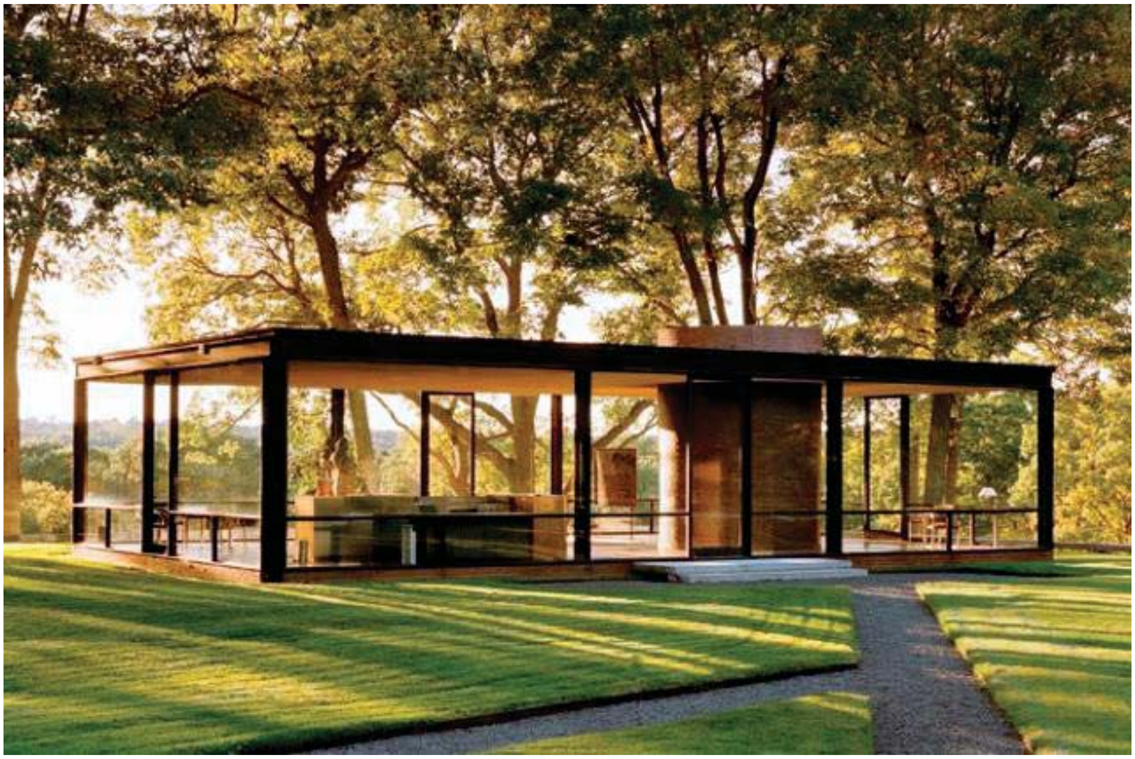


Figure 8: Philip Johnson's Glass House, New Canaan, Connecticut, 2013. Photo by Edelteil.[109]

---

[109] License: CC BY-SA 3.0. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Casa_de_Cristal_P.J.jpg

someone against their wishes.[110] It has become one of the rare historic houses that explicitly acknowledges a same-sex life partnership on its website as well as in creative site-based programming. [111] In May 2016, for example, Glass House hosted a performance of "Modern Living" by Brennan Gerard and Ryan Kelly, whose work is a meditation on "how the house sheltered and protected a queer subculture."[112] The property is a bellwether of the NTHP's growing embrace of LGBTQ issues. Today the preservation advocacy organization broadcasts its commitment to inclusion in multiple ways, sponsoring a listserv for those interested in LGBTQ issues, publicizing examples of historic places, and bringing advocates into broader conversations about diversity and inclusion in the preservation movement.[113]

By the end of the 1990s, the foundation for an LGBTQ-inclusive preservation movement had been established through grassroots initiatives, the formation of new interest groups focused on LGBTQ heritage within professional associations, and an increasingly vocal contingent of out lesbians and gay men working within the field of preservation. Preservation professionals, some of whom had been active in grassroots initiatives, mobilized to make the major preservation organizations and agencies more responsive to their concerns. These efforts were complemented by progressive developments in a wide range of scholarly and professional organizations in the fields of history, archival and museum administration, architecture, art, planning, and geography, which lent support to changes in the preservation movement's approach to LGBTQ issues.

---

[110] The couple became more open about the significance of their relationship in the 1990s. Johnson boldly appeared on the cover of *Out Magazine* in 1996. Other open treatment of their relationship includes Martin Fuller, "Art: The Architect of a Master Builder's Art," *New York Times*, June 2, 1996. For a description of the couple's routine at the Glass House, see Alexandra Lange, "Philip Johnson's Not Glass Houses," *New York Times Magazine*, February 13, 2015.

[111] See, for example, ubiquitous references to Whitney on the Glass House website at http://theglasshouse.org/learn/new-canaan-with-philip-johnson.

[112] Julie Baumgardner, "A Performance Project that Brings Some Mystery to the Glass House," *New York Times,* May 10, 2016.

[113] See, for example, "LGBT Heritage Stories," National Trust for Historic Preservation website, https://savingplaces.org/story-categories/lgbt-heritage-stories#.VxYreyMrI1I; or its affinity-group listserv for those interested in LGBT preservation issues, subscribe-lgbtpreservation-l@lists.nationaltrust.org.

The National Park Service exhibited similar concerns in the 1990s about the prospect of political fallout in response to any effort to designate historic places tied to LGBTQ people and events. At a time when the culture wars were raging, matters of historical interpretation became highly politicized at the federal level. Intense controversy in 1989 over the National Endowment for the Arts' support for Andres Serrano's provocative photograph, *Piss Christ*; and the Smithsonian's National Air and Space Museum's planned 1994 exhibit of the Enola Gay, the plane used to drop atomic weapons on Japan, put federal agencies on notice that a coalition of conservative politicians and their constituents, particularly religious organizations, would use the threat of budget cuts to enforce their views.

In this climate, some NHL nominations prepared for the Congressionally-funded Women's History Landmark Study that touched on controversial contemporary issues such as birth control, abortion, sexuality, and radical politics—for example Margaret Sanger's Birth Control Clinic and Emma Goldman's apartment, where her ideology of free love was practiced and the *Mother Earth News* was published—were sidelined. Conservative hostility toward critiques of American history, feminism, and LGBTQ rights that reached into the next decade occasionally derailed unrelated NHL nominations, such as Seattle's Panama Hotel, which is significant in Japanese American history for many reasons, including the ca. 1915 traditional Japanese bathhouse, *Hashidate-Yu*, in the basement.[114] In the nomination review process, the bathhouse—a model of propriety—was erroneously conflated with gay bathhouses, where public sex has been a feature of male sociality and a celebration of same-sex attraction. The 2002 nomination stalled for four years before finally securing NHL status. But its eventual success begs the question: what if actual gay bathhouses were proposed for landmark designation, such as the Everard, Lafayette, Continental, and New St. Marks in New York City; or their San Francisco equivalents: the Palace, Jack's, Ritch Street, Barracks, and Liberty Baths, among many others?[115] These types of sites, far more provocative than domestic idylls, are just beginning to be considered for recognition, for example San Francisco's Ringold Alley in the South of Market neighborhood. Once a cruising spot for gay men seeking quick pickups and sex, it is now scheduled to become a commemorative plaza, which will include bronze footprints in the pavement and the reproduction of an iconic mural from the Tool Box Bathhouse, harkening back to its heyday from 1962 to the mid-1960s.[116] The volatile relationship between politics and culture that settled into American public life in the 1990s (which has morphed into new debates over the impact of LGBTQ rights on those who object on moral or religious grounds) provides a context for appreciating the cultural victory that Stonewall's listing as a National Historic Landmark represented in 2000.

---

[114] Gail Dubrow and Connie Walker, "Panama Hotel [and Hashidate-Yu]," 605 South Main Street and 302 Sixth Avenue South, Seattle, Washington. NRHP Registration Form, July 18, 2002. The Panama Hotel was added to the NRHP and designated an NHL on March 20, 2006.

---

[115] For example, for a history of San Francisco's gay bathhouses, see Allan Bérubé, "The History of Gay Bathhouses," *Journal of Homosexuality* 44, no. 3 (2003): 33-53. The Everard Baths were located at 28 West 28th Street, New York City; they were open from 1888 through 1986. The Lafayette Baths were located at 403-405 Lafayette Street, New York City (now demolished). The Continental Baths were located in the basement of the Ansonia Hotel, 2101-2119 Broadway, New York City from 1968 to 1975; the Ansonia Hotel was listed on the NRHP on January 10, 1980. The New St. Marks Baths were located at 6 St. Marks Place, New York City, New York from 1979 until closed by the City in response to the AIDS epidemic in 1985. The New St. Marks Baths opened in the former location of the Saint Marks Baths, a Turkish bath that served the areas immigrant population from 1913. In the 1950s, a gay clientele began to visit the baths in the evenings; by the 1960s, it became exclusively gay. Jack's Baths was located at 1052 Geary, San Francisco, California from circa 1936 through 1941, when they moved to 1143 Post Street, San Francisco, California. They closed in the 1980s. The Ritch Street Health Club, 330 Ritch Street, San Francisco, California, was popular in the 1960s and 1970s. The Barracks at 72 Hallam Street, San Francisco, California opened in 1972, and burned in 1981. The Liberty Baths was open at 1157 Post Street in the Polk Gulch neighborhood of San Francisco, California in the 1970s. They closed in the 1980s during the early years of the AIDS epidemic.

[116] Brock Keeling, "SOMA to Get Another LGBT-Themed Public Space," *Curbed San Francisco*, June 2, 2016, http://sf.curbed.com/2016/6/2/11841692/soma-leather-kink-public-space. The Tool Box, located on the corner of Fourth Street and Harrison in the South of Market neighborhood of San Francisco, California opened in 1962 and closed in 1971, when the building was demolished for redevelopment. Gayle Rubin, "Folsom Street: The Miracle Mile, Part One," Found SF, http://www.foundsf.org/index.php?title=Folsom_Street:_The_Miracle_Mile.

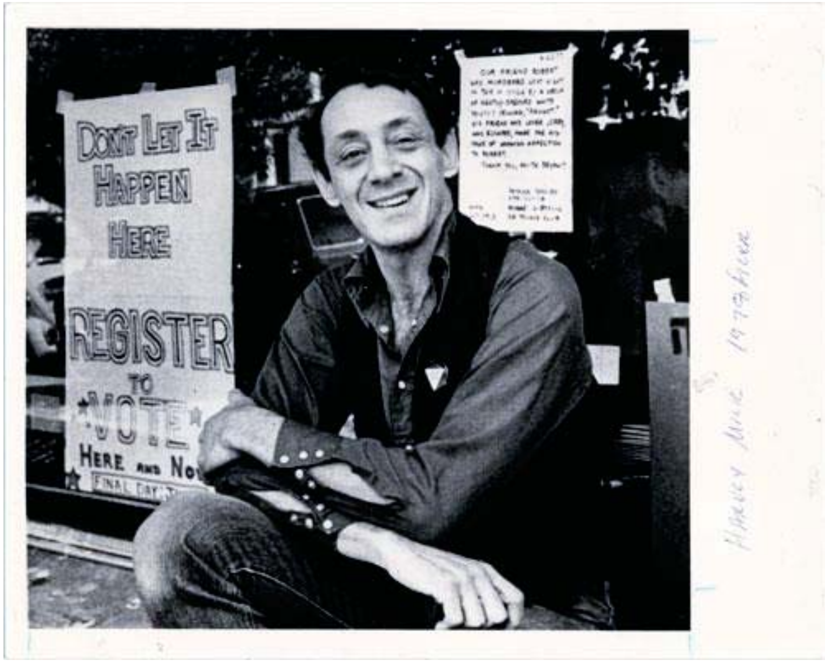

DON'T LET IT HAPPEN HERE
REGISTER TO VOTE HERE AND NOW
FINAL DAY

Figure 9: Harvey Milk in front of Castro Camera, San Francisco, California, 1977. Photo from the Harvey Milk Archives – Scott Smith Collection, Hormel Gay & Lesbian Center, San Francisco Public Library.[117]

The contentious political climate in this period also explains why much of the forward momentum to recognize places of significance in LGBTQ history can be traced to grassroots initiatives. The Victorian-era building that housed Harvey Milk's Castro Camera shop and residence, which also served as headquarters for his four campaigns for public office, was designated San Francisco Landmark #227 in July 2000 (Figure 9). Iconic Stonewall, part of the Greenwich Village Historic District, was entered into the National Register of Historic Places in 1999, and designated a National Historic Landmark in 2000. It would take fifteen more years, however, before the property would be approved as a New York City landmark.[118]

In DC, the group Rainbow History was the driving force behind the addition of gay rights activist Frank Kameny's home and offices to the roster of local landmarks, with support from the DC Preservation League. The research and writing process began in 2003 and resulted in a completed National Register nomination in 2006, with the property becoming a DC landmark in 2009 and listing on the NRHP in 2011.[119] A contributor to the delay was the standard practice of limiting NRHP designations to those no longer living. While Kameny had the satisfaction of living to see his home and office listed as a DC landmark, the property was added to the NRHP only after his death, becoming the first property to honor a major figure in the LGBTQ rights movement.

---

[117] License: CC BY-NC-ND 2.0. https://www.flickr.com/photos/sfplsanfranciscohistoricalphotographcollection/3574510522

[118] The principal authors of and advocates for the Stonewall nominations were former members of OLGAD, such as Andrew Dolkart, Ken Lustbader, and Jay Shockley, who first worked on raising the visibility of these types of sites in their 1994 guide to lesbian and gay sites in New York City. Their dedication, persistence, and the platform of their professional positions have been critical to changing the climate for LGBTQ heritage preservation. Stonewall, which encompasses the bar at 51-53 Christopher Street, New York City and surrounding areas, was listed on the NRHP on June 28, 1999 and designated an NHL on February 16, 2000. It was designated as Stonewall National Monument on June 24, 2016.

Support within the Department of Interior for listing these overlooked properties on the NHRP and recognizing the most outstanding examples as NHLs came from GLOBE: Gay Lesbian, Bisexual, and Transgender Employees of the Federal Government. Interior GLOBE, a mutual support and advocacy group run by and for employees of the Department of the Interior, played a key role in advancing Stonewall for listing on the NRHP as a first step toward NHL designation, which is restricted to properties with the highest levels of significance and integrity. According to Stephen A. Morris, a founding member of Interior GLOBE, it was at one of its:

> monthly meetings in the summer of 1998 that the idea of honoring Stonewall as an official historic site was first discussed – the members hit on this as a bit of a legacy project for the Clinton Administration which had brought so many openly gay political appointees into the Department [of the Interior].[120]

Their partnership with the GVSHP, OLGAD, and Andrew Dolkart and colleagues, who authored the nomination, moved the project beyond the roadblocks encountered in an attempt several years earlier. Interior

---

[119] Mark Meinke, "Dr. Franklin E. Kameny Residence," National Register of Historic Places Registration Form, July 22, 2006. The Dr. Franklin E. Kameny Residence in northwestern Washington, DC, was added to the NRHP on November 2, 2011, approximately three weeks after his death on October 11, 2011.

[120] Stephen A. Morris, "Interior Globe Sparked and Guided the Collaborative Effort to Recognize Stonewall Inn," *Interior Globe News* 1 (Spring 2000).

GLOBE also lent support to the inclusion of Frank Kameny's house on the NRHP.[121]

Connecting Grassroots Initiatives with Landmark Designation Programs

One of the major limitations of the many local, community-based mapping projects, from the perspective of historic preservation, is that they did not directly advance the protection of resources significant in LGBTQ heritage or integrate them into programs to designate landmarks. Nevertheless, as momentum grew within the preservation movement, grassroots mapping projects became a source of actual nominations. Virginia-based Rainbow Heritage Network has proven to be a particularly fruitful generator of nominations, widening the coverage of places associated with women and people of color. Rainbow Heritage Network co-founder Mark Meinke, along with homeowner Robert Pohl, led efforts to nominate the Capitol Hill row house that was the main home and operational center for the Furies as a DC landmark and to the NRHP. The Furies was a small lesbian feminist collective founded in 1971 that played a key role in the rise of Second-wave feminism and the LGBTQ movement. The building's large basement hosted meetings of the collective and was the headquarters for publishing its newspaper, *The Furies: Lesbian/Feminist Monthly*. The property was listed on the National Register of Historic Places on May 2, 2016.[122]

The DC home of the Furies' Collective is not the only site with significant connections to the rise of lesbian feminism. There are others that also have the potential to become landmarks. The homes of some of the movement's most articulate proponents, for example black lesbian feminist writer and activist Audre Lorde, which stands in Staten Island; or preeminent American poet Adrienne Rich, who established long-term residences with her partner, the writer and editor Michelle Cliff, in Montague, Massachusetts, and later in Santa Cruz, California, could become the late twentieth century's equivalents of a prior generation's drive to save Willa Cather and Walt Whitman's houses.[123] Moreover, collective spaces such as the offices of Olivia Records, which was founded in 1973 to record and distribute women's music (based in Los Angeles and subsequently located in Oakland), along with critical sites of political action, by groups such as ACT UP and the Lesbian Avengers, both of which shunned conventional forms of protest in favor of bolder tactics, await recognition for their distinctive roles in LGBTQ history.[124]

---

[121] Stephen A. Morris, email to author, April 13, 2016.

[122] Jenna Sauber, "Saving the House of the Furies," National Trust for Historic Preservation website, December 9, 2015, https://savingplaces.org/stories/the-house-of-the-furies#.Vw6T1DYrI1I; and Lou Chibbaro, Jr., "Honoring Home of D.C.'s Furies," *Washington Blade*, January 20, 2016, http://www.washingtonblade.com/2016/01/20/honoring-home-of-d-c-s-furies. For a history of the Furies, see Julie N. Enszner, "Have Fun So We Do Not Go Mad in "Male Supremacist Heterosexual Amerika: Lesbian-Feminist Poetry in The Furies," *Beltway Poetry Quarterly* 11, no. 2 (Spring 2010), http://washingtonart.com/beltway/furies.html. The Furies Collective house in the Capitol Hill neighborhood of Washington, DC, was listed on the NRHP on May 2, 2016.

Fortunately work to identify and designate places associated with some of the most compelling LGBTQ figures in American history has begun to move beyond the lives of white gay men to include women and people of color. Trailblazing civil rights activist Bayard Rustin's (1912-1987) residence at the Penn South Complex in Manhattan was recognized as a landmark by the New York State Board for Historic Preservation in 2015 and added to the NRHP in 2016.[125] An African American gay man, Rustin was active in American movements for civil rights, socialism, nonviolence, and gay rights, earning a reputation as the best organizer in America. He purchased the apartment in 1962, joined by his life partner Walter Naegle in 1977. Rustin lived there until his death in 1987, after which Naegle preserved it almost exactly as it had been during Rustin's time. Rustin was posthumously awarded the Presidential Medal of Freedom, the highest civilian honor, by President Barack Obama in 2013.[126]

---

[123] "Audre Lorde Residence, Staten Island, New York, St. Paul's Avenue/Stapleton Heights Historic District," in LPC, *150 Years of LGBT History*.

[124] See, for example, Laraine Sommella's interview with Maxine Wolfe, "This is about People Dying: The Tactics of Early ACT UP and Lesbian Avengers in New York City," in Ingram, Bouthillette, and Retter, *Queers in Space*; and The Lesbian Avengers' website at http://lesbianavengers.com.

[125] For an excellent treatment of Rustin's life, see John D'Emilio, *Lost Prophet: The Life and Times of Bayard Rustin* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004). For a brief overview, see Steven Thrasher, "Bayard Rustin: The Man Homophobia Almost Erased From History," *BuzzFeed LGBT*, August 27, 2013, http://www.buzzfeed.com/steventhrasher/walter-naegle-partner-of-the-late-bayard-rustin-talks-about#.tgKKoNZav. Also see "Bayard Rustin Residence," National Park Service website, https://www.nps.gov/places/bayard-rustin-residence.htm. The Bayard Rustin Home, located in the Chelsea neighborhood of New York City, was added to the NRHP on March 8, 2016.

One little-recognized source of information feeding LGBTQ preservation projects are theses and dissertations by students pursuing graduate degrees in historic preservation and related fields (particularly architecture, urban planning, museum studies, and public history), who are eager to connect their political concerns and identity to their chosen profession.[127] Ken Lustbader's 1993 Columbia University thesis on Greenwich Village laid a foundation for two decades of initiatives addressing LGBTQ history within the historic district and pointed the way for broader initiatives to recover NYC's queer cultural resources.[128] Bill Adair's graduate thesis and Moira Kenney's dissertation, both completed in UCLA's Urban Planning program, fed into a grassroots project to map the city's gay and lesbian landmarks, an initiative that was supported by the Western Regional Office of the NTHP.[129] Similarly, Shayne Watson's

---

[126] Justin Snow, "Obama Honors Bayard Rustin and Sally Ride with Medal of Freedom," *Metro Weekly*, November 20, 1913, http://www.metroweekly.com/2013/11/obama-honors-bayard-rustin-and.

[127] Some relevant student projects include: Meaghan K. Nappo, "Not a Quiet Riot: Stonewall and the Creation of Lesbian, Gay, and Transgender Community and Identity Through Public History Techniques," master's thesis, Department of History, University of North Carolina at Wilmington, 2010, http://dl.uncw.edu/etd/2010-3/nappom/meaghannappo.pdf; Tatum Taylor, "Undeniable Conjecture: Placing LGBT Heritage," 2011 Cleo and James Marston Fitch Prize, Preservation Alumni, Columbia University, http://preservationalumni.org/Resources/Documents/Fitch%20Prize%202011%20Taylor.pdf; Elizabeth Rose Hessmiller, "Saving Each Other: Using Historic Preservation as a Tool for Therapeutic City Planning," master's thesis, University of Pennsylvania, 2013; Catherine Aust, "Be Proud: The Recognition and Preservation of Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, and Queer Heritage in the United States," master's thesis, Graduate Program in Art History, Rutgers University, 2014; Kasey Jaren Fulwood, "The National Register of Historic Places and Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender Heritage," master's thesis, University of Georgia, 2014, https://getd.libs.uga.edu/pdfs/fulwood_kasey_j_201405_mhp.pdf; Vigdís María Hermannsdóttir, "Here I Am and Here I'm Not: Queer Women's Use of Temporary Urban Spaces in Post-Katrina New Orleans," master's thesis, University of New Orleans, 2015, http://scholarworks.uno.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=3060&context=td; and Grey Pierce, "Throwing Open the Door: Preserving Philadelphia's Gay Bathhouses," master's thesis, Historic Preservation, University of Pennsylvania, 2015, http://repository.upenn.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1586&context=hp_theses.

[128] Ken Lustbader, "Landscape of Liberation: Preserving Gay and Lesbian History in Greenwich Village," master's thesis, Historic Preservation Program, Columbia University, 1993.

[129] Moira Rachel Kenney, "Strategic Invisibility: Gay and Lesbian Place-Claiming in Los Angeles, 1970-1994," PhD diss., Urban Planning, University of California Los Angeles, 1994; and Bill Adair, "Celebrating a Hidden History: Gay and Lesbian Historic Places in Los Angeles," master's thesis, Urban Planning, University of California Los Angeles, 1997. Coverage of the "Gay and Lesbian LA History

2009 University of Southern California thesis, which identified the tangible remains of San Francisco's lesbian community in North Beach in the period from 1933 to 1960, provided both methodological insights and a stream of information for a recent citywide context document.[130] Many of these projects created experts and leaders in the area of LGBTQ heritage. It points to the possibilities for cultivating a next generation of leadership by supporting the work of graduate students with an interest in and aptitude for preserving queer heritage.

Because much of the foundational work to preserve LGBTQ historic places was not commissioned or sponsored by formal preservation advocacy groups or agencies, the mapping projects and growing number of individual landmark designations were done without some of the most useful tools for preservation planning, namely: (1) detailed historic context documents that identify the range of themes and property types significant in LGBTQ heritage within a particular locale; and which provide a comparative context for assessing the relative significance and integrity of places associated with those themes; and (2) systematic surveys that document the history and condition of extant resources. These kinds of projects require substantial resources to produce high-quality products and go well beyond the capacity of purely voluntary efforts. Fortunately, there are now several model projects to guide further work of this type, and new projects in the pipeline.

Map" produced by Jeff Samudio, Rachel Kenney, and Bill Adair can be found in Larry Gordon, "A Guide to Where L.A.'s Gays Came of Age," *Los Angeles Times*, July 8, 2001.

[130] Shayne Elizabeth Watson, "Preserving the Tangible Remains of San Francisco's Lesbian Community in North Beach, 1933 to 1960," master's thesis, Master of Historic Preservation, University of Southern California, 2009.

Employing the Tools of Preservation Planning: LGBTQ Context Documents, Field Surveys, and Nominations

The first known example of a an LGBTQ context document, prepared by Damien Scott in 2004, grew out of the foundational work done by Friends of 1800 in San Francisco and was carried out with very limited funding. Faced with financial constraints, project organizers are rarely able to engage the full range of constituencies nominally organized under the banner of LGBTQ. More than two decades later, the City and County of San Francisco deepened its commitment to planning for the protection of its queer heritage by commissioning a new context document that built upon and reached beyond the pioneering 1994 project. San Francisco's leadership points to the level of political mobilization, advocacy, organization, and volunteer effort required to bring LGBTQ heritage to the fore, and explains why it remains obscured elsewhere in the American landscape, despite the fact that LGBTQ people have resided everywhere. Fortunately, this picture is beginning to change as groups outside the metropoles of San Francisco, Los Angeles, Chicago, and New York City are organizing to preserve their cultural queer resources.

The ability to carry out systematic surveys of LGBTQ places has hinged on the willingness of preservation agencies to allocate funding, which in turn depends on the political clout of the local LGBTQ communities. For that reason, the cities of Los Angeles and San Francisco have been at the forefront of supporting the development of historic context documents. Nestled within the larger project "Survey LA," the City of Los Angeles completed an LGBT Historic Context Statement in 2014 with support from the NPS and the California Office of Historic Preservation.[131] It focused on resources dating from the 1930s through the 1970s, principally located in neighborhoods between Downtown and Hollywood such as Westlake, Angelino Heights, Echo Park, and Silver Lake. The project utilized an online forum to gather information from members of the community and concerned groups, a strategy that augmented information exchange at a public meeting. The final report highlighted several themes, including: (1) the Gay Liberation Movement; (2) LGBT persons and their impact on the entertainment industry; (3) the reconciliation of homosexuality and religion; (4) gay bars as social institutions; (5) the misguided labeling of homosexuality as a mental illness; (6) the LGBT community and the media; (7) gays and lesbians on the Los Angeles literary scene; and (8) queer art. Each theme generated information about multiple properties.

---

[131] Office of Historic Resources, Department of City Planning, City of Los Angeles, "Survey LA: LGBT Historic Context Statement," prepared by GPA Consulting with contributions from Carson Anderson, Senior Architectural Historian, ICF/Jones & Stokes, and Wes Joe, Community Activist (September 2014).

The most comprehensive citywide historic context statement on LGBTQ history completed to date began in 2013 and was completed in 2015 by Donna Graves and Shayne Watson for San Francisco, funded by a grant from the City and County's Historic Preservation Fund.[132] This context statement covered a longer timeline and wider range of themes than its Los Angeles counterpart, including: (1) early influences on LGBTQ identities and communities; (2) the development and building of local LGBTQ communities; (3) policing harassment; (4) homophile movements; (5) the evolution of LGBTQ enclaves and development of new neighborhoods; (6) gay liberation, pride, and politics; (7) LGBTQ medicine; and (8) the city's experience of the AIDS epidemic.

The San Francisco project has clarified the value of engaging in an intensive process of grassroots consultation to generate information about properties meaningful to various segments of the LGBTQ community, a process that requires more funding than typically is needed for well-documented aspects of history. So too, it has highlighted the

---

http://www.preservation.lacity.org/files/LGBT%20Historic%20Context%209-14.pdf#page=66&zoom=auto,-73,373.

[132] Donna J. Graves and Shayne E. Watson, "Citywide Historic Context Statement for LGBTQ History in San Francisco" (San Francisco, CA: City and County of San Francisco, October 2015), http://208.121.200.84/ftp/files/Preservation/lgbt_HCS/LGBTQ_HCS_October2015.pdf.

problems that arise when urgently trying to protect historic places whose significance was overlooked for decades and survival is threatened by rising land rents and the rapid pace of development in a superheated regional economy, in this case fueled by the tech boom.[133]

NPS funding, directed toward local projects to advance preservation in underrepresented communities, is supporting systematic surveys of LGBTQ heritage in New York City, the development of an LGBTQ context document and amendment of several NRHP nominations in Louisville, Kentucky, and the nomination of civil rights properties (including LGBTQ) to the NRHP in San Francisco.[134] Funding for the NPS Underrepresented Communities Grants has been approved for 2016. These sorts of investments will begin the hard work of filling gaps in our shared understanding of the lives of lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender Americans, and increase the possibilities for preserving the tangible resources associated with their heritage in the future.

Once more work has been done to identify the landmarks of LGBTQ history across the American landscape, and understand their comparative significance and integrity, it will be possible to develop a more comprehensive agenda for preservation and interpretation. The case of NHL designations for Frances Perkins, Molly Dewson, or others in the Roosevelts' political and social circle (as discussed earlier), points to the value of considering all of the possible sites before narrowing the focus of preservation efforts to one or more properties. The same is true for some of the highest-profile LGBTQ designations.

Prepared as an individual nomination, rather than as part of a comprehensive study, Stonewall was designated without necessarily considering the comparative significance and integrity of other contemporary sites of rebellion. Well-documented examples occurred years earlier, in August 1966 at Compton's Cafeteria in San Francisco, also sparked by resistance to police harassment.[135] Two parallel riots occurred in Los Angeles: the first at the popular downtown hangout, Cooper's Donut shop, in May 1959, which was a hangout for drag queens and hustlers because they were barred from entering either of the gay bars that flanked it; and the second at the Black Cat Tavern in Los Angeles, which occurred on January 1, 1967.[136] It inspired a demonstration the following month that drew hundreds of people to protest police raids, harassment, and violence. The Black Cat was designated as a Los Angeles Cultural-Historic Landmark in 2008.

---

[133] These observations were developed in conversation with Donna Graves, who with Shayne Watson authored the San Francisco study.

[134] "Secretary Jewell, Director Jarvis Announce 500,000 in Matching Grants to Support Diversity in National Register of Historic Places," US Department of the Interior press release, October 2, 2014; and "Interior Department Announces Grants for Underrepresented Communities Through Historic Preservation Fund," US Department of the Interior press release, November 6, 2015, https://www.doi.gov/pressreleases/interior-department-announces-grants-underrepresented-communities-through-historic.

There's no debate about Stonewall's significance or its merit for NHL designation. However, it would hew closer to historical reality to recognize that most national social movements emerge as multi-nodal phenomena over an extended time period, and accordingly, to designate a cluster of associated tangible resources as a thematic group, rather than searching for one iconic property. While local studies are currently the path along which progress is advancing, thematic studies that cross geographic boundaries, for example of the homophile movement, resistance to discrimination in the military, or the emergence of same-sex marriage in America, would benefit from a careful examination of extant historic properties nationally, rather than on a case-by-case basis. The themes explored in this study provide the foundation for a more comprehensive approach to planning for the protection of LGBTQ resources, but additional progress depends on moving to the next stage by commissioning field surveys of the extant tangible resources.

---

[135] Compton's Cafeteria was located at 101 Taylor Street, San Francisco, California. This building is a contributing element to the Uptown Tenderloin Historic District, listed on the NRHP on February 5, 2009.

[136] Cooper's Donuts was located between 527 and 555 South Main Street, Los Angeles, California. This "seedy stretch" of Main Street was located between the Waldorf and Harold's bars, according to Lillian Faderman, *Gay L.A.: A History of Sexual Outlaws, Power Politics, and Lipstick Lesbians* (New York: Basic Books, 2006), 1. The Black Cat was located at 3909 West Sunset Boulevard, Los Angeles, California.

The Queer Future of Preservation Action

Much of the work in LGBTQ preservation undertaken to date has focused on identifying landmarks, increasing public awareness of their significance, and securing their presence on local, state, and federal registers of historic places. Realizing the goals of preserving LGBTQ heritage, however, will require concerted action to protect places of significance from demolition or damaging alterations. Development pressures, especially in cities with runaway growth, make it difficult to preserve historic landmarks under any circumstances. But the long neglect of LGBTQ heritage, uneven knowledge base, and limited mobilization of advocates complicate the process of trying to save threatened cultural resources. San Francisco routinely reports the planned demolition and redevelopment of properties that were identified in its recent theme study. Entry of information about the LGBTQ historic places into the city's Property Information Map makes it possible to flag them when applications for demolition permits are filed and to include them in broader planning studies, but it doesn't guarantee protection.[137]

Where the LGBTQ community exercises considerable political influence, including within local advocacy organizations, negotiations have begun over the fate of threatened landmarks. One property identified as significant within the Survey LA LGBT Historic Context Statement is Circus Disco, a prominent gay and lesbian bar founded in 1975 which had a large Latino/a following.[138] In addition to being a place to socialize, it also played an important role in political organizing and coalition building: "In 1983, civil rights and labor leader Cesar Chavez addressed roughly one hundred members of the Project Just Business gay and lesbian coalition at the bar, where he offered strategies for organizing boycotts and coalition fundraising."[139]

---

[137] To access the San Francisco Planning Department's Property Information Map, see http://propertymap.sfplanning.org.

[138] The Circus Disco was located at 6655 Santa Monica Boulevard, Los Angeles, California. It closed in January 2016, see Lina Lecaro, "Say Goodbye to Circus Disco With One Last Night of Disco Music," *LA Weekly*, December 4, 2015, http://www.laweekly.com/music/say-goodbye-to-circus-disco-with-one-last-night-of-disco-music-6347338.

Circus Disco was recommended by city staff for consideration as a Los Angeles landmark, however it was not deemed significant or worthy of designation in the Environmental Impact Report prepared for the Lexington Project, the development scheduled to replace it. Early in 2016, Hollywood Heritage struck a deal with the developer to save key artifacts from the property. While it wasn't a total victory from the perspective of preservation, it signaled a new level of activism to protect the tangible remains of LGBTQ heritage.[140] Most news is bleaker: the shuttering of legacy businesses due to soaring rents or threatened demolition of historic properties due to redevelopment.[141] Clearly much work remains to be done to translate a growing knowledge base about LGBTQ cultural resources into effective preservation action.

Recent Progress in Reinterpreting LGBTQ Historic Properties

Beyond the designation and protection of places previously overlooked in preservation planning, the work of reinterpreting designated historic properties is advancing on many fronts. At the Hull-House Museum, where the nature of Mary Rozet Smith's relationship with founder Jane Addams has long been a point of contention, new leadership in 2006 opened the door to engaging with the interpretive issue directly (Figure 10).[142] Under Lisa Yun Lee's direction, museum staff invited visitor responses to alternative descriptions of the bonds between these women:

---

[139] See "Circus Disco," Los Angeles Conservancy website, last updated January 25, 2016, https://www.laconservancy.org/issues/circus-disco.

[140] "Historic Preservation; A Place in Gay History," *Los Angeles Times*, January 22, 2016, B2.

[141] Seth Hemmelgarn, "Tea Room Theater Closing," *Bay Area Reporter*, May 12, 2016.

[142] Hull House, located at 800 South Halsted, Chicago, Illinois was listed on the NRHP on October 15, 1966 and designated an NHL on June 23, 1965.

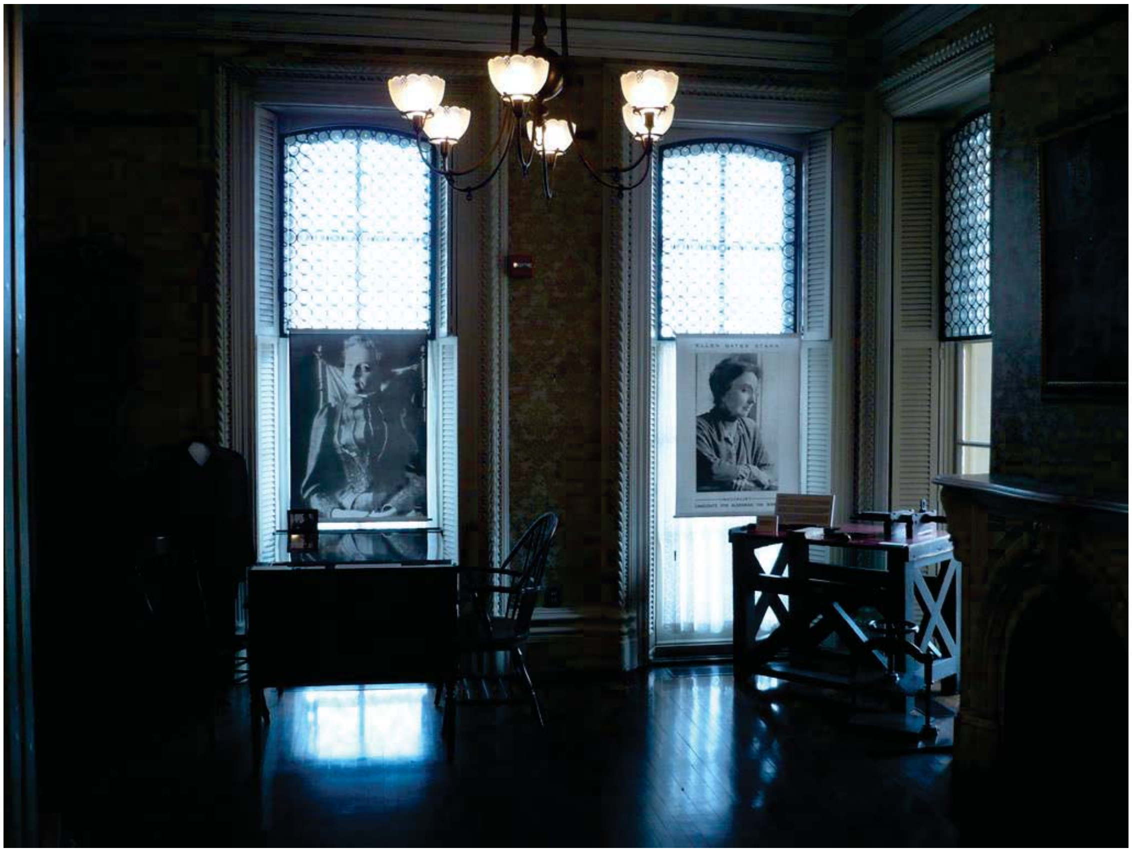


Figure 10: Hull House Interior, Chicago, Illinois, 2010. Photo by fitzgene.[143]

After consulting with historians and descendants, museum staff crafted three different labels and displayed them next to the painting,… inviting visitors to indicate which label they found most meaningful by posting their comments on a nearby large public response board. Staff hoped the project would inspire visitors to think more critically about the history presented at the museum and to reflect on what was at stake — the determining of the meaning of history and who gets to decide. Thousands of people responded to the project, both at the museum and online, and these responses ultimately informed the treatment of the painting in… the museum‘s new permanent exhibit. The exhibit now includes additional artifacts and

---

[143] License: CC BY-ND 2.0. https://www.flickr.com/photos/ftzgene/4452221987

> photographs illustrating the deep emotional intimacy the two women shared.[144]

"Gender and Sexuality" is a relatively recent addition to the tour options for Hull-House Museum visitors.[145] Other historic places with submerged LGBTQ histories have contended with greater degrees of resistance, conflict, and controversy before site administrators accepted the need for making adjustments. A case in point is Clear Comfort, the home of pioneering photographer Alice Austen located on the north shore of Staten Island.[146] The NHL nomination, which was generated in the context of a Congressionally-mandated study of women's history landmarks, like many others of their day, comes close to addressing LGBTQ issues, while ultimately skirting the subject:

> Many of Austen's pictures explored not only conventional Victorian morals but also gender roles. Often, she and her friends are shown in intimate poses, revealing glimpses of underwear or sharing a bed, private things that no man would have dared to photograph. Other pictures show cigarettes dangling from their lips (at a time when women could be arrested for smoking in public). To further test gender boundaries Austen would dress her friends in male clothing and encourage them to parody what they viewed as typical male poses. Perhaps her rebellion against conventional Victorian standards explains the fact that

---

[144] "Jane Addams Hull-House Museum, Chicago, Illinois," in *Revealing Women's History: Best Practices at Historic Sites*, eds. Heather A. Huyck and Peg Strobel (Ukiah, CA: National Collaborative for Women's History Sites, 2011), 48. For an extended discussion of the reinterpretation of the reinterpretation of Hull-House, see Lisa Yun Lee, "Peering into the Bedroom: Restorative Justice at the Jane Addam's Hull House Museum," in *The Routledge Companion to Museum Ethics: Redefining Ethics for the Twenty-First Century Museum*, ed. Janet Marstine (Abington, Oxon: Routledge, 2011), 174-187.

[145] Jennifer Brandel, "Should We Use the 'L Word' for Jane Addams?" Curious City, *WBEZ Online*, September 5, 2013, https://www.wbez.org/shows/wbez-news/should-we-use-the-l-word-for-jane-addams/2157704a-3738-4b8f-a879-b5aed91bb8f8. See also Victoria Bissell Brown, "Queer or Not: What Jane Addams Teaches Us About Not Knowing," in *Out in Chicago: LGBT History at the Crossroads*, eds. Jill Austin and Jennifer Brier (Chicago: Chicago History Museum, 2011), 63-76.

[146] Clear Comfort, the Alice Austen House, is located at 2 Hylan Boulevard, Staten Island, New York. It was listed on the NRHP on July 28, 1970 and designated an NHL on April 19, 1993.

> Austen never married. Her friends said, 'she was too good for men, that is she could do everything better.' Instead, she and friend Gertrude Tate formed a fifty-year partnership in which each complemented the other. Austen and Gertrude Tate traveled extensively. In her lifetime Austen made over twenty trips abroad and travelled through much of the United States.[147]

The Friends of Alice Austen, which manages the property on behalf of New York City's Department of Parks and Recreation, resisted pressure to deal directly with the issue, a controversy that has been documented by heritage planner Tatum Taylor, who wrote her 2012 graduate thesis in Columbia University's Historic Preservation Program on the dilemmas of interpreting marginalized aspects of heritage:[148]

> In fact, the museum's board threatened to close the house as a debate swelled over whether Alice's supposed lesbianism was being intentionally suppressed, or whether it was a fact irrelevant to the interpretation of Clear Comfort's historic significance. The debate was marked by a 1994 protest at the house held by the Lesbian Avengers.[149]

In recent years, visitors have benefited from a slightly more candid interpretation of Austen's relationship with Gertrude Tate, who lived with her at Clear Comfort from 1917 to 1935. Addressing their relationship is not only an important biographical fact, but also a key context for understanding some of the subjects of Austen's photographs. As the Alice Austen House website explains it:

---

[147] Jill Messirow and Page Putnam Miller, "Alice Austen House aka Clear Comfort: NHL Nomination," June 23, 1992.

[148] Tatum Taylor, "Concealed Certainty and Undeniable Conjecture: Interpreting Marginalized Heritage," master's thesis, Graduate School of Architecture, Planning and Preservation, Columbia University, 2012.

[149] Tatum Taylor, "Undeniable Conjecture: Placing LGBT Heritage".

> On one such summer excursion in 1899, visiting a Catskill hotel known as "Twilight Rest," Alice met Gertrude Tate, who was recuperating there from a bad case of typhoid fever. Gertrude was twenty-eight, a kindergarten teacher and professional dancing instructor, who worked to support her younger sister and widowed mother in Brooklyn. Judging from the small personal photo album that commemorates that summer, Gertrude's spontaneous gaiety and warm humor enchanted Alice, who was then thirty-three. Gertrude began regularly to visit the Austen House, then to spend long summer holidays in Europe with Alice. But not until 1917, when her younger sister and mother gave up their Brooklyn home, did Gertrude, overriding her family's appalled objections over her 'wrong devotion' to Alice, finally move into Clear Comfort.[150]

Because the website and interpretation of the historic house made limited direct references to Austen and Tate's relationship when she examined them in 2012, Taylor was critical of the omissions in the museum's displays, its orientation film, and related aspects of public interpretation.[151] Landmark nominations for this property and others like it that have not been amended to address LGBTQ themes run the risk of overlooking—and potentially threatening—aspects of the physical fabric that merit inclusion in historic properties' preservation, interpretation, collections management, and restoration plans.

---

[150] See "Her Life," Alice Austen House website, http://aliceausten.org/her-life.

[151] Friends of Alice Austen House recently received a NEH planning grant to reinterpret Austen through "new eyes." Of the nearly fifty projects funded under this category from 2012 through 2015, this is the only one with obvious potential to advance the interpretation of LGBTQ history. However as of the May 2016 project end date, there was little evidence of improved coverage on the Austen House's official website.

But even in cases where historic site administrators remain reluctant to embrace LGBTQ history, it is possible to convey that history to the public through independent projects presented on the internet or in public spaces adjacent to the property. The New York City Landmarks Preservation Commission, for example, has prepared a presentation that explains the LGBTQ connections to many listed properties, including the Austen House, and there are many models for site-specific art projects that mark placed-based histories in public space.[152] Independent initiatives that do not require obtaining the consent of property owners or nonprofit boards offer paths to interpretive freedom. Buy-in is critical for institutionalizing and embedding reforms on site; but direct action has the virtue of disengaging from intractable resistance to make claims on LGBTQ heritage at historic properties that lie beyond current grasp.

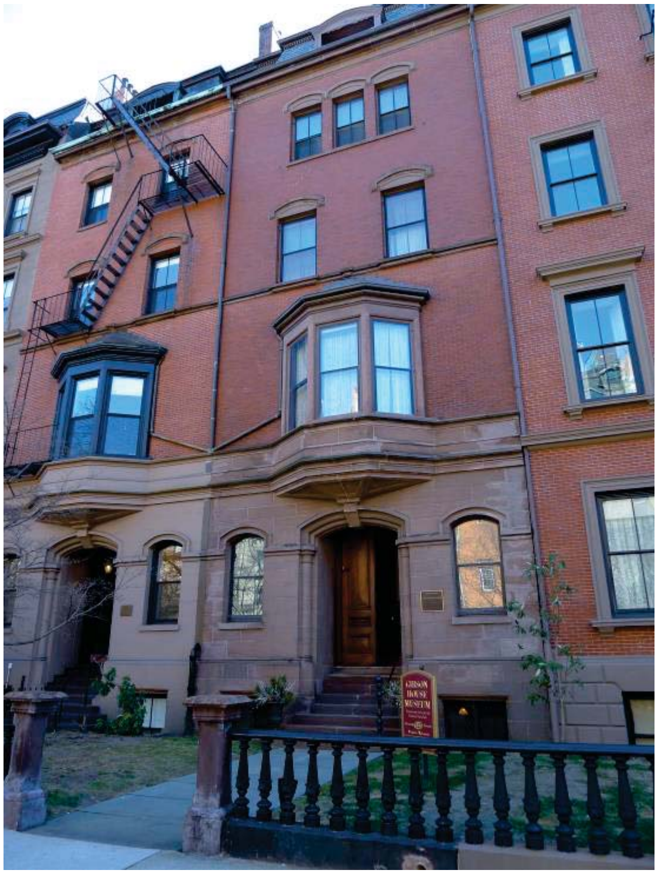


Figure 11: Gibson House Museum, Boston, Massachusetts, 2016. Photo by Lee Wright.[153]

At many historic properties, decisions about how much to reveal remains in the hands of individual docents, who often calibrate presentations based on their own perceptions of each visitor's receptivity. Such is the case at the Gibson House Museum in Boston's Back Bay, another example of an NHL where little is officially recognized about the place's connections to LGBTQ history, but where individual guides, with an interest in the subject, have begun to address visitors' questions about the sexuality of key interpretive figures, in this case Charles Hammond Gibson, Jr. (1874-1954), who was the leading force in preserving the family home as a museum (Figure 11).[154] As Gibson House guide Jonathan Vantassel explained, he is:

---

[152] LPC, *150 Years of LGBT History.*

[153] License: CC BY 2.0. https://www.flickr.com/photos/leewrightonflickr/24712591944

> circumspect about the love life of Charles Hammond Gibson Jr., who preserved his family's Victorian home for the public, but forthcoming when asked directly about Gibson's sexuality — often by LGBT visitors. 'It's very clear that he was very open and proud about who he was,' Vantassel says. 'I think that absolutely we have to . . . give that to our visitors. Otherwise, we're not telling the whole story.'[155]

This revised interpretation complicates Gibson's self-representation as an exceedingly formal and patrician man, who was viewed by others as aloof and lonely.[156]

Deepening research about the LGBTQ dimensions of historic places, such as Beauport, located in Massachusetts, is transforming their presentation to the public.[157] Located atop a rocky ledge overlooking Gloucester Harbor, Beauport was the creation of and home to self-taught designer Henry Davis Sleeper (1878-1934), a gay man who was a nationally-recognized antiquarian, collector, and interior decorator. The property, designated an NHL in 2003 and operated as an historic house museum, marks Sleeper's contributions to American decorative arts, and is one of only two places illustrating his career as a designer that survive with a high degree of integrity. Described in most accounts as a lifelong bachelor, tour guides originally responded to questions about Sleeper's sexuality by stating he never married. Close examination of his passionate letters to A. Platt Andrew, Jr. offered new insight into his same-sex relations, providing an evidentiary base for addressing his homosexuality on guided tours of the property.[158] Since 2008, tour guides at Beauport have acknowledged that Sleeper was gay, making it a positive example of the ways LGBTQ heritage can be incorporated into the interpretation of historic places that in the past have principally been recognized for their architectural significance.[159]

---

[154] The Gibson house is featured in a critique of the silencing of gay history in Joshua G. Adair, "House Museums or Walk-In Closets? The (Non)representation of Gay Men in the Museums they Called Home," in *Gender, Sexuality, and Museums*, ed. Amy Levin (Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2010), 264-278. The Gibson House Museum is located at 137 Beacon Street, Boston, Massachusetts. It was listed on the NRHP and designated an NHL on August 7, 2001. It is also within the Back Bay Historic District, listed on the NRHP on August 14, 1973.

[155] Jeremy C. Fox, "A Gloucester Mansion Leads the Way for LGBT Figures," *Boston Globe*, June 21, 2014, https://www.bostonglobe.com/business/2014/06/21/gloucester-mansion-leads-way-for-gay-inclusion-history/unMQkBY4nAzgbv6q9SabCI/story.html.

[156] See "The Gibson Family," The Gibson House Museum website, http://www.thegibsonhouse.org/the-family.html.

[157] Beauport, the Sleeper-McCann House is located at 75 Eastern Point Boulevard, Gloucester, Massachusetts. It was added to the NRHP and designated an NHL on May 27, 2003.

Appropriating New Technologies to Improve the Protection of LGBTQ Heritage

Projects to map LGBTQ sites are becoming more technologically sophisticated, drawing on geographic information systems that marry databases to geolocation programs. Where a community is willing and able to contribute its memories and knowledge of historic places to online venues, the interactive capability of these types of projects allows for crowd-sourced information exchange. Several major projects of this type are directly lodged in the preservation community. Founded in 2012 by Gerard Koskovich, Shayne Watson, and Donna Graves, "Preserving LGBT Historic Sites in California" is a Facebook page that welcomes posts and comments. "California Pride: Mapping LGBTQ Histories" is an intensive, online archives dedicated to the identification, interpretation, and commemoration of queer historic places. It was launched in 2014 with seed funding from the NTHP. Rainbow Heritage Network, organized in 2015 by Megan Springate and Mark Meinke, has also established a web-based approach to connecting those interested in LGBTQ preservation, sharing information about relevant issues on Facebook, and feeding information into a map locating LGBTQ historic properties.[160] The issue with web-based interactive projects, however, is that they require consistent funding to maintain and to support ongoing engagement with members of relevant communities. For these reasons, the long-term success of what started as independent projects will require ongoing institutional commitments, hosts, and homes that stabilize the infrastructure for information collection, dissemination, and mobilization to advance the preservation of LGBTQ heritage.

---

[158] History Project, *Improper Bostonians*, 92; see Henry Davis Sleeper, *Beauport Chronicle: The Intimate Letters of Henry Davis Sleeper to Abram Piatt Andrew, Jr., 1906-1915*, eds. E. Parker Hayden, Jr. and Andrew L. Gray (Boston: Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities, 1991).

[159] Fox, "A Gloucester Mansion Leads the Way for LGBT Figures"; Beauport's potential for interpretation as a LGBT-related historic property is explored by Kenneth C. Turino, "Case Study: The Varied Telling of Queer History at Historic New England," in Ferentinos, *Interpreting LGBT History at Museums and Historic Sites*, 132-133.

Conclusion: Strategies for Realizing an Inclusive Preservation Agenda

This overview of the history of LGBTQ preservation points to the many independent initiatives, collective efforts, and organized struggles for institutional change that have moved the needle over the past three decades. Future progress depends not only on coalescing LGBTQ activism, but also on integrating issues of sexuality and gender identity into the larger movement to transform preservation from its elite origins to become more democratic and inclusive. The same identity politics that have energized campaigns to preserve overlooked aspects of women's history, ethnic history, and LGBTQ history run the risk of missing the intersections among and between them. As new investment is directed toward preparing nominations of LGBTQ properties, it makes sense to prioritize places that have the potential to illuminate the overlap areas.

---

[160] See "Preserving LGBT Historic Sites in California," Facebook, https://www.facebook.com/PreservingLGBTHistory; "California Pride: Mapping Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, and Queer Histories," Historypin website, https://www.historypin.org/project/469-california-pride/#!map/index/#!/geo:37.271875,-119.270415/zoom:6; and Rainbow Heritage Network, http://rainbowheritagenetwork.org and on Facebook at https://www.facebook.com/groups/439557382858786.

A nomination in progress for the San Francisco Women's Building captures multiple layers of historical significance and intersectional themes.[161] A four-story building in San Francisco's Mission District, it was built in 1910 as a Turn Hall, which housed German social and athletic clubs and subsequently purchased in 1939 by the Sons and Daughters of Norway. In 1978 a group of women, who founded San Francisco Women's Centers, initiated the purchase of this building to provide an incubator and hub for a wide array of projects dedicated to improving the lives of women. Known as The Women's Building, it became the first women-owned and operated community center in the United States.[162] Renovations and seismic retrofits in 2000 retained elements from former uses while addressing the contemporary functional needs. Over time, the Women's Building has housed more than 170 independent organizations, such as San Francisco Women Against Rape, Lilith Lesbian Theater Collective, Lesbian Youth Recreation and Information Center, and Somos Hermanas, a Central American solidarity group led by lesbians of color. An NHL nomination for the Women's Building currently is being prepared by Donna Graves that highlights its important roles in Second-wave feminism and the LGBTQ movement, addressing the connections among and between the politics of gender, race, class, and sexuality as Second-wave feminism unfolded from the 1970s to the present.

Another priority for advancing a LGBTQ preservation agenda is identifying sites that illuminate the complexity of political alliances and differences among and between lesbians, gay men, bisexuals, and transgender people. The spatial implications of racism are etched deeply into the landscape of community, resulting in a pattern of bars and other institutions having been more or less welcoming to people of color. Before Stonewall, some gay bars and their patrons kept a distance from drag queens and others who crossed customary gender boundaries because the criminalization of public cross-dressing provided ready opportunities for police harassment. Some of the alliances that produced a political movement inclusive of LGBTQ people under one banner actually fray upon closer inspection; for example, ideological divisions between lesbian feminists who limited entry to the Michigan Womyn's Music Festival to "womyn-born-womyn" and those who denounced the policy as transphobic (Figure 12). An annual event held on land in Oceana County, Michigan, for forty years from 1976 to 2015, the festival's popularity waned with the decline of women's record labels such as Olivia; the mainstreaming of female recording artists; and a new generation of feminists disinclined toward binary conceptions of sex and gender, and therefore with a different attitude toward women-only events. The festival ended permanently over irreconcilable political differences between the separatist ethos that shaped its origins and the rise of greater activism related to the rights of transgender people.

---

[161] The San Francisco Women's Building is located at 3543 Eighteenth Street, San Francisco, California.

[162] See "History and Mission," The Women's Building website, http://womensbuilding.org/about/mission-history.

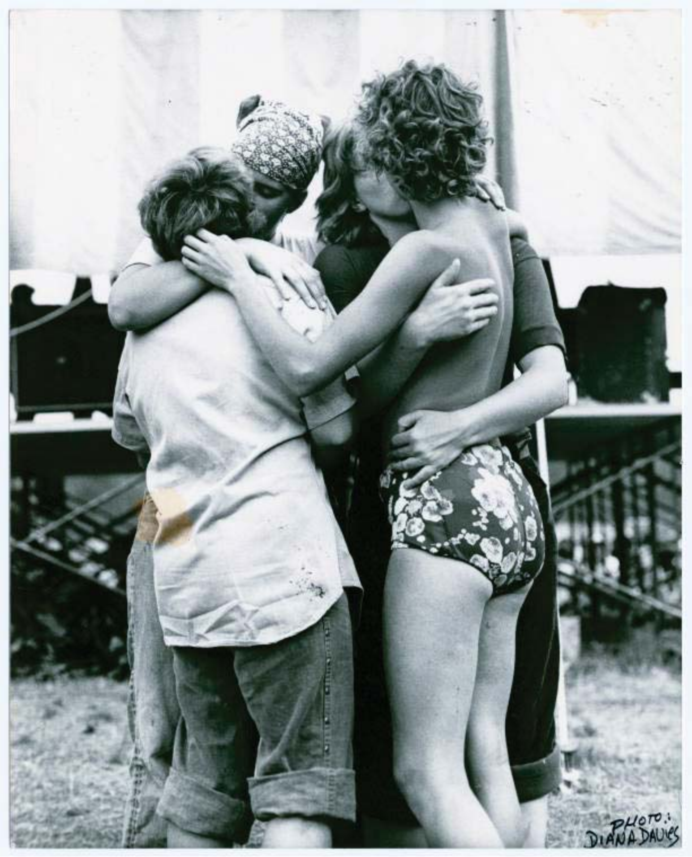


Figure 12: Women embracing at Michigan Womyn's Music Festival, 1976. Photo by Diana Davies, courtesy of the New York Public Library, Diana Davies Photographs (b14442517).

When previously suppressed aspects of history finally are brought to light, the temptation often is to critique societal forces of oppression and valorize the oppressed. An accurate and complete representation of history, however, demands a critical perspective on the complex dynamics of gender, race, and class, among other categories of social analysis, that have shaped the circumstances, standpoint, status, and political consciousness of particular LGBTQ people. Finally, there is a need to move beyond marking places associated with LGBTQ history per se to identify places that have been essential to producing and policing heteronormativity. Marking gay bars that were sites of rebellion is a powerful act; however, as a matter of social justice, police stations and liquor licensing offices that once led the charge in harassing LGBTQ people are also critical sites for telling the story. Similarly, historic places such as psychiatric hospitals where queer people were incarcerated and "treated" under the mistaken medical belief that they possessed disorders should address the dark and difficult aspects of their history as part of site interpretation. It's necessary, but far from sufficient, to mark this history at the few sites LGBTQ people historically claimed. Justice demands a critical perspective and more LGBTQ positive message at places that played an instrumental role in enforcing heterosexuality as normative: churches, hospitals, military facilities, and more. As an instrument of social justice, cultural work on behalf of oppressed groups requires telling difficult truths about the past, honoring their struggles to achieve equity, and reclaiming the wider world from which they were so often excluded as a welcoming place for all of the American people. Historic places and their interpretation cannot in themselves bring about justice for historic inequities in the treatment of indigenous people, women, people of color, or those whose sexuality and gender expression defied social norms. But these forms of cultural work can disrupt the oppressive logic of settler colonialism, sexism, racism, and homophobia; signal a public ethos of equality; and promote civic dialogue about the gaps that remain between our actual practices and our aspirations for a democratic and inclusive society.

While preservation advocacy built around the politics of identity thus far has marginally improved representations of women, ethnic communities of color, and LGBTQ people at historic places, in the long run it risks diluting the collective power of previously underrepresented groups to change discriminatory policies and practices that pose structural and institutional barriers to equity.[163] The standards of significance and integrity that guided the designation of NHLs were set at a time when the activities and accomplishments of elite white men of a propertied class were at the center of historical scholarship. Now that history includes not only those who were significantly disadvantaged, but also dispossessed, or considered property themselves, notions about the integrity of the places associated with them merit reexamination. In this sense, many underrepresented groups share a common cause for reform of standard preservation policies and practices that a focus on a particular identity may obscure. For that reason, building alliances among groups whose histories have been marginalized and supporting the development of emerging leaders inclined to build bridges between them is critical to realizing a progressive vision for historic preservation.

---

[163] For an extended argument about the need to forge alliances among and between interest groups organized around specific identities, see Gail Dubrow, "From Minority to Majority: Building On and Moving Beyond the Politics of Identity in Historic Preservation," in *Bending the Future: Fifty Ideas for the Next Fifty Years of Historic Preservation in the United States*, eds. Max Page and Marla Miller (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, forthcoming in 2016).

06

LGBTQ ARCHEOLOGICAL CONTEXT

Megan E. Springate

Introduction

The National Register of Historic Places (NRHP) and National Historic Landmarks (NHL) programs are place-based and to be included in them, the places (buildings, structures, landscapes, and archeological sites) must still exist. This is a challenge when looking at the history and heritage of historically marginalized populations, who are often located at the edges of society. These are places that become targets of demolition, redevelopment, urban renewal, and gentrification—all of which impact the physical places and force their inhabitants and customers elsewhere. In addition, the further back in time we go, the more likely it is that the buildings and structures that we often associate with historic places are no longer standing and that landscapes have changed (forests grown or cut down, land tilled or left fallow, streets and railroads torn up or built; rivers channelized and mountains razed). Archeology—the study of past peoples and societies through the physical remains they left behind—is one way of studying the marginalized who are often neglected (or are otherwise under- or mis-represented) in the historical record; of learning about the past from physical remains when aboveground structures or landscapes are gone or changed; and of learning about the history of the people who inhabited what we now know as the United States for thousands of years before Europeans arrived.[1] Archeology is especially well-suited to revealing the everyday lives of people as reflected in the ordinary objects of day-to-day life. While documentary records often identify specific individuals, archeology focuses on the aggregate study of people in a place—household members (kin, chosen family, boarders, servants, slaves, etc.), workers in factories and other workplaces, and people in communities.

Like other marginalized populations, sexual and gender minorities were often located at the edges of society—both figuratively and literally. It is a broad category that encompasses many identities and practices that Western society has viewed as different from, and often inferior to, social norms. Other cultures, including some Native American groups, do not consider these identities as different or inferior; just less common. For consistency within the theme study, LGBTQ and queer are used here broadly to refer to gender and sexual minorities. I use lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, two-spirit, and other specific terms when referring to specific identities.

This chapter introduces an archeological context for LGBTQ sites.[2] It includes an overview of the archeology of LGBTQ and two-spirit sites, presents the kinds of questions that archeology can answer, and provides examples of how those questions can be addressed using the archeological record. Issues of archeological site integrity and other concerns directly associated with the listing of archeological sites on the

---

[1] Many people are not represented, misrepresented, or underrepresented in historical documents. These include those who did not or could not own property, could not vote, could not serve in the military, were "others," and/or who did not make news. This includes LGBTQ, two-spirit, women, working classes, children, immigrants, and others.

[2] Also important, but not included here, are the experiences and discrimination of LGBTQ and two-spirit archeologists in the field. See Dawn Rutecki and Chelsea Blackmore, eds., "Special Section: Towards an Inclusive Queer Archaeology," *Society for American Archaeology SAA Record* 16, no. 1 (2016): 9-39.

NRHP or being designated an NHL are discussed elsewhere in the theme study.[3]

National Register and National Historic Landmark Criteria

Both the NRHP and the NHL programs have criteria that encompass the archeological record. This includes places where only the archeological material survives and places where archeology can contribute additional information to a place with standing buildings and structures or surviving landscapes. While we often consider archeology as limited to Criterion D/Criterion 6, archeology can also address other criteria, most likely (but not limited to) NRHP Criteria A and B and NHL Criteria 1 and 2.

National Register of Historic Places, Criterion A: [Places that] are associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of our history.

National Register of Historic Places, Criterion B: [Places that] are associated with the lives of significant persons in our past.

National Register of Historic Places, Criterion D: [Places that] have yielded, or may be likely to yield, information important in prehistory or history.

National Historic Landmarks, Criterion 1: [Places that] are associated with events that have made a significant contribution to, and are identified with, or that outstandingly represent, the broad national patterns of United States history and from which an understanding and appreciation of those patterns may be gained.

---

[3] See Springate and de la Vega, this volume.

National Historic Landmarks, Criterion 2: [Places that] are associated importantly with the lives of persons nationally significant in the history of the United States.

National Historic Landmarks, Criterion 6: [Places that] have yielded or may be likely to yield information of major scientific importance by revealing new cultures, or by shedding light upon periods of occupation over large areas of the United States. Such sites are those which have yielded, or which may reasonably be expected to yield, data affecting theories, concepts, and ideas to a major degree.

Introduction to the Archeology of Gender and Sexual Minorities

I do not refer to queer archeology here, as the term refers to a specific field of inquiry. While queer archeology began by challenging heteronormative assumptions deeply ingrained in how archeologists traditionally have thought about the past (i.e., that everyone in the past were in or interested only in opposite-sex relationships; that the nuclear family of a husband and wife and children living in a household was the norm; and that only two sexes or genders exist), it has broadened in scope to challenging other assumptions (like the clear demarcation between past and present) and different ways to interpret the past (like sensory archeology).[4]

---

[4] Important works in queer archeology include: Thomas A. Dowson, "Why Queer Archaeology? An Introduction," *World Archaeology* 32, no. 2 (2000): 161-165; Barbara L. Voss, "Feminisms, Queer Theories, and the Archaeological Study of Past Sexualities," *World Archaeology* 32, no. 2 (2000): 180-192; Robert A. Schmidt, "The Iceman Cometh: Queering the Archaeological Past," in Ellen Lewin and William L. Leap, eds., *Out in Theory: The Emergence of Lesbian and Gay Anthropology* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2002), 155-185; Karina Croucher, "Queerying Near Eastern Archaeology," *World Archaeology* 37 (2005): 610-620; Thomas Dowson, "Archaeologists, Feminists and Queers: Sexual Politics in the Construction of the Past," in P. L. Geller and M. K. Stockett, eds., *Feminist Anthropology: Past, Present, and Future* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006); A. Asa Eger, "Architectures of Desire and Queered Space in the Roman Bathhouse," in Susan Terendy et al., eds., *Que(e)rying Archaeology* (Calgary, Alberta, Canada: Chacmool Archaeological Association, 2009), 118-128; Barbara L. Voss, "Looking for Gender, Finding Sexuality: A Queer Politic of Archaeology, Fifteen Years Later," in *Que(e)rying Archaeology,* 29-39; Chelsea Blackmore, "How to Queer the Past without Sex: Queer Theory, Feminisms and the Archaeology of Identity," *Archaeologies* 7, no. 1 (2011):

Gender and sexuality are distinct, and yet deeply intertwined, aspects of human life. The specifics of how these behaviors and identities are expressed, understood, and influence each other, however, are historically and culturally specific.[5] The study of gender and sexual minorities in archeology developed out of gender, feminist, and queer archeologies.[6] These, in turn, were informed by the work of anthropologists like Gayle Rubin who disentangled sex, gender, and sexuality as areas of study, and of theorists like Judith Butler, who showed us that gender is a context-specific and reflective performance that requires both actors and audience. Other influential theorists include Michel Foucault and Eve Sedgwick.[7]

75-96; Meredith Reifschneider, "Towards a Queer Materialism in Archaeology; Materiality and the Sexed and Gendered Subject," presented at the Society for Historical Archaeology Conference, Quebec City, Canada, 2014; Joel Lennen and Jamie Arjona, "Queering Historical Worlds: Disorienting Materialities in Archaeology," presented at the Society for American Archaeology Conference, San Francisco, California, 2015; Dawn Rutecki, "Ambiguous Iconography: Queering the Shell Game," presented at the Society for American Archaeology Conference, 2015; James Aimers and Dawn M. Rutecki, "Brave New World: Interpreting Sex, Gender, and Sexuality in the Past," *SAA Archaeological Record,* 16, no. 1 (2016): 12-17; and Katrina Eichner and Erin Rodriguez, eds., Queer Theory issue of *Historical Archaeology,* forthcoming.

[5] For examples of this, see González and Hernández, Harris, Meyer, Roscoe, Stryker, and Sueyoshi (this volume).

[6] For references in queer archeology, see Note 3. Margaret W. Conkey and Janet Spector, "Archaeology and the Study of Gender," in M. B. Schiffer, ed., *Advances in Archaeological Method and Theory* Vol. 7 (New York: Academic Press, 1984), 1-38; Joan M. Gero, "Socio-Politics and the Woman-At-Home-Ideology," *American Antiquity* 50, no. 2 (1985): 342-350; Janet Spector, *What This Awl Means: Feminist Archaeology at a Wahpeton Dakota Village* (St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society Press, 1993); Sandra E. Hollimon, "Gender in the Archaeological Record of the Santa Barbara Channel Area," *Proceedings of the Society for California Archaeology* 9 (1996): 205-208; Margaret W. Conkey and Joan M. Gero, "Programme to Practice: Gender and Feminism in Archaeology," *Annual Review of Anthropology* 26 (1997): 411-437; Laurie A. Wilke, "The Other Gender: The Archaeology of an Early 20th Century Fraternity," *Proceedings of the Society for California Archaeology* 11 (1998): 7-11; Maria Franklin, "A Black Feminist-Inspired Archaeology?" *Journal of Social Archaeology* 1, no. 1 (2001): 108-125; Sarah M. Nelson, *Handbook of Gender in Archaeology* (Lanham, MD: AltaMira Press, 2006); Laurie A. Wilkie and Katherine H. Hayes, "Engendered and Feminist Archaeologies of the Recent and Documented Pasts," *Journal of Archaeological Research* 14, no. 3 (2006): 243-264; Rosemary A. Joyce, *Ancient Bodies, Ancient Lives: Sex, Gender, and Archaeology* (New York: Thames & Hudson, 2008); Pamela L. Geller, "Identity and Difference: Complicating Gender in Archaeology," *Annual Review of Anthropology* 38 (2009): 65-81; and Whitney Battle-Baptiste, *Black Feminist Archaeology* (Walnut Creek, CA: Left Coast Press, 2011).

[7] Gayle Rubin, "The Traffic in Women: Notes on the 'Political Economy' of Sex," in Rayna Reiter, ed., *Toward an Anthropology of Women* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1975); Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity* (New York: Routledge, 1990); Michel Foucault, *Histoire de la sexualité* Vols. 1, 2, and 3 (France: Editions Gallimard, 1976, 1984, 1984; translation by Robert Hurley); and Eve Sedgwick, *Epistemology of the Closet* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990).

In the last twenty years, a handful of historical archeologists including Barbara Voss and Eleanor Casella have been examining sexuality in archeology. Included under this umbrella have been a small handful of studies exploring same-sex relationships and an even smaller number of investigations of two-spirit identity in pre-contact and colonial periods. Few of these come from the United States, with the majority emerging from work in different parts of the world and representing a wide range of times and cultures.[8] The excavations of queer sites from elsewhere can be useful in thinking about the archeology of LGBTQ and two-spirit identities. For example, Eleanor Casella's work at the Ross Female Factory, a mid-nineteenth century women's prison in Australia, identified a currency of relationships among women that could be variously and simultaneously predatory, strategic, economic, and affectionate.[9]

The lack of work that specifically addresses LGBTQ, two-spirit, and other sexual and gender minorities may reflect a documented hesitance by researchers to be associated with work considered controversial. They fear this may reduce their credibility (as through accusations of self-interest), or that this research might otherwise hurt their careers.[10]

Sexual and gender minority identities are historically and culturally situated, and we must be cautious in applying interpretations cross-culturally. This includes applying our modern ideas about lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and queer identities on to people who might have chosen not to take those identities or could not, as these categories may not have existed or were not culturally relevant.[11] Two-spirit identities of Native Americans, for example, fall outside the binary (male-female) sex and gender system dominant in Western culture.[12] Despite this, they are often described using terms like homosexuality and transsexuality—terms that are rooted in a binary sex and gender system. In Native American cultures that recognize multiple genders, these descriptors lose their usefulness. Similarly, while Western cultures tend to view gender and sexuality as essential and often static personal identifiers, many Native American cultures perceive these qualities very differently.[13]

---

[8] Keith Matthews, "An Archaeology of Homosexuality? Perspectives from the Classical World," in S. Cottam et al., eds., *TRAC 94: Proceedings of the Fourth Annual Theoretical Roman Archaeology Conference* (Oxford, UK: Oxbow Books, 1994); Barbara L. Voss and Richard A. Schmidt, "Archaeologies of Sexuality: An Introduction," in Richard A. Schmidt and Barbara L. Voss, eds., *Archaeologies of Sexuality* (New York: Routledge, 2000), 1-32; Barbara L. Voss, "Sexuality Studies in Archaeology," *Annual Review of Anthropology* 37 (2008): 317-336; Sandra E. Hollimon, Archaeology of the "*'Aqi:* Gender and Sexuality in Prehistoric Chumash Society," in *Archaeologies of Sexuality,* 176-196; Sandra E. Hollimon, "The Archaeology of Nonbinary Genders in Native North American Societies," in *Handbook of Gender in Archaeology*, 435-450; Eger, "Architectures of Desire"; Sandra E. Hollimon, "Examining Third and Fourth Genders in Mortuary Contexts," in *Que(e)rying Archaeology*, 171-175; Eleanor Casella, "Bulldaggers and Gentle Ladies: Archaeological Approaches to Female Homosexuality in Convict-Era Australia," in *Archaeologies of Sexuality,* 143-159; Eleanor Casella, "Doing Trade: A Sexual Economy of Nineteenth-century Australian Female Convict Prisons," *World Archaeology* 32, no. 2 (2000): 209-221.

[9] Casella, "Doing Trade".

[10] See, for example, Dowson, "Why Queer Archaeology?"; Gayle Rubin, "Sites, Settlements, and Urban Sex: Archaeology and the Study of Gay Leathermen in San Francisco," in *Archaeologies of Sexuality,* 65.

Early archeological studies looked at evidence from burials, and identified individuals as two-spirit when their cultural gender (expressed by the artifacts they were buried with) differed from their physical sex (determined through osteological analysis).[14] More recent work has taken a more nuanced and holistic approach to understanding two-spirit identities, and has been undertaken in contexts beyond burials. For example, Sandra Hollimon has re-examined Chumash burials in a broader context, including gender, sexuality, religion, and occupation.[15] She concluded that *'aqi* identity in the Chumash culture is usually associated with those who are members of an undertaking guild and who do not engage in procreative sex. This includes several categories of identity that Western culture sees as distinct: biological men who live as women; men who have sex with other men; men without children; celibate people; and postmenopausal women. Similarly nuanced work has also been done by archeologist Elizabeth Prine in her study of the *miati* of the Hidatsa and by Perry and Joyce in their examination of Zuni *lhamana* identities.[16]

---

[11] These are themes that wind their way throughout the theme study. In particular, see Meyer, Roscoe, and Stryker (this volume).

[12] The term two-spirit is used here as an umbrella term encompassing identities in both the past and the present. See Roscoe (this volume).

[13] For a nuanced discussion of two-spirit identities and archeological interpretation, see Hollimon, "Nonbinary Genders." The role of sexuality and gender as essential, core characteristics of Western identity is described by Barbara Voss as being at the root of coming out stories where confusing or puzzling feelings or actions are "explained" when the narrator realized they are "really" gay, lesbian, bisexual, and/or transgender. Barbara L. Voss, "Sexual Subjects: Identity and Taxonomy in Archaeological Research," in Eleanor C. Casella and Chris Fowler, eds., *Archaeology of Plural and Changing Identities: Beyond Identification* (New York: Kluwer/Plenum, 2005), 64, 66. Note that these Western ideas of essential sexuality and gender identities are despite the work of Alfred Kinsey, who found in part, that people's sexuality shifted and changed according to social circumstances in their lives. Alfred C. Kinsey et al., *Sexual Behavior in the Human Male* (Philadelphia: Saunders, 1948); and Alfred C. Kinsey and the Institute for Sex Research, *Sexual Behavior in the Human Female* (Philadelphia: Saunders, 1953).

[14] See Mary K. Whelan, "Gender and Historical Archaeology: Eastern Dakota Patterns in the 19th Century," *Historical Archaeology* 25, no. 4 (1991): 17-32; Hollimon, "Gender in the Archaeological Record"; Sandra E. Hollimon, "The Third Gender in Native California: Two-Spirit Undertakers among the Chumash and their Neighbors," in Cheryl Claassen and Rosemary A. Joyce, eds., *Women in Prehistory: North America and Mesoamerica* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1997). For a summary of these early studies, see Voss, "Sexual Subjects," 64-65; Hollimon, "Nonbinary Genders." Similar approaches have been used elsewhere in the world to identify gender diversity; for an overview see Bettina Arnold, "Gender and Archaeological Mortuary Analysis," in Sarah M. Nelson, ed., *Women in Antiquity: Theoretical Approaches to Gender and Archaeology* (Lanham, MD: AltaMira Press, 2007), 107-140; Joanna Sofaer and Marie Stig Sørensen, "Death and Gender," in Sarah Tarlow and Liv Nilsson Stutz, eds., *The Oxford Handbook of the Archaeology of Death and Burial* (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2013), 527-542. For work that addresses the false dichotomy of biological sex, see Anne Fausto-Sterling, "The Five Sexes: Why Male and Female Are Not Enough," *The Sciences*

Since the 1980s, there have been many archeological investigations that address gender, including some, like work done at brothels across the United States, which are sexual in context.[17] Even in these cases, however, sexuality is rarely addressed. One notable example is found in Barbara Voss' *The Archaeology of Ethnogenesis: Race and Sexuality in Colonial San Francisco* in which she includes sexuality as part of a broad,

---

March/April (1993): 20-25; Anne Fausto-Sterling, "The Five Sexes, Revisited," *The Sciences* July/Aug (2000): 18-23; and in archeological context, Sofaer and Sørensen, "Death and Gender," 535.

[15] Hollimon, "*'Aqi*". The Chumash studied by Hollimon were located in the Santa Barbara Channel area of coastal southern California. The Chumash continue to live in and around this area.

[16] Elizabeth Prine, "The Ethnography of Place: Landscape and Culture in Middle Missouri Archaeology," PhD diss., University of California Berkeley, 1997; Elizabeth Prine, "Searching for Third Genders; Towards a Prehistory of Domestic Space in Middle Missouri Villages," in *Archaeologies of Sexuality,* 197-219; Elizabeth M. Perry and Rosemary Joyce, "Providing a Past for 'Bodies that Matter': Judith Butler's Impact on the Archaeology of Gender," *International Journal of Gender and Sexuality Studies* 6, no. 1/2 (2001): 63-76. The Hidatsa studied by Prine lived in palisaded villages along the Missouri River in North Dakota from the fifteenth through the nineteenth centuries. The Hidatsa continue to live in and around this area. The Zuni studied by Perry and Joyce lived in New Mexico. The Zuni continue to live in and around this area.

[17] Donna J. Seifert, "Within Sight of the White House: The Archaeology of Working Women," *Historical Archaeology* 24, no. 4 (1991): 82-108; Donna J. Seifert et al., "Mary Ann Hall's First-Class House: The Archaeology of a Capital Brothel," in *Archaeologies of Sexuality,* 117-128; J. G. Costello, "Red Light Voices: An Archaeological Drama of Late Nineteenth-Century Prostitution," in *Archaeologies of Sexuality,* 160-175; Michael Foster et al., "The Soiled Doves of South Granite Street: The History and Archaeology of a Prescott Arizona Brothel," *KIVA* 70, no. 4 (2005): 349-374; Timothy J. Gilfoyle, "Archaeologists in the Brothel: "Sin City," Historical Archaeology and Prostitution," *Historical Archaeology* 39, no. 1 (2005): 133-141; Michael D. Meyer et al., "City of Angels, City of Sin: Archaeology in the Los Angeles Red-Light District ca. 1900," *Historical Archaeology* 39, no. 1 (2005): 107-125; Catherine H. Spude, "Brothels and Saloons: An Archaeology of Gender in the American West," *Historical Archaeology* 39, no. 1 (2005): 89-106; Rebecca Yamin, "Wealthy, Free, and Female: Prostitution in Nineteenth-Century New York," *Historical Archaeology* 39, no. 1 (2005): 4-18.

intersectional analysis of people becoming *Californios*.[18] Another notable example that deals with gender and same-sex sexual relationships among women is the work by Eleanor Casella at the Ross Female Factory, described above.

Avenues of Inquiry

Archeology at LGBTQ sites and of LGBTQ identities and practices broadens our understanding not just of the queer past, but can also contribute to wider discussions in archeology and anthropology. Lacking a broad body of American LGBTQ and two-spirit specific work to draw from, this archeological context poses questions, problems, and issues that can be addressed through excavation and interpretation at these kinds of sites. The types of properties of interest include domestic spaces; meeting places; commercial sites; sites of resistance and protest; public cruising places; sacred places; and institutions. While one of the fundamental questions is if and how LGBTQ material remains differ from those found associated with heterosexuality, important work can also be done examining the formation and negotiation of political and social communities and identities. Many possible avenues of inquiry at LGBTQ sites like these parallel research by archeologists working in other contexts, including African American sites, those looking at gender, and those who study class. The work that has been done in these other areas provides precedence for methods and interpretive frameworks. The types of broader questions that archeological investigation at LGBTQ and two-spirit sites can address include the following.

---

[18] While there is little mention of same-sex sexualities in this work, it is an example of the importance of gender and sexuality in understanding cultures and cultural change. Same-sex sexuality is mentioned briefly as an example of the "savagery" of the indigenous people in the area, as described by missionaries and other early settlers. Barbara L. Voss, *The Archaeology of Ethnogenesis: Race and Sexuality in Colonial San Francisco* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008), 51. See also Barbara L. Voss, "Colonial Sex: Archaeology, Structured Space, and Sexuality in Alta California's Spanish Colonial Missions," in *Archaeologies of Sexuality*, 35-61.

Classification and Identification

A key tension in archeological investigations of identity is determining the scale of analysis: identities vs. communities vs. populations. For example, when looking at gender and sexual minorities, are we looking at individuals who personally identify with particular social or political categories (i.e. lesbian, gay, queer, etc.), populations whose sexual preferences and activities or gender presentations are statistically in the minority, or are we looking at communities that form around shared identities, activities, or politics?[19] In addition to these questions of scale, researchers must also grapple with some very fundamental questions when looking at LGBTQ and two-spirit identities in the archeological record. How do we use artifacts and other things that survive physically to see variations in gender expression? Or to see heterosexuality compared with sexual minorities including those who are lesbian, gay, bisexual, and queer? How does this materiality show up in the archeological record?

While answers to these questions can be debated on a broad, general level, they are also culturally, temporally, and site specific.[20] Thinking about these questions will influence the type of research questions asked around a particular project, the methods used to collect data, and the interpretation of what is recovered. There are no easy answers to these fundamental questions. There are, however, places to start thinking about them. First, do not assume that the people who lived in a place had only two genders, two sexes, or were necessarily heterosexual. This forces us as researchers to look closely at what the evidence tells us, rather than forcing the evidence into our own assumptions. In some cases, historical documents, oral histories, and ethnographic studies will be available. Those that have detailed information on how people organized themselves both interpersonally and spatially, and which have good descriptions of material culture and how it is used will be particularly useful in considering what to look at, how to find it, and how to think about it in analysis and interpretation.[21]

---

[19] Barbara Voss, in personal communication with the author.

[20] See, for example, the discussion of personal artifacts and identity in Carolyn L. White and Mary C. Beaudry, "Artifacts and Personal Identity," in Teresita Majewski and David Gaimster, eds., *The International Handbook of Historical Archaeology* (New York: Springer, 2009), 209-225.

Emergence and History of LGBTQ and Contemporary Two-Spirit Identities

Gay, lesbian, bisexual, transgender, queer, and two-spirit identities are historically situated. For example, a woman in the early twentieth century would not have identified herself as a lesbian (first used as a noun in 1925), just as someone before the late twentieth century would not have identified using the word transgender (first appearing in 1988). The word homosexual itself was not used until the turn of the twentieth century, introduced and defined by the psychological profession.[22] Examining the relationship between these changing categories of identity and material things and spaces is an important avenue of archeological investigation. How have people used physical things and places to both stabilize and transform their identities? How have they responded when, as with psychologists "inventing" homosexuality at the turn of the twentieth century, they have had identities thrust upon them? Work done on LGBTQ and two-spirit sites can inform broader investigations into the materiality of identity by serving as case studies and in raising both issues and possible solutions to what is one of the key questions in archeology. Previous work on the archeology of identities and on emerging identities can serve as springboards for work at LGBTQ and two-spirit sites.[23]

---

[21] For examples of this kind of approach, see Prine, "Third Genders" and Hollimon, "*Aqi'*". For historical archeology, the work done by art historian Kevin Murphy on gay and lesbian summer houses in New England could serve as a good jumping-off point for considering these types of issues. Kevin D. Murphy, "'Secure from All Intrusion' Heterotopia, Queer Space, and the Turn-of-the-Twentieth-Century American Resort," *Winterthur Portfolio* 43, no. 2/3 (2009): 185-228. We must also, however, be cautious and critical when using the ethnographic record, particularly when considering pre-contact cultures. These records are written from particular points of view, and these have historically been ones that ignore or demean these identities.

[22] For more detailed discussion, see Meyer (this volume). See also Gayle S. Rubin, "Thinking Sex: Notes for a Radical Theory of the Politics of Sexuality," in Richard Parker and Peter Aggleton, eds., *Culture, Society and Sexuality: A Reader* (New York: Routledge, 1984), 149.

[23] See, for example, Voss, *Ethnogenesis.* For a discussion of personal artifacts and identity, see White and Beaudry, "Artifacts and Personal Identity". For a summary of current work in the archeology of ethnogenesis, see Terrance M. Weik, "The Archaeology of Ethnogenesis." *Annual Review of Anthropology* 43 (2014): 291-305. Gerald Sider, "Identity as History: Ethnohistory, Ethnogenesis, and

Shifting Personal Identities

This question looks at changing identities at a more personal, rather than cultural level. Early work in identity, including LGBTQ and two-spirit identities, treated aspects of identity (including race, sexuality, and gender) as essential and innate characteristics of individuals that do not change. In reference to sexuality, this was largely the result of sexological and other medical work in the early twentieth century that defined and categorized sexuality and gender expression. This bias affected research in both LGBTQ and two-spirit contexts. Despite Kinsey's work in the 1930s and 1940s that acknowledged that people's sexual orientation shifted along a continuum based on their changing social circumstances, it has only been in the relatively recent past that the essential nature of these aspects of identity have been challenged, and that there has been a broader acknowledgement that identities are malleable and can shift over a lifetime.[24]

Can archeologists see the development and shift in a person's identity reflected in the archeological record? This is challenging, as archeology is best suited to looking at broad patterns through time, rather than associating individual artifacts with specific individuals and specific events.

Ethnocide in the Southeastern United States," *Identities* 1, no. 1 (1994): 109-122 explores identity in the broader context of history, including a discussion of Native Americans both claiming and resisting identities thrust upon them by colonial powers. In her book, archeologist Laurie A. Wilkie, *Creating Freedom: Material Culture and African American Identity at Oakley Plantation* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2000) examines identities imposed on Africans in a slave context and discusses how they were adapted, maintained, and contested. Archaeologist Alison Bell, "White Ethnogenesis and Gradual Capitalism: Perspectives from Colonial Archaeological Sites in the Chesapeake," *American Anthropologist* 107, no. 3 (2005): 446-460 looks at the ethnogenesis of whiteness in the colonial Chesapeake. Examples of overviews of other aspects of the archeology of identities include Siân Jones, *The Archaeology of Ethnicity: Constructing Identities in the Past and Present* (New York: Routledge, 1997); Timothy Insoll, *The Archaeology of Identities* (New York: Routledge, 2007); Lynn Meskell, "The Intersections of Identity and Politics in Archaeology," *Annual Review of Anthropology* 31(2002): 279-301; and Geller, "Identity and Difference".

[24] See also Rubin, "Thinking Sex", 149; Kinsey *Human Male* and *Human Female*; and Hollimon "*'Aqi"*. An important challenge to the essential nature of sexuality comes from Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality, Vol. 1: An Introduction* (New York: Pantheon, 1978). The idea of homosexuality as a social construct (rather than an essential state of being) came largely out of early research in LGBTQ history including Jeffrey Weeks, *Sex, Politics, and Society: The Regulation of Sexuality since 1800* (New York: Longman, 1981) and John D'Emilio, *Sexual Politics, Sexual Communities: The Making of the Homosexual Minority in the United States, 1940-1970* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983).

However, archeology is good at trends at the household level. While archeologists cannot necessarily identify specific objects with specific people living in a household, it is possible to see changes both within and between households.[25] There are already archeological studies looking at the life cycles of households and the changing material and physical environments of young singles vs. households with children vs. empty nesters vs. the elderly.[26] These precedents can be used as jumping-off points for considering what the material signs of changing and shifting LGBTQ activities or identities of people within a household may be.

Intersectionality

Intersectionality is the recognition that various axes of identity (gender, sex, class, ethnicity, religion, sexuality, geographical location, etc.) influence and are influenced by each other.[27] People with different sets of intersecting identities have different—often very different—histories. This is why, for example, this theme study includes chapters on transgender, two-spirit, African American, Asian American, Latino/Latina, and bisexual LGBTQ communities, as well as the separate chapters representing the queer histories of various cities across the United States.[28]

---

[25] Examples of archeology of households across several contexts include Kerri S. Barile and Jamie C. Brandon, eds., *Household Chores and Household Choices: Theorizing the Domestic Sphere in Historical Archaeology* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2004); Thomas J. Pluckhahn, “Household Archaeology in the Southeastern United States: History, Trends, and Challenges,” *Journal of Archaeological Research* 18, no. 4 (2010): 331-385; Kevin R. Fogle et al., *Beyond the Walls: New Perspectives on the Archaeology of Historic Households* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2015).

[26] Mark D. Groover, “Linking Artifact Assemblages to Household Cycles: An Example from the Gibbs Site,” *Historical Archaeology* 35, no. 4 (2001): 38-57; and Deborah L. Rotman, “Newlyweds, Young Families, and Spinsters: A Consideration of Developmental Cycle in Historical Archaeologies of Gender,” *International Journal of Historical Archaeology* 9, no. 1 (2005):1-36.

[27] An understanding of intersectionality goes back at least to the nineteenth century (Sojourner Truth (1851) “Ain’t I A Woman” delivered December 1851 at the Women’s Convention in Akron, Ohio). See work by black feminists including the Combahee River Collective Statement of 1977 for a discussion of interlocking oppressions and Kimberlé Crenshaw, “Demarginalizing the Intersection of Race and Sex: A Black Feminist Critique of Antidiscrimination Doctrine, Feminist Theory and Antiracist Politics,” *University of Chicago Legal Forum* 140 (1989): 139-167. See Springate on intersectionality (this volume) for a more in-depth discussion.

[28] See Auer, Capó, Graves and Watson, González and Hernández, Harris, Herczeg-Konecny, Hutchins, Roscoe, Shockley, Stryker, and Sueyoshi (this volume).

What can the study of intersectionality that includes LGBTQ and two-spirit identities contribute to the broader study of intersectionality in archeological contexts? How can we explore intersectionality in the context of LGBTQ and two-spirit archeological sites? Broadening the study of intersectional identities to include sexuality is an important intervention in research that has traditionally focused predominantly on gender, class, and ethnicity. It is only by looking at sexuality broadly that the role of LGBTQ gender and sexual identities can be understood in cultural context.

Understanding that different axes of identity influence each other is rather straightforward. Doing intersectional analysis and interpretation to tease out how they influence each other and play out in peoples' lives, including at archeological sites, is challenging. One approach is to include multiple narratives in interpretation; the "gumbo ya-ya" proposed by Elsa Barkley Brown, where everyone talks at once, telling their stories in connection and in dialogue with one another.[29] How, though, do you control for unaccountable or competing narratives? Philosopher and archeologist Alison Wylie advocates "integrity in scholarship," which entails being fair to the evidence and a methodological multivocality that brings multiple sources of information to bear on interpretations.[30] Another approach to intersectional interpretation is strategic essentialism, whereby diversity is explicitly and temporarily homogenized in order to achieve common goals or facilitate interpretation.[31] Archeologists who have successfully done this kind of multivocal and intersectional work include Whitney Battle-Baptiste with her development of a black feminist archeology, Barbara Voss in her work looking at the process of ethnogenesis in what is now California, and Janet Spector's early work giving multiple interpretations of a sewing awl in a Wahpeton Dakota village.[32]

---

[29] Elsa Barkley Brown, "'What Has Happened Here": The Politics of Difference in Women's History and Feminist Politics," *Feminist Studies* 18, no. 2 (1992): 295-312. In an archeological context, this multivocality can include the archeological record, historical record, ethnographic resources, oral histories, landscape analysis, architectural analysis, etc. See also Chela Sandoval, *Methodology of the Oppressed* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2000) for a broader look at working intersectionally.

[30] Alison Wylie, "The Integrity of Narratives: Deliberative Practice, Pluralism, and Multivocality," in Junko Habu et al., eds., *Evaluating Multiple Narratives: Beyond Nationalist, Colonialist, Imperialist Archaeologies* (New York: Springer, 2008), 201-212.

[31] Strategic essentialism is a concept put forward by Gayatri Chatravorty Spivak and the Subaltern Studies Group; see Donna Landry and Gerald MacLean, eds., *The Spivak Reader: Selected Works of Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak* (New York: Routledge, 1996), 214.

Different Genders

Considerable work has been done since the 1980s in theorizing and looking at gender archeologically. While much of the work has focused on women and female genders, some work on masculinities has recently begun to be published.[33] Other researchers are working to destabilize assumptions of a gender binary.[34] While two-spirit identities have often been used as "proof" that gender is socially constructed, they cannot be accurately interpreted using Western constructs.[35]

Within LGBTQ communities are genders that have not previously been examined archeologically. How do we recognize and analyze different gender identities and expressions within LGBTQ communities, including the different genders of women who have sex with women (butch, femme, lipstick lesbian, stud), genderqueer, drag kings and queens, people who identify along the transgender spectrum, bears, and others?[36] Recent work in gender archeology, including investigations of masculinities, a gender spectrum, and how genders are formed communally (rather than individually) has begun to provide methodologies and ways of interpreting data.[37]

---

[32] Spector, *What This Awl Means*; Voss, *Ethnogenesis;* Battle-Baptiste, *Black Feminist Archaeology*; Whitney Battle-Baptiste, "Standing at the Crossroads: Toward an Intersectional Archaeology of the African Diaspora," *Journal of African Diaspora Archaeology and Heritage,* forthcoming. See also Chelsea Blackmore and Leslie A. Crippen, "Queer Intersections: Sexuality, Race, and Strategic Essentialism in Historical Archaeology," *Historical Archaeology*, forthcoming; and Megan E. Springate, "Making Women: Gender and Class at an Early Twentieth Century Women's Retreat," *Historical Archaeology,* forthcoming.

[33] Conkey and Gero, "Programme to Practice"; Perry and Joyce, "Bodies that Matter"; Rosemary A. Joyce, "Embodied Subjectivity: Gender, Femininity, Masculinity, Sexuality," in Lynn Meskell and Robert W. Preucel, eds., *A Companion to Social Archaeology* (Oxford, UK: Blackwell, 2004), 82-95; Benjamin Alberti, "Archaeology, Men, and Masculinities," in *Handbook of Gender in Archaeology*, 401-434; Geller, "Identity and Difference"; Barbara L. Voss, "Engendered Archaeology: Men, Women, and Others," in Martin Hall and Stephen W. Silliman, eds., *Historical Archaeology* (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2006), 107-127; Joyce, *Ancient Bodies*; and Voss, "Looking for Gender."

[34] Chelsea Blackmore, "How to Queer the Past".

[35] Voss, "Sexual Subjects", 64. See above for a discussion of the archeology of two-spirit identities.

[36] See Judith M. Bennett, ""Lesbian-Like" and the Social History of Lesbianisms," *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 9 (2000): 10-11 for a discussion of the instability of a lesbian identity (and therefore of other sexual/gender identities).

Work done by theorists and anthropologists outside of archeology can be used to help think about different genders and how they intersect with other axes of identity. For example, while butch and femme gender expressions among women who have sex with women have traditionally been associated with the working classes, a recent study suggests that the meaning of a masculine gender presentation can also vary by location.[38] Queer theorists like Jack Halberstam provide frameworks for understanding both how sexuality and gender interact to create multiple spectrums of identity and the possibility of (and ways of naming) more genders than male, female, and other.[39]

Marginalization

In 1984, Gayle Rubin introduced the "Charmed Circle." At the center of the circle are culturally ideal sexual behaviors; in the United States at the time the article was published, these included monogamous, heterosexual, married, not kinky, done within the home. At the edges and outside the circle are those behaviors considered less acceptable or deviant—in this case, multiple partners, homosexual, unmarried, kinky, done in public. The circle, however, is not fixed. In addition to being culturally specific, behaviors once considered deviant can become increasingly acceptable, moving towards the center, and vice versa.[40] The process through which groups come to be seen as socially and politically different—and to understand themselves through these lenses, has been a central dynamic shaping LGBTQ history.[41] Using archeology, we can look at the material reflections of these shifts as, for example, homosexuality has become more or less socially acceptable, and also how it (and other sexual and gender identities and practices) might have been used to regulate "normative" behavior and identification.[42]

---

[37] Alberti, "Men and Masculinities"; S. Voutaski, "Agency and Personhood at the Onset of the Mycenaean Period," *Archaeological Dialogues* 17, no. 1 (2010): 65-92; Blackmore, "How to Queer the Past".

[38] Esther Newton, *Mother Camp: Female Impersonators in America* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1972); Esther Newton, "Beyond Freud, Ken, and Barbie," in Esther Newton, ed., *Margaret Mead Made Me Gay: Personal Essays, Public Ideas* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2000), 189-194; reprint of Closing the Gender Gap, *The Women's Review of Books,* 1986); Elizabeth L. Kennedy and Madeline D. Davis, *Boots of Leather, Slippers of Gold: The History of a Lesbian Community* (New York: Routledge, 1993); Esther Newton, "My Butch Career," in *Margaret Mead,* 204-206 (originally read as the David R. Kessler Lecture, December 6, 1996, at the Center for Lesbian and Gay Studies, City University of New York); Ellen Lewin, "Who's Gay? What's Gay? Dilemmas of Identity among Gay Fathers," in Ellen Lewin and William L. Leap, eds., *Out in Public: Reinventing Lesbian/Gay Anthropology in a Globalizing World* (Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009), 86-103. Emily Kazyak finds that female masculinity is associated with lesbian identity in urban areas, but in rural areas has no such association; Emily Kazyak, "Midwest or Lesbian? Gender, Rurality, and Sexuality," *Gender & Society* 26, no. 6 (2012): 825-848.

[39] J. Jack Halberstam, *Female Masculinity* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1998).

As archeologists, we must also acknowledge more broadly that what is normal and what is deviant are not fixed, essential qualities. Archeologists looking for difference have held heterosexuality as the norm, looking to identify queer sites based on their difference from straight sites. Likewise, many analyses of the poor and working classes have held middle-classness as the norm, and ethnic analyses have held whiteness as the norm or as the point of comparison. These are powerful statements of what we, as researchers, consider normal and what we consider "other;" they can find their origins in structural privilege.[43] In order to truly understand the dynamics of power that mark some behaviors and people as deviant or other, we must interrogate and critically examine heterosexuality and other behaviors and identities held as "normal."

Oppression and Resistance

Being LGBTQ or two-spirit (or engaging in same-sex sexual relations and/or having a different or transgressive gender identity) has often led to both oppression and resistance to it.[44] How have LGBTQ and two-spirit individuals and communities responded to oppression, both by other individuals and by the state? For example, did LGBTQ households "hide" by maintaining a public façade of heterosexuality while internally organizing their homes to reflect the realities of same-sex interpersonal behavior? If so, what does this look like spatially and materially? How does this differ by ethnicity, class, gender, geographic location, and other intersectional axes?

---

[40] Rubin, "Thinking Sex".

[41] Barbara Voss, personal communication with the author.

[42] Voss, "Sexual Subjects", 67.

[43] For example, whiteness is not often actively engaged with as a racial or ethnic identity. An important and accessible exploration of how this kind of privilege plays out can be found in Peggy McIntosh, "White Privilege and Male Privilege: A Personal Account of Coming to See Correspondences through Work in Women's Studies," Working Paper No. 189 (Wellesley, MA: Massachusetts Center for Research on Women, Wellesley College, 1988), often cited in various versions as "White Privilege: Unpacking the Invisible Backpack." For an overview of the costs of these assumptions and a discussion of "deviance" in the archeological record, see Aimers and Rutecki, "Brave New World".

In 1903, W. E. B. Du Bois described African Americans' experience of double consciousness or "two-ness": the tensions and struggles of living both within and outside two distinct worlds defined by color. In 1991, cultural theorist Chela Sandoval described differential consciousness as a way that people survive and operate within oppressive environments while simultaneously developing beliefs and tactics to resist domination and oppression.[45] Archeologists studying African Americans, both free and enslaved, have done considerable work in exploring double consciousness and differential consciousness using archeological data. This includes looking at oppression, resistance, and living lives that appear one way in private and another in public, as well as assimilationist versus oppositional responses to oppression.[46] Archeologists studying labor, violence, and sabotage, as in the coal fields of Virginia, Pennsylvania, and Colorado, are also laying the groundwork for the investigation of oppression, resistance, and survival.[47]

---

[44] Examples of oppression include physical violence, being fired or denied housing, vilification, incarceration, harassment, social exclusion leading, for example, to being closeted, higher rates of suicide and homelessness, etc. Examples of resistance include street protests, secret signs like wearing a green carnation in one's lapel to indicate homosexuality or a double-headed axe (labrys) indicating identity as a lesbian.

[45] W. E. B. Du Bois, *The Souls of Black Folk* (Chicago: A. C. McClurg & Co., 1903), 3; and Chela Sandoval, "US Third World Feminism: The Theory and Method of Oppositional Consciousness in the Postmodern World," *Genders* 10 (1991): 1-24.

[46] For slave resistance and rebellion, see Charles E. Orser, Jr. and Pedro P. A. Funari, "Archaeology and Slave Resistance and Rebellion," *World Archaeology* 33, no. 1 (2001): 61-72. For African and African American resistance and rebellion in the US, see Terry Weik, "The Archaeology of Maroon Societies in the Americas: Resistance, Cultural Continuity, and Transformation in the African Diaspora," *Historical Archaeology* 31, no. 2 (1997): 81-92; and Christopher C. Fennell, "Early African America: Archaeological Studies of Significance and Diversity," *Journal of Archaeological Research* 19 (2011): 29-33. For work dealing with double consciousness, see Megan E. Springate, "Double Consciousness and the Intersection of Beliefs in an African American Home in Northern New Jersey," *Historical Archaeology* 48, no. 3 (2014): 125-143; Kathryn H. Deeley, "Double "Double Consciousness": An Archaeology of African American Class and Identity in Annapolis, Maryland, 1850-1930," PhD diss., University of Maryland, 2015. For a discussion of religion, see Lu Ann De Cunzo, *A Historical Archaeology of Delaware: People, Contexts, and the Cultures of Agriculture* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2004); Fennell, "Early African America", 34-36; and Springate, "Double

Community

Moving to a broader lens, archeology can be used to trace the development and decline of LGBTQ neighborhoods at various scales. Largely urban phenomena, like the Philadelphia gayborhood, there are also less urban examples like Provincetown, Massachusetts; Fire Island Pines and Cherry Grove, New York; Saugatuck, Michigan; and Guerneville, California. These neighborhoods and the people who live there come together and dissipate for many reasons.[48] These include patterns of property ownership, gentrification, redevelopment, police harassment, and more recently, changes associated with an increase in the acceptance of LGBTQ people, particularly in urban areas.[49] Archeology can be used to study these processes and effects at the levels of individual properties

---

Consciousness”. Important work on the archeology of late twentieth century repression and resistance has also been done in a Latin American context; Pedro P. A. Funari et al., *Memories from Darkness: Archaeology of Repression and Resistance in Latin America* (New York: Springer, 2009).

[47] For the Colorado Coalfield Strike, Ludlow, Colorado, see Randall H. McGuire and Paul Reckner, “Building a Working-Class Archaeology: The Colorado Coal Field War Project,” *Industrial Archaeology Review* 25, no. 2 (2003): 83-95; Karin Larkin and Randall H. McGuire, *The Archaeology of Class War: The Colorado Coalfield Strike of 1913-1914* (Boulder: University Press of Colorado, 2009). For the Lattimer Massacre, Pennsylvania, see Michael Roller, “Rewriting Narratives of Labor Violence: A Transnational Perspective of the Lattimer Massacre,” *Historical Archaeology* 42, no. 2 (2013): 109-123. For the Battle at Blair Mountain, West Virginia, see Brandon Nida and Michael Jessee Adkins, “The Social and Environmental Upheaval of Blair Mountain: A Working Class Struggle for Unionisation and Historic Preservation,” in Laurajane Smith et al., eds., *Heritage, Labour, and the Working Classes* (New York: Routledge, 2011), 52-68.

[48] While the thread of community coalescence and dissipation winds its way throughout this theme study, several chapters in particular look at this; see Hanhardt (this volume) as well as the individual city chapters in this theme study.

[49] Discussions of gentrification, redevelopment, and police harassment in the shifting neighborhoods of San Francisco can be found in Rubin, “Urban Sex”; in Washington, DC, in William Leap, “Professional Baseball, Urban Restructuring and (Changing) Gay Geographies in Washington, DC,” in *Out in Public,* 202-221; and in Atlanta in Petra L. Doan and Harrison Higgins, “The Demise of Queer Space? Resurgent Gentrification and the Assimilation of LGBT Neighborhoods,” *Journal of Planning Education and Research* 31, no. 1 (2011): 6-25. Amin Ghaziani looks at changes in LGBTQ neighborhoods as LGBTQ individuals have become more accepted in American society; Amin Ghaziani, *There Goes the Gayborhood?* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2014).

(households, businesses, etc.) and communities as a whole, using artifacts, buildings (standing and demolished), and landscapes.[50]

Archeology can also be a tool of civic engagement, empowerment, and emancipation. Through engagement with living communities, archeological research questions, methods, and interpretations can be used to address questions important to existing communities. Civically engaged and activist archeologies recognize that the past and the present are inextricably intertwined. There is an extensive literature on civically engaged and community archeology that includes methods, approaches, and case studies.[51]

Types of Sites

Assuming archeological deposits remain, any of the property types identified for this theme study can be investigated archeologically, whether or not a structure or building remains standing.[52] A different way of thinking about site types in the context of LGBTQ and two-spirit archeology is based on three different categories of site:[53]

---

[50] For landscape archeology, see overviews by Rebecca Yamin and Karen B. Metheny, eds., *Landscape Archaeology: Reading and Interpreting the American Historical Landscape* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1996); Kurt F. Anschuetz et al., "An Archaeology of Landscapes: Perspectives and Directions," *Journal of Archaeological Research* 9, no. 2 (2001): 157-211; Julian Thomas and David Bruno, eds., *Handbook of Landscape Archaeology* (Walnut Creek, CA: Left Coast Press, 2008); Suzanne M. Spencer-Wood, "A Feminist Framework for Analyzing Powered Cultural Landscapes in Historical Archaeology," *International Journal of Historical Archaeology* 14, no. 4 (2010): 498-526. For archeological work on communities, see overviews and examples by Lynda Carroll, "Communities and Other Social Actors: Rethinking Commodities and Consumption in Global Historical Archaeology," *International Journal of Historical Archaeology* 3, no. 3 (1999): 131-136; Marcello Canuto and Jason Yaeger, eds., *The Archaeology of Communities: A New World Perspective* (New York: Routledge, 2000); and Suzanne M. Spencer-Wood, "A Feminist Theoretical Approach to the Historical Archaeology of Utopian Communities," *Historical Archaeology* 40, no. 1 (2006): 152-185.

[51] Yvonne Marshall, "What is Community Archaeology?" *World Archaeology* 34, no. 2 (2002): 211-219; Carol McDavid, "Archaeologies that Hurt; Descendants that Matter: A Pragmatic Approach to Collaboration in the Public Interpretation of African-American Archaeology," *World Archaeology* 34, no. 2 (2002): 303-314; Dean J. Saitta, Ethics, "Objectivity and Emancipatory Archaeology," in Yannis Hamilakis and P. G. Duke, eds., *Archaeology and Capitalism: From Ethics to Politics* (Walnut Creek, CA: Left Coast Press, 2007), 267-280; Barbara J. Little and Paul A. Shackel, eds., *Archaeology as a Tool of Civic Engagement* (Lanham, MD: AltaMira Press, 2007); M. Jay Stottman, ed., *Archaeologists as Activists: Can Archaeologists Change the World?* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2010); Gemma Tully, "Community Archaeology: General Methods and Standards of Practice," *Public Archaeology* 6, no. 3 (2007): 155-187; Sonya Atalay, *Community-Based Archaeology: Research With, By, and For Indigenous and Local Communities* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012); Barbara J. Little and Paul A. Shackel, *Archaeology, Heritage, and Civic Engagement: Working Toward the Public Good* (Walnut Creek, CA: Left Coast Press, 2014).

[52] See Springate and de la Vega (this volume).

i) Sites, features, properties, and landscapes associated with community and identity formation, including those of events, people, organizations, businesses, etc. who are important to LGBTQ and two-spirit history (NRHP Criteria A and/or B; NHL Criteria 1, 2, and/or 5). Archeology at these locations will reveal the use and organization of things and spaces that reflect these individuals' or groups' identities, strategies, and daily lives, among other things. This would include places like the Dr. Franklin E. Kameny House in Washington, DC, and the area of the Stonewall Riots in New York City.[54]

ii) Sites, features, properties, and landscapes associated with events, people, organizations, businesses, etc. who are important to other histories (NRHP Criteria A and/or B; NHL Criteria 1, 2, and/or 5) and which are also in some way associated with LGBTQ and two-spirit identities or histories. Archeology at these locations can contribute information about the relationship between sexual and/or gender minority status and the other historical events that the person, organization, etc. is significant for. Examples of these types of places might include Hull House in Chicago, Val-Kill in New York State, Rosebud Battlefield in Montana, and the Tanglewood Tavern in Virginia.[55]

iii) Sites, features, properties, and landscapes associated with LGBTQ and two-spirit aesthetics (NRHP Criterion C; NHL Criterion 4). Examples include Philip Johnson's Glass House in Connecticut; the National AIDS Memorial Grove in San Francisco; Beauport, the Sleeper-McCann House in

---

[53] With many thanks to Barb Voss, in personal communication with the author

[54] The Dr. Franklin E. Kameny House in Washington, DC, was listed on the NRHP on November 2, 2011; Stonewall in New York City was listed on the NRHP on June 28, 1999; designated an NHL on February 16, 2000; and designated Stonewall National Monument (an NPS unit) on June 24, 2016.

[55] Hull House in Chicago, Illinois was listed on the NRHP on October 15, 1966 and designated an NHL on June 23, 1965; The Eleanor Roosevelt National Historical Site (Val-Kill) in Hyde Park, New York was designated in 1977; the Rosebud Battlefield Site in Busby, Montana was listed on the NRHP on August 21, 1972 and designated an NHL on August 19, 2008; the Tanglewood Tavern in Maidens, Virginia was listed on the NRHP on September 12, 2002.

Massachusetts; and the Georgia O’Keeffe Home and Studio in New Mexico.[56]

iv) The study of archeological sites and landscapes to better understand the history of sexual and gender minorities at the individual, household, neighborhood, and community levels (NRHP Criterion D; NHL Criterion 6). These types of sites include locations where buildings and structures associated with any of the above types of properties are no longer extant, but can also encompass those types of places that are still standing, and where archeology can contribute to a more complete history and understanding of the place.

Conclusion

As a queer archeologist, it is tempting to look for myself and other LGBTQ and two-spirit people, just as we are today, in the past. To legitimize our existence by “proving” that we have always existed. And yet, to paraphrase Barb Voss, we need to be wary of projects that essentialize sexual and gender identities by using archeology to create a lineage of gay, lesbian, bisexual and queer forefathers and foremothers and transgendered foreparents for present-day identities.[57] Archeological projects that explore the full richness, diversity, and dynamism of gender and sexual minorities are ultimately much more useful. The archeology of LGBTQ and two-spirit places and landscapes can not only provide important information about past genders and sexualities, but also contribute to important dialogues in archeology about the relationship between and expressions of sexuality and gender, community, cultural change, and identity.

---

[56] Philip Johnson’s Glass House in New Canaan, Connecticut was designated an NHL on February 18, 1997; the National AIDS Memorial Grove in San Francisco, California was designated in 1996; Beauport, the Sleeper-McCann House in Gloucester, Massachusetts was designated an NHL on May 27, 2003; the Georgia O’Keeffe Home and Studio in Abiquiú, New Mexico was designated a NHL on August 5, 1998.

[57] Voss, “Looking for Gender”, 34

INCLUSIVE STORIES

Although scholars of LGBTQ history have generally been inclusive of women, the working classes, and gender-nonconforming people, the narrative that is found in mainstream media and that many people think of when they think of LGBTQ history is overwhelmingly white, middle-class, male, and has been focused on urban communities. While these are important histories, they do not present a full picture of LGBTQ history. To include other communities, we asked the authors to look beyond the more well-known stories. Inclusion within each chapter, however, isn't enough to describe the geographic, economic, legal, and other cultural factors that shaped these diverse histories. Therefore, we commissioned chapters providing broad historical contexts for two spirit, transgender, Latino/a, African American Pacific Islander, and bisexual communities. These chapters, read in concert with the chapter on intersectionality, serve as examples of rich, multi-faceted narrative within a fuller history of the United States.

07

A NOTE ABOUT INTERSECTIONALITY

Megan E. Springate

There is no such thing as a single-issue struggle, because we do not live single-issue lives. –Audre Lorde[1]

Intersectionality is the recognition that categories of difference (sometimes also referred to as axes of identity) including—but not limited to—race, ethnicity, gender, religion/creed, generation, geographic location, sexuality, age, ability/disability, and class intersect to shape the experiences of individuals; that identity is multidimensional. These identities are not mutually exclusive but interdependent.[2] LGBTQ is not a single community with a single history; indeed, each group represented by these letters (lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and queer) is made up of multiple communities.[3] The axes of gender, generation, geographic location, ethnicity, and other factors play an important role in the history of

---

[1] Audre Lorde, "Learning from the 60s," in *Sister Outsider: Essays & Speeches by Audre Lorde* (Berkeley, CA: Crossing Press, 2007), 138.

[2] Lisa Bowleg, "When Black + Lesbian + Woman ≠ Black Lesbian Woman: The Methodological Challenges to Qualitative and Quantitative Intersectionality Research," *Sex Roles* 59 (2008): 312-325.

[3] Judith M. Bennett, "'Lesbian-Like' and the Social History of Lesbianisms," *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 9 (2000): 1-24; Trina Grillo, "Anti-Essentialism and Intersectionality: Tools to Dismantle the Master's House," *Berkeley Women's Law Journal* 10 (1995): 16-30.

LGBTQ America, shaping the various histories of LGBTQ communities across the nation and the places associated with them. For example, the experiences of rural LGBTQ individuals are different from those in urban areas; those of white, gay Latinos different from those of gay AfroLatino men; middle-class African American lesbians' lives differ from those of working-class African American lesbians and middle-class white lesbians.

The idea of intersectionality is not new; in her 1851 speech now known as "Ain't I A Woman," Sojourner Truth spoke about the intersections of being a woman, being black, and having been enslaved.[4] In the 1960s and 1970s, black and Chicana women articulated the intersectionality of their lives, forming black feminist and Chicana feminist movements as their experiences as women of color were ignored, belittled, and/or erased by the largely white, middle-class women's movement that treated race and gender as mutually exclusive categories. In their lived experience, oppression as people of color, as women, and as women of color could not be untangled.[5] The term intersectionality was first used in print by Kimberlé Crenshaw in a law journal describing the problematic effects of a single-axis approach to antidiscrimination law, feminist theory, and antiracist politics.[6] Since then, intersectionality has become an important concept across many disciplines, including history, art and architectural history, anthropology, geography, sociology, psychology, and law.[7]

---

[4] Truth spoke at the Women's Convention at the Old Stone Church, corner of North High and Perkins Streets, Akron, Ohio on May 29, 1851. Various versions of the speech exist, including several published from memory by Frances Dana Barker Gage, which include the phrase "Ain't I A Woman." The earliest published version, recalled by Marius Robinson, does not include this phrase. See Corona Brazina, *Sojourner Truth's "Ain't I a woman?" Speech: A Primary Source Investigation* (New York: RosenCentral Primary Source, 2005); Kay Siebler, "Teaching the Politics of Sojourner Truth's 'Ain't I a Woman?'" *Pedagogy* 10, no. 3 (Fall 2010): 511-533.

[5] Patricia Hill Collins and Sirma Bilge, *Intersectionality* (Malden, MA: Polity Press, 2016), 63-87. See, for example, Alma M. Garcia, "The Development of Chicana Feminist Discourse, 1870-1980," *Gender and Society* 3, no. 2 (1989): 217-238; Alma M. Garcia, *Chicana Feminist Thought: The Basic Historical Writings* (New York: Routledge, 1997); Combahee River Collective, "The Combahee River Collective Statement," Circuitous.org website, http://circuitous.org/scraps/combahee.html.

[6] Kimberlé Crenshaw, "Demarginalizing the Intersection of Race and Sex: A Black Feminist Critique of Antidiscrimination Doctrine, Feminist Theory and Antiracist Politics," *University of Chicago Legal Forum* (1989): 139-167.

[7] See, for example, Bowleg, "When Black + Lesbian + Woman ≠ Black Lesbian Woman;" Grillo, "Anti-Essentialism and Intersectionality;" Mike C. Parent, Cirleen DeBlaere, and Bonnie Moradi, "Approaches to Research on Intersectionality: Perspectives on Gender, LGBT, and Racial/Ethnic Identities," *Sex Roles* 68 (2013): 639-645; Gill Valentine, "Theorizing and Researching

An understanding of intersectionality is important for place-based research and historic preservation because these axes of difference can affect the physical places associated with communities; they also affect the relationships that various individuals and communities have with places. People who own instead of rent their homes and commercial buildings are more likely to be able to stay in their neighborhoods as housing prices increase—a result, for example, of gentrification. Using an intersectional approach that takes into account income disparities based on race and sexual orientation, it becomes clear that lesbians and transgender individuals, especially those of color, who tend to have lower incomes than others, and therefore cannot afford to own their own homes, are forced out of neighborhoods more rapidly than middle-class gay white males, who tend to have more income that can be invested in purchasing buildings. Similarly, because lesbians (as women) have tended to have less disposable income than gay men, there have tended to be fewer lesbian clubs and bars. Instead, white women and women of color, as well as people of color, tended to meet and socialize in private spaces.[8]

The meanings of places also differ across the various LGBTQ communities. For example, the Michigan Womyn's Music Festival, founded in 1976 as a women-only space has been an important event in the history of women's land, women's music, and community-based organization. However, the festival has also had a history of excluding transgender women.[9] This resulted in the founding in 1991 of Camp Trans, a protest encampment by transgender women and their allies just outside the festival grounds. The Michigan Womyn's Music Festival means very different things to these different communities: some experience the

---

Intersectionality: A Challenge for Feminist Geography," *The Professional Geographer* 59, no. 1 (2007): 10-21; and Leah R. Warner and Stephanie A. Shields, "The Intersections of Sexuality, Gender, and Race: Identity Research at the Crossroads," *Sex Roles* 68 (2013): 803-810.

[8] See, for example, Elizabeth Lapovsky Kennedy and Madeline D. Davis, *Boots of Leather, Slippers of Gold: The History of a Lesbian Community* (New York: Routledge, 1993). For examples of how ethnicity and sexual and gender identity intersect, see González and Hernández, Harris, Hutchins, Roscoe, Stryker, and Sueyoshi (this volume).

[9] See Stryker and Schweighofer (this volume).

place as one of inclusion and visibility, while others feel oppressed and excluded.[10]

Intersectionality has been presented as a means to avoid causing epistemic violence (excluding people from how we understand and know the world) to individuals and communities by silencing their voices or rendering their experiences invisible.[11] The temptation to ignore those alternative voices in LGBTQ history is great: "Given the new opportunities available to *some* gays and lesbians, the temptation to forget—to forget the outrages and humiliations of gay and lesbian history and to ignore the ongoing suffering of those not borne up by the rising tide of gay normalization—is stronger than ever."[12] Those excluded from the normalized, mainstream gay rights movement and therefore its history—to varying degrees—include those living on low incomes, people with disabilities, people of color, the elderly, women, transgender people, drag queens, bisexuals, those living in rural areas, and those whose sexual practices fall outside the realm of the socially acceptable, described by Gayle Rubin as the "charmed circle."[13] Especially alienated are those whose identities encompass more than one of these axes of exclusion.[14]

---

[10] Compare, for example, *Voices from the Land*, http://www.michfestmatters.com; Cristan Williams, "Michigan Womyn's Music Festival," *TransAdvocate*, 2013, http://transadvocate.com/michigan-womyns-music-festival_n_8943.htm.

[11] See, for example, Sabrina Alimahomed, "Thinking Outside the Rainbow: Women of Color Redefining Queer Politics and Identity," *Social Identities* 16, no. 2 (2010): 151-168; Amy L. Brandzel, "Haunted by Citizenship: Whitenormative Citizen-Subjects and the Uses of History in Women's Studies," *Feminist Studies* 37, no. 3 (2011): 503-533.

[12] Heather Love, *Feeling Backward: Loss and the Politics of Queer History* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2007), xiv; see also Elizabeth Freeman, *Time Binds: Queer Temporalities, Queer Histories* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2010).

[13] Gayle S. Rubin, "Thinking Sex: Notes for a Radical Theory of the Politics of Sexuality," in *Culture, Society and Sexuality: A Reader,* 2nd ed., eds. Richard Parker and Peter Aggleton (New York: Routledge, 1984), 143-178.

[14] See, for example, Alimahomed, Thinking Outside the Rainbow; Lou Chibbaro, Jr., "Special Report: Poverty in the LGBT Community," *Washington Blade,* February 12, 2014, http://www.washingtonblade.com/2014/02/12/special-report-poverty-lgbt-community; Eli Clare, *Exile & Pride: Disability, Queerness, and Liberation* (Cambridge, MA: South End Press, 1999); Petra L. Doan, "The Tyranny of Gendered Spaces – Reflections from Beyond the Gender Dichotomy," *Gender, Place & Culture: A Journal of Feminist Geography* 17, no. 5 (2010): 635-654; Heron Greenesmith, "Drawing Bisexuality Back into the Picture: How Bisexuality Fits into LGBT Legal Strategy Ten Years After Bisexual Erasure," *Cardozo Journal of Law & Gender* 17, no. 65 (2010): 65-80; Daniel Hirsch, "R-Rated and Ephemeral: Spinning LGBT History," *MissionLocal,* July 18, 2014, http://missionlocal.org/2014/07/r-rated-and-ephemeral-spinning-lgbt-history; E. Patrick Johnson, "Gays and Gospel: A Queer History of Sacred Music," in *Out in Chicago: LGBT History at the*

Cynthia Levine-Rasky argues that a full understanding of these as axes of exclusion and oppression also requires that researchers pay attention to the intersectionality of whiteness and middle-class identity (and, by extension, other identities that are privileged in our society).[15] An intersectional reevaluation of the experiences of those groups that have been comparatively well-represented (including gay, white, urban men) will also result in a more nuanced and accurate understanding of LGBTQ history and its role in American society.

An intersectional approach to history provides a much more complete and nuanced understanding of our past; one that includes the experiences and voices of those who are often silenced in dominant narratives that focus primarily on the actions of those with privilege, including white, middle- and upper-class, heterosexual, men. One instance where an intersectional approach to history that included previously excluded axes of ethnicity and the working classes provided a more complete history is in the study of women's rights. The dominant narrative of women's rights recognizes three "waves": the First Wave is described

---

Crossroads, eds. Jill Austin and Jennifer Brier (Chicago: Chicago History Museum, 2011), 109-126; Emily Kazyak, "Midwest or Lesbian? Gender, Rurality, and Sexuality," *Gender & Society* 26, no. 6 (2012): 825-848; Love, *Feeling Backward*; Jeff Maskovsky, "Do We All 'Reek of the Commodity'? Consumption and the Erasure of Poverty in Lesbian and Gay Studies," in *Out in Theory: The Emergence of Lesbian and Gay Anthropology,* eds. Ellen Lewin and William L. Leap (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2002), 264-286; Doug Meyer, "An Intersectional Analysis of Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender (LGBT) People's Evaluations of Anti-Queer Violence," *Gender & Society* 26, no. 6 (2012): 849-873; Mignon R. Moore, *Invisible Families: Gay Identities, Relationships, and Motherhood among Black Women* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011); Mignon R. Moore, "Intersectionality and the Study of Black, Sexual Minority Women," *Gender & Society* 26, no. 1 (2012): 33-39; Rubin, Thinking Sex; Gayle S. Rubin, *Deviations: A Gayle Rubin Reader* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2011); Stephanie A. Shields, "Gender: An Intersectionality Perspective," *Sex Roles* 59 (2008): 301-311; Megan Sinnott, "Public Sex: The Geography of Female Homoeroticism and the (In)Visibility of Female Sexualities," in *Out in Public: Reinventing Lesbian/Gay Anthropology in a Globalizing World,* eds. Ellen Lewin and William L. Leap (Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009), 225-239; Urvashi Vaid, *Irresistible Revolution: Confronting Race, Class and the Assumptions of LGBT Politics* (New York: Magnus Books, 2012); and Kathi Wolfe, "Special Report In Their Own Words: Elders Facing Poverty, Ageism," *Washington Blade*, March 27, 2014, http://www.washingtonblade.com/2014/03/27/special-report-words-elders-facing-poverty-ageism. See also González and Hernández, Harris, Hutchins, Roscoe, Stryker, and Sueyoshi (this volume).

[15] Cynthia Levine-Rasky, "Intersectionality Theory Applied to Whiteness and Middle-Classness," *Social Identities* 17, no. 2 (2011): 239-253.

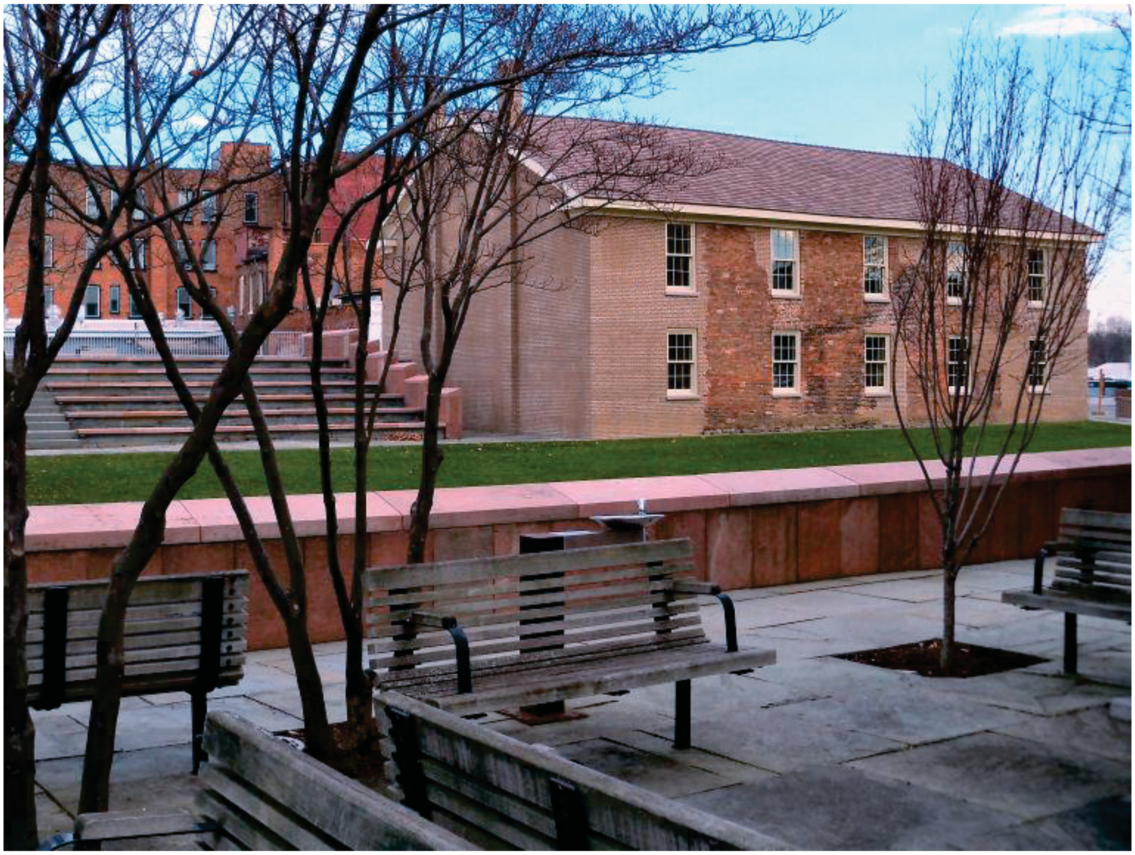


Figure 1: Wesleyan Chapel, 126 Fall Street, Seneca Falls, New York, site of the First Women's Rights Convention in the United States, 1848. The Chapel was listed on the NRHP on August 29, 1980. It is part of Women's Rights National Historical Park, established December 28, 1980. Photo by the author, 2011.

as spanning the years between 1848 (the First Convention for Women's Rights at Seneca Falls, New York) and 1920 (passage of the Nineteenth Amendment, granting women the right to vote); the Second Wave that emerged in the 1960s and 1970s as women worked towards ending gender discrimination in arenas including employment, medical care, and financial equity; and the Third Wave that began in the 1990s, which involved a more active and mainstream approach to intersectionality in the women's movement (Figure 1). This narrative of feminist waves is based predominantly on the experiences of white, middle-class women in advocating for women's rights and in reaping the benefits of their activism. For example, though women were granted the right to vote in 1920, Jim Crow laws in the southern states kept African American women (and men) from the voting booths until the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

Many Native Americans of all genders were likewise denied voting rights until the passage of the Indian Citizenship Act of 1924.

Recent scholarship that takes an intersectional approach to feminism recognizes that the women's movement did not vanish during the years following the passage of the Nineteenth Amendment.[17] Betty Friedan's book, *The Feminine Mystique*, is based on her observations of and experiences as a white, middle-class suburban housewife, but does not mention her experiences as a journalist for leftist and labor union publications.[18] While her work is often credited with sparking the Second Wave of feminism such analysis ignores the experiences and gains of African American women and wage-earning women (and their white, middle-class allies) who had not stopped working towards feminist goals after suffrage.[19] After 1920, women who had been

Figure 2: Anna Howard Shaw-Lucy Anthony House, Moylan, Pennsylvania. Photo by Smallbones, 2011.[16]

---

[16] License: Public Domain. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Anna_Howard_Shaw_House.JPG

[17] See, for example, Nancy A. Hewitt, introduction to *No Permanent Waves: Recasting Histories of U.S. Feminism* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2010), 2-14; Robyn Muncy, *Creating a Female Dominion in American Reform, 1890-1935* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991); Becky Thompson, "Multiracial Feminism: Recasting the Chronology of Second Wave Feminism," in Hewitt, *No Permanent Waves,* 39-60.

[18] Betty Friedan, *The Feminine Mystique* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1963); Daniel Horowitz, *Betty Friedan and the Making of The Feminine Mystique*: *The American Left, the Cold War and Modern Feminism* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2000).

[19] See, for example, Nancy Felice Gabin, *Feminism in the Labor Movement: Women and the United Auto Workers, 1935-1975* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1990); Annelise Orleck, *Common Sense & a Little Fire: Women and Working-Class Politics in the United States, 1900-1965* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1995); Deborah Gray White, *Too Heavy a Load: Black Women in Defense of Themselves 1894-1994* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1999); and Kate Weigand, *Red Feminism: American Communism and the Making of Women's Liberation* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001).

focusing their efforts on suffrage shifted their focus to labor and social welfare legislation, with some women choosing to work within the political party system or within the government itself, and others working in private organizations or with labor organizers. Women who had been working within the labor and racial justice movements prior to the passage of the Nineteenth Amendment continued their work. It was this work, which culminated in the creation in 1961 of the President's Commission on the Status of Women and its 1963 report, *American Women: Report of the President's Commission on the Status of Women,* as well as the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 that laid the groundwork for the founding of the National Organization of Women (NOW) in 1966.[20] NOW (which included Betty Friedan among its founding members) was the organization that spearheaded the women's rights movement of the 1960s and 1970s. This intersectional analysis, which includes working women and labor organizers as well as women working for racial justice, puts lie to the idea of a Second Wave of feminism that is discontinuous from the reform movements of the early twentieth century and which has its roots in white, middle-class experience.

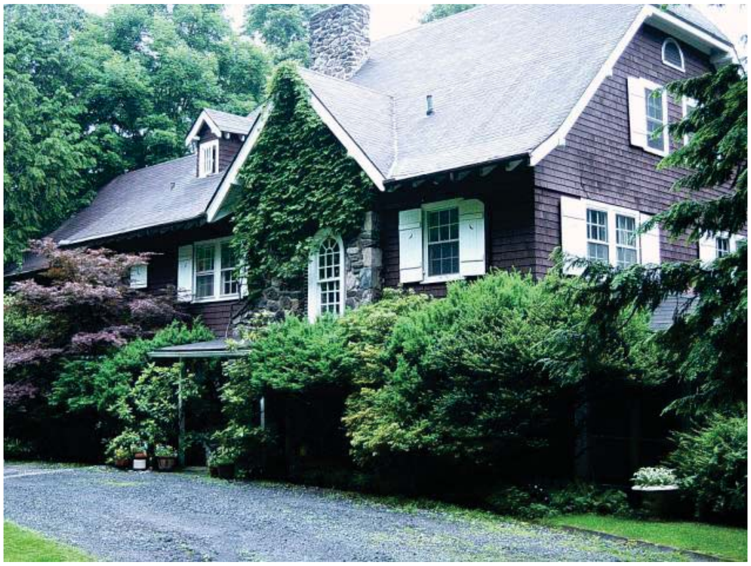


Figure 3: Juniper Ledge, the home that Carrie Chapman Catt shared with her partner, Mary Garret "Mollie" Hay from 1919 to 1928, Briarcliff Manor, New York. Photo by Arnold Feist, 2003.[21]

---

[20] Dorothy Sue Cobble, "Labor Feminists and President Kennedy's Commission on Women," in Hewitt, *No Permanent Waves*, 144-167.

[21] License: CC BY-SA 3.0. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:JuniperLedgeExt1.JPG. Juniper Ledge was added to the NRHP on May 4, 2006.

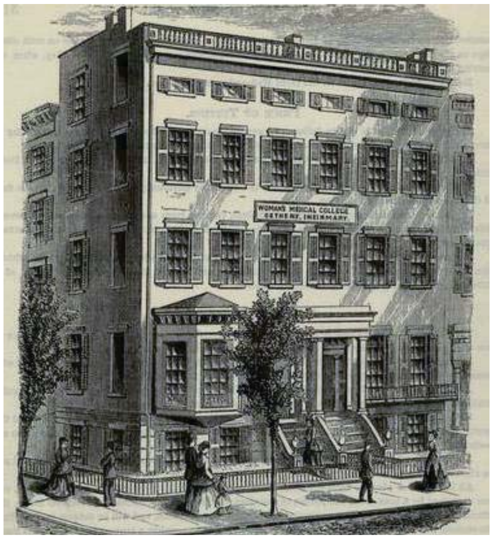


Figure 4: Women's Medical College of the New York Infirmary, Second Avenue, New York City. Engraved by William Roberts, from Common Council, Manual of the Corporation of the City of New York (New York: The Council, 1840-1870). Art and Picture Collection, The New York Public Library (b17095009).

Missing from the above intersectional analysis, however, is a consideration of LGBTQ contributions. This is a reflection of how often the roles of LGBTQ individuals in the history of America have been excluded. This results in an incomplete and oversimplified picture of our nation's history. More recent scholarship has directly addressed the role of LGBTQ individuals and organizations like Anna Howard Shaw, Carrie Chapman Catt, couples Esther Lape and Elizabeth Read, and Nancy Cook and Marion Dickerman in the women's movement; Frances Kellor and Bayard Rustin in social reform movements; the Marine Cooks and Stewards Union, Howard Wallace and the Lesbian/Gay Labor Alliance, Emily Blackwell and other workers and union organizers in labor history (Figures 2 to 4).[22]

---

[22] See, for example, Lillian Faderman, *To Believe in Women: What Lesbians Have Done for America* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1999); Miriam Frank, *Out in the Union: A Labor History of Queer America* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2014); and Wendell Ricketts, *Blue, Too: More Writing by (for or about) Working-Class Queers* (FourCats Press, 2014); Allan Bérubé, "Queer Work and Labor History," in *My Desire for History*, eds. John D'Emilio and Estelle Freedman (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2011), 259-269; Bérubé, "No Race-Baiting, Red-Baiting, or Queer-Baiting! The Marine Cooks and Stewards Union from the Depression to the Cold War," in *My Desire for History*, 294-320; Kitty Krupat and Patrick McCreery, *Out At Work: Building a Gay-Labor Alliance* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2001). Anna Howard Shaw and her partner, Lucy Anthony (niece of Susan B. Anthony) lived together in Moylan, Pennsylvania; Carrie Chapman Catt and her partner Mary Hay lived at Juniper Ledge, Briarcliff Manor, New York during Catt's most influential years, 1919-1928. Juniper Ledge was added to the NRHP on May 4, 2006; Esther Lape and Elizabeth Read shared an apartment on East 11th Street, New York City, New York in a building they owned. They rented an apartment in the building to Eleanor Roosevelt. The pair also had a summer home called Salt Meadow, where they entertained Eleanor Roosevelt, at 733 Old Clinton Road, Westbrook, Connecticut (donated to the US Fish and Wildlife Service on July 20, 1972 forming the core of the Stewart B. McKinney National Wildlife Refuge); Marion Dickerman and Nancy Cook lived at an apartment on West 12th Street, New York City, New York; Frances Kellor lived with her partner Mary Dreier near the Museum of Modern Art, New York City, New York; Bayard Rustin's apartment in New York City was added to the NRHP on March 8, 2016. Dr. Emily Blackwell was the third woman to earn a medical degree in the United States; in 1857, she cofounded the New York Infirmary for Indigent Women and Children at East 7th Street near Tompkins Square Park (an expansion of the New York Dispensary for Poor Women and Children founded by her sister, Dr. Elizabeth Blackwell, in 1853). When it opened in 1868, Emily was on the faculty of the Woman's Medical College of the New York Infirmary founded by her sister at 126

Working with Intersectionality

Intersectional analysis that takes several axes of identity into consideration can be challenging to implement. Several authors have presented different ways of working with intersectionality. One method is the inclusion of multiple narratives in interpretation. These serve both to oppose dominant narratives and hegemonic power and as a way to enrich our understanding of the past by including multiple experiences and voices. Elsa Barkley Brown describes the Creole phenomenon of "gumbo ya-ya," where everyone talks at once, telling their stories in connection and in dialogue with one another, as a nonlinear approach to intersectionality and multivocality.[23] Applying a multivocal approach to understanding the past brings its own set of challenges, including the problem of unaccountable narratives. Philosopher Alison Wylie advocates "integrity in scholarship" to correct for any cacophony of competing narratives. This integrity includes being fair to the evidence and a methodological multivocality that incorporates multiple sources of information in support of interpretations.[24] These many voices may come from written documents, oral histories, and autoethnography, among others.[25] Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak talks about the use of strategic essentialism, in which groups choose to foreground particular identities—a strategy which can also be used in analysis.[26] Other authors, like Chela Sandoval and Emma Pérez, write about working intersectionally.[27] In writing LGBTQ history, some of these multiple sources of information may

---

Second Avenue, New York City, New York. Emily became the director of the college when Elizabeth moved to England. From 1883, Dr. Emily Blackwell lived with her partner Dr. Elizabeth Cushier.

[23] Elsa Barkley Brown, "'What Has Happened Here': The Politics of Difference in Women's History and Feminist Politics," *Feminist Studies* 18, no. 2 (1992): 295-312.

[24] Alison Wylie, "The Integrity of Narratives: Deliberative Practice, Pluralism, and Multivocality," in *Evaluating Multiple Narratives: Beyond Nationalist, Colonialist, Imperialist Archaeologies,* eds. Junko Habu, Clare Fawcett, and John M. Matsunaga (New York: Springer, 2008), 201-212.

[25] Nan Alamilla Boyd and Horacio Roque Ramirez, eds., *Bodies of Evidence: The Practice of Queer Oral History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012); Doan, The Tyranny of Gendered Spaces.

[26] Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, "Subaltern Studies: Deconstructing Historiography," in *The Spivak Reader: Selected Works of Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak,* eds. Donna Landry and Gerald M. MacLean (New York: Routledge, 1996), 216.

[27] Emma Pérez, *The Decolonial Imaginary: Writing Chicanas into History* (Bloomington: University of Indiana Press, 1999); Chela Sandoval, *Methodology of the Oppressed* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2000).

include rumor and willful silences about members of communities where being out was too much of a risk:[28]

> This hearsay evidence – inadmissible in court, unacceptable to some historians – is essential to the recuperation of queer histories. The age-old squelching of our words and desires can be replicated when we adhere to ill-suited and unbending standards of historical methodology.[29]

Intersectionality in LGBTQ contexts plays out along lines of sexuality, race or ethnicity, religion, gender, class, age, sexual practice, and geography to name a few. Below, I provide several examples of how these identities intersect with each other. While not exhaustive, they give a sense of the importance and impact of intersectional analysis.

Intersectional Analysis

Historian Judith Bennett demonstrates that the sexual identity of "lesbian" (and by analogy other sexual identities) is unstable and unfixed by describing the many different types of lesbian, including butch (more masculine in appearance and behavior), femme (more feminine in appearance and behavior), vanilla (not sexually radical), sexually radical (i.e., kinky or polyamorous), of different ages, and different ethnicities.[30] "If lesbian is not a stable entity now," she writes, there is "no reason to think it was stable in the past."[31] She also notes that the connection of sexuality to the act of having sex is problematic. We recognize that someone may identify as straight, gay, or bisexual without having had sex, or during periods of their lives where they are not sexually active. But what about studying people in the past, whose sexual activity remains uncertain?

---

[28] Johnson, Gays and Gospel, 116.

[29] John Howard, *Men Like That: A Southern Queer History* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999), 5.

[30] Bennett, "Lesbian-Like," 10-11.

[31] Bennett, "Lesbian-Like," 13.

Bennett proposed the concept of “lesbian-like” for studying women in the past whose lives might have particularly offered opportunities for same-sex love; who resisted norms of feminine behavior based on heterosexual marriage; and who lived in circumstances that allowed them to nurture and support other women.[32] Other researchers identify people as queer based on speculation, hearsay, and willful silences without hard evidence that they were sexually active with others of the same sex, arguing in part that rumor carries meaning and that regardless of their sexual behaviors they led queer, nonnormative lives.[33]

Butch and femme gender expressions (where one partner is more masculine and the other more feminine in appearance and behavior) among queer women have traditionally been associated with the working classes.[34] Despite this traditional association, a recent study suggests that the meaning of masculine gender presentation varies by location. In urban areas, female masculinity is often associated with lesbian identity, while in rural areas it is acceptable for women, regardless of their sexuality, to have a more masculine gender presentation.[35] The presence of LGBTQ people in rural areas is often overlooked, with much of the history focused on “the well-rehearsed triumvirate of …queer mythology: New York, Los Angeles, and San Francisco.”[36] Regardless of gender presentation or location, "Lesbians, suffering from the dual disqualification of being gay and female, have been repeatedly dispossessed of their history.”[37]

---

[32] Bennett, “Lesbian-Like,” 9-10, 14; see also Judith M. Bennett, *History Matters: Patriarchy and the Challenge of Feminism* (Philadelphia: Pennsylvania University Press, 2006).

[33] Victoria Bissell Brown, “Queer or Not: What Jane Addams Teaches Us about Not Knowing,” in Austin and Brier, *Out in Chicago*, 63-76; Howard, *Men Like That*; Johnson, “Gays and Gospel.”

[34] Kennedy and Davis, *Boots of Leather, Slippers of Gold;* Esther Newton, “Beyond Freud, Ken, and Barbie,” in *Margaret Mead Made Me Gay: Personal Essays, Public Ideas* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2000), 189-194, reprint of “Closing the Gender Gap,” originally published in 1986 in *The Women’s Review of Books*; Esther Newton, “My Butch Career,” in *Margaret Mead Made Me Gay,* 195-212 (originally read at the David R. Kessler Lecture, December 6, 1996, at the Center for Lesbian and Gay Studies at the Graduate Center of the City University of New York).

[35] Kazyak, Midwest or Lesbian?

[36] Lawrence La Fountain-Stokes, Lourdes Torres, and Ramon H. Rivera-Servera, “Toward an Archive of Latina/o Queer Chicago: Arts, Politics, and Social Performance,” in Austin and Brier, *Out in Chicago*, 127.

[37] Gayle Rubin 1976 quoted in Elizabeth L. Kennedy, “‘These Natives Can Speak for Themselves’: The Development of Gay and Lesbian Studies in Anthropology,” in Lewin and Leap, *Out in Theory: The Emergence of Lesbian and Gay Anthropology*, 95.

Additional "disqualifications" like being a person of color or disabled, exacerbate the impacts.

Queer theorists like Judith Jack Halberstam, Judith Butler, and Gayle Rubin provide frameworks for understanding both how sexuality and gender interact to create multiple spectrums of identity and the possibility of (and ways of naming) more genders than male, female, and other.[38] Recent work by authors including Freeman and Halberstam describes how queer is more than just an expression of gender/sexual identity, arguing that the queer subculture works within ideas of space and time that are independent of those that structure the normative heterosexual lifestyle.[39] These shape how LGBTQ people experience and interact with space, place, and history.[40]

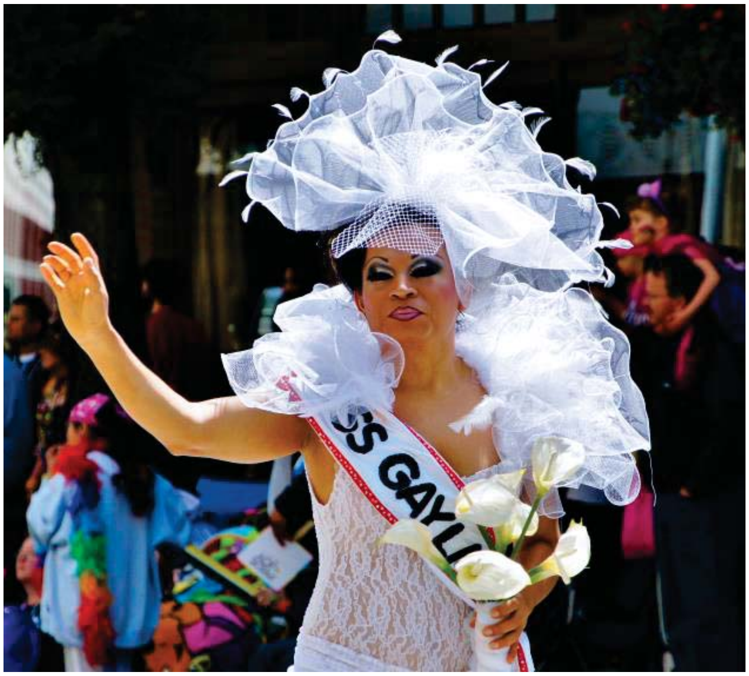


Figure 5: Miss Gay Latina, Gay Pride Parade, Seattle, Washington. Photo by sea turtle, 2012.[41]

Often marginalized from the mainstream narratives, LGBTQ people of color are often confronted by a "politics of respectability" and describe feeling pressure to hide their sexuality or gender identity (or other identities) in order to appear respectable within their ethnic community and to be respectable representatives of their ethnic community to the dominant (white) culture.[42] This politics of respectability is not limited to expressions of sexuality or gender, but influences many aspects of their lives. Evelyn Higginbotham describes it within the context of African American experience, but other people of color, including Latino/as also describe the effects of respectability politics (Figure 5).[43] LGBTQ people also feel pressure, both from within their communities and from without, to be respectable as a means of advancing acceptance and gay rights. Straight, white, middle-class people, by contrast, generally do not have to contend with accusations or feelings of disappointing their communities because heterosexual, middle-class, white privilege means that any violation of social norms is an individual act, and not representative of racial identity.[44] Black Lives Matter (BLM) was founded by three queer women of color in response to violence targeted against African Americans. Intersectional by design, BLM pushes against violence (physical, epistemic, and/or by exclusion) directed towards all black people, including those who are LGBTQ. This has brought into sharp relief many of the divisions that persist among and between LGBTQ communities. In 2015, in response to an unprecedented murder rate of transgender people, particularly transgender women of color, BLM and Trans Lives Matter worked together, insisting that #BlackTransLivesMatter (Figure 6).[45]

---

[38] Judith Halberstam, *Female Masculinity* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1998); Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble* (New York: Routledge, 1989); and Gayle Rubin, "The Traffic in Women: Notes on the 'Political Economy' of Sex," in *Toward an Anthropology of Women,* ed. Rayna Reiter (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1975).

[39] Freeman, *Time Binds*; and Jack Halberstam, *In a Queer Time and Place: Transgender Bodies, Subcultural Lives* (New York: New York University Press, 2010).

[40] See, for example, Doan, The Tyranny of Gendered Spaces for a discussion of how being transgender shapes her experience of places, public and private.

[41] License: CC BY-NC-ND 2.0. https://www.flickr.com/photos/sea-turtle/7539841034

---

[42] Alimahomed, Thinking Outside the Rainbow; Meyer, An Intersectional Analysis, 861; and Moore, Intersectionality and the Study of Black, Sexual Minority Women.

[43] Evelyn Brooks Higginbotham, *Righteous Discontent: The Women's Movement in the Black Baptist Church, 1880-1920* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993); see also González and Hernández (this volume) and Meyer, An Intersectional Analysis, 853.

[44] Grillo, Anti-Essentialism and Intersectionality; Meyer, An Intersectional Analysis, 853; and Moore, Intersectionality and the Study of Black, Sexual Minority Women, 37.

[45] See, for example, Janaya Khan, "Exclusive: Black Lives Matter Toronto Co-Founder Responds to Pride Action Criticism," *Now*, July 6, 2016, https://nowtoronto.com/news/pride-2016/exclusive-black-lives-matter-pride-action-criticism/; INPAQ, "Queerness – On The Frontlines of #BlackLivesMatter (MSNBC)," *The LGBT Update,* February 23, 2015, http://www.thelgbtupdate.com/queerness-on-the-frontlines-of-blacklivesmatter-msnbc; Esperanza Garcia and Ty Brooks, "Op-ed: Why Black Lives Should Matter to All LGBT People," *Advocate*, February 2, 2015, http://www.advocate.com/commentary/2015/02/02/op-ed-why-black-lives-should-matter-all-lgbt-people; Cleis Abeni, "Trans Lives Matters and Black Lives Matters Join Forces for Justice," *Advocate,* September 10, 2015, http://www.advocate.com/2015/9/10/trans-lives-matters-and-black-lives-matters-join-forces-justice.

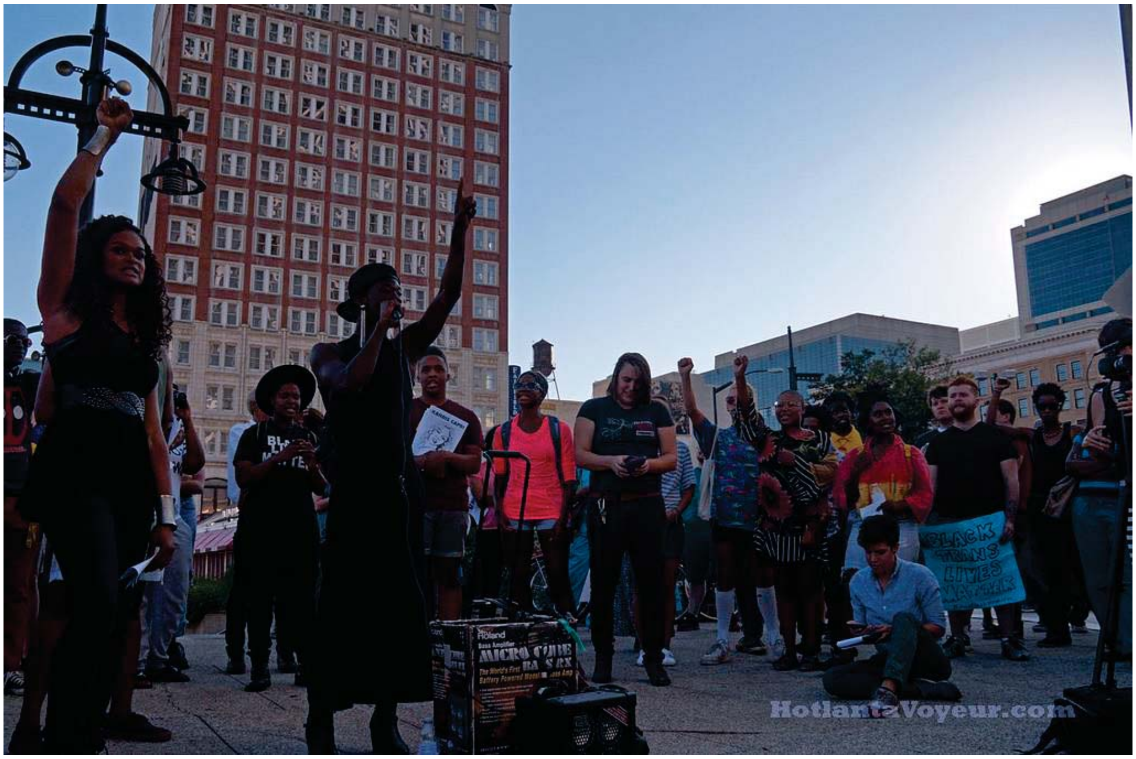


Figure 6: A Black Trans Lives Matter rally in Atlanta, Georgia. Photo by Hotlanta Voyeur, 2015.[46]

Within the Latino/a community, expressions of gender (masculinity and femininity) have been shaped historically by unique traditions, religious influences, and laws. Gender norms emphasize *macho* masculinity for men and *Marianismo* femininity for women, serving as the basis for heterosexuality and the family as the central social structure. *Macho* is an expression of Latino heterosexual masculinity: an often exaggerated sense of masculine pride associated with strength, sexual potency and prowess, and ideals of chivalry. In traditional Latino/a thinking, most gay men are considered insufficiently *macho*. In contrast, *Marianismo* is characterized by women who are modest, virtuous, and sexually abstinent until heterosexual marriage, after which they are faithful and subordinate to their husbands. The *mojer passiva* or *la mujer abnegada* sacrifices her own individualism for the benefit of her (heterosexual) family.[47] Individuals who express their gender and sexuality outside these cultural gender roles risk censure and ostracism from their family, which is central to Latino/a experience. For Latina lesbians, this meant they were often single parents, unpartnered, or disowned by their families of origin.[48]

---

[46] License: CC BY 2.0. https://www.flickr.com/photos/hotlantavoyeur/21196097702
[47] See González and Hernández (this volume).

In much of the mainstream LGBTQ history, Latino/as have been found largely at the margins or invisible. In part, this has been because many chose to remain closeted and to protect their status in their families and communities; others stayed away from the predominantly white, mainstream gay rights movement because they felt marginalized or felt the weight of widespread anti-Latino/a sentiment.[49] Latino/as are becoming increasingly visible both because homosexuality is slowly becoming more acceptable in their communities and because Latino/as are becoming more politically active.[50]

One place where the emphasis on respectability for African Americans plays out is in the experiences of middle-class black lesbians and of queer gospel singers. Researchers describe black lesbians navigating their identities in such a way that they retain racial group commitments to be seen to be “people of good character” while simultaneously being autonomous sexual selves.[51] Gospel singers within the black church likewise navigated their identities to be both godly (of good character) and to express their sexuality.

Contemporary gospel music had its beginnings in Chicago in the 1920s, blurring the lines between secular rhythms and sacred texts. With this melding of forms, "gospel provided a space for those who were not necessarily accepted around the 'welcome table'—namely sexual and gender nonconformists—to participate in the musical form's continued growth and innovation."[52] In a culture of silence around sexuality in general and homosexuality in particular within the black churches, and where homosexuality was seen to violate the "God-given order of things" many queers remained closeted or neither confirmed nor denied their sexuality. This secrecy was crucial; without it, one could lose both their livelihood and their acceptance in their "first family," the church, which was their community before they came to understand their sexuality.[53] Church choirs, argues Johnson, served as "nurturing sites" for the creative expression of effeminate boys who otherwise may have been ostracized. "Church sissies" and "church butches" found each other in church choirs, and it was not uncommon for queer singers and musicians to use conventions, including the National Baptist Convention, as opportunities to socialize with each other.[54] While homosexuality was considered an abomination and preached against from the pulpit, parishioners often looked the other way for talented artists. There seemed to be no such opprobrium regarding gender nonconformity: "How else could one explain the number of flamboyant singers such as Little Richard, who grew up and returned to the church, whose sexuality seems to have never been an issue?"[55]

---

[48] González and Hernández (this volume).

[49] Almilahomed, Thinking Outside the Rainbow; González and Hernández (this volume).

[50] González and Hernández (this volume); Uriel Quesada, Letitia Gomez, and Salvador Vidal-Ortiz, *Queer Brown Voices: Personal Narratives of Latina/o LGBT Activism* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2015).

[51] Moore, Intersectionality and the Study of Black, Sexual Minority Women, 37.

[52] Johnson, Gays and Gospel, 110.

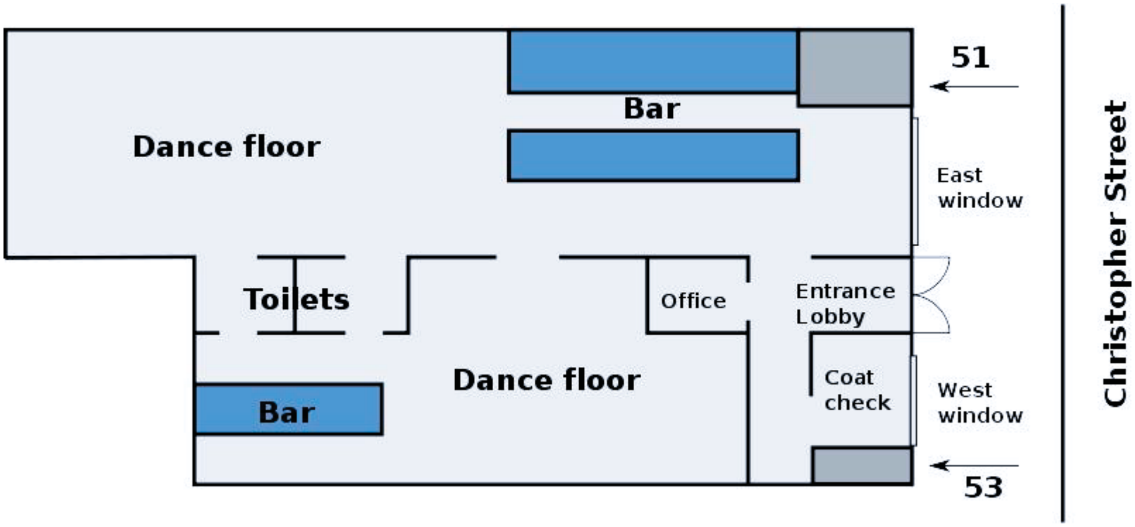


Figure 7: Layout of the Stonewall Inn in 1969. Modified by ecelan from an image in David Carter, *Stonewall: The Riots that Sparked the Gay Revolution* (NY: St. Martin's Press, 2004).[56]

---

[53] Johnson, Gays and Gospel.
[54] Johnson, Gays and Gospel.
[55] Johnson, Gays and Gospel, 117.
[56] License: CC BY-SA 3.0.
https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Layout_of_the_Stonewall_Inn_1969-en.svg

What are the implications in an intersectional approach to LGBTQ history and heritage, particularly in the context of the National Register of Historic Places and National Historic Landmarks programs? By recognizing that there are many LGBTQ communities and histories formed around and influenced by various aspects of identity, we can ensure that the richness of these multiple voices—including ones often silenced or marginalized—can be represented. An intersectional approach also allows the recognition and evaluation of historic properties in context.[57] For example, the interior of bars and clubs have often been remodeled extensively over time and may no longer retain their historic integrity (Figure 7).[58] This is, however, the nature of clubs, which often changed hands or were renovated to try to appeal to a different clientele in order to stay in business (either a different segment of the LGBTQ communities or to a more heterosexual audience). Integrity, then, may be evaluated differently for an LGBTQ bar than for a residence. Recognizing that lesbians historically have had fewer bars and clubs for socializing encourages us to look elsewhere for women's social spaces. Intersectionality also allows us to broaden our thinking about what the division of social space along axes including binary gender (male-female), ethnicity, and sexuality (gay-straight) means and has meant for those whose identities include being trans and/or bisexual and/or of a particular ethnicity (white, African American, Latino/a, Asian American, American Indian, etc.) and to consider these effects in our analysis. As well as providing a more nuanced and complete approach to documenting LGBTQ sites, an intersectional approach also connects LGBTQ history to broader patterns in American history, including Civil Rights, women's history, and labor history, just to name a few.

---

[57] For a discussion of this in the context of African American sites, see Kerri S. Barile, "Race, the National Register, and Cultural Resource Management: Creating an Historic Context for Postbellum Sites," *Historical Archaeology* 38, no. 1 (2004): 90-100.

[58] Seven aspects are considered when evaluating integrity in the context of the National Register of Historic Places (NRHP) and National Historic Landmark (NHL) programs. These seven aspects are: location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association. The evaluation of integrity is always a variable process, and guidance provided by the National Park Service for their NRHP and NHL programs is always applied on a case-by-case basis. See Springate and de la Vega (this volume).

08

MAKING BISEXUALS VISIBLE

Loraine Hutchins

Introduction

Everyone is not *either gay or straight.* This mistaken assumption lies behind most ordinary daily conversations about who and how people create their families, identities, and love lives, but it is often not the whole truth. Bisexual people's experiences are hidden in plain view, perhaps not visible, sometimes revealed.

This chapter is about that paradox: how we see what has been unseen, become more conscious of those who love others of more than one gender, until we recognize that these relationships and realities are more common than is usually acknowledged and have always been a part of history, visible or not.

If they think about it, most English teachers are aware, for instance, that the writing of Walt Whitman, the well-loved US civil war nurse who changed the form of poetry from rhyming verse to lush free-form praise songs, celebrated the beauty of both women and men in his works, as did poet Edna St. Vincent Millay.[1] Students, however, are rarely taught these parts of their biographies.[2] When studying nineteenth-century US political history, many pupils discover the story of social justice organizer Emma Goldman, but only a few textbooks record her significant relationships with both women and men during her lifetime or the fact that she was a very outspoken advocate for gay and lesbian rights.[3] It is now pretty well established that First Lady Eleanor Roosevelt had a long-term relationship with journalist Lorena Hickok, who even had a special guest room at the White House.[4] People now know that CNN anchor Anderson Cooper is gay, because he's spoken openly about it over the past few years. But what he and his mother, Gloria Vanderbilt, are only now revealing publically is that her mother, his grandmother, had at least one relationship with a woman, back in the 1920s.[5] Similar stories circulate about other US public figures like famous musician Leonard Bernstein.[6] Contemporary artists such as Margaret Cho and Alan Cumming, usually described as gay OR straight (but not both), insist that their lives are just not that simple.[7] "Some days I feel like I have a foot in both worlds, yet never really belonging to either,"

---

[1] Walt Whitman nursed injured Civil War soldiers at the Old Patent Office Building at F and Seventh Streets NW, Washington, DC. Now home to the National Portrait Gallery, this building was listed on the

---

NRHP on October 15, 1966 and designated an NHL on January 12, 1965. Whitman spent the last years of his life at his home, 330 Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. Boulevard (formerly Mickle Street), Camden, New Jersey (listed on the NRHP on October 15, 1966; designated an NHL on December 29, 1962). It was here that, just before his death, he finished his final edits to *Leaves of Grass.* In 1923, Edna St. Vincent Millay was the first woman to win the Pulitzer Prize for poetry. In 1924, she and a group of friends founded the Cherry Lane Theatre, 38 Commerce Street, New York City. While the original group disbanded in 1926, Cherry Lane is the longest continuously-operating off-Broadway theater in New York City, and has a long history of producing LGBTQ-themed plays. Millay's home, Steepletop, in Austerlitz, New York was listed on the NRHP and designated an NHL on November 11, 1971. She lived in the house from 1925 through 1950.

[2] "The discussion of Whitman's sexual orientation will probably continue in spite of whatever evidence emerges." See Jerome Loving, *Walt Whitman: The Song of Himself* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), 19. Millay had relationships with both women and men. In 1923, she married Eugen Boissevain. Married for twenty-six years, Millay and Boissevain had an open marriage and "acted like two bachelors." See "Edna St. Vincent Millay," Academy of American Poets website, https://www.poets.org/poetsorg/poet/edna-st-vincent-millay.

[3] Michael Bronski, *A Queer History of the United States.* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2011), 146.

[4] Bronski, Ibid, 150.

[5] Hank Stuever, "Gloria Vanderbilt and Anderson Cooper: Sorting Through Family Hurt and History," *Washington Post,* April 8, 2016.

[6] "That Bernstein was bisexual was no secret in his later years, and he has been outed (snarkily, awkwardly, gleefully) since his death. Here he outs himself, through frank exchanges with his new wife, Felicia Montealegre, with whom he formed an unspoken covenant: He could have affairs with men, he could lead his 'double life,' as long as he was reasonably discreet." From John Rockwell, "Maestro: The Leonard Bernstein Letters," *New York Times Sunday Book Review,* December 13, 2013.

[7] Margaret Cho, "Queer," *Huffpost Queer Voices*, October 3, 2011, http://www.huffingtonpost.com/margaret-cho/queer_b_984123.html; Adam Sandel, "Alan Cumming Is Bisexual – And You Might Be Too," *Advocate*, March 30, 2015, http://www.advocate.com/bisexuality/2015/03/30/alan-cumming-bisexual-and-you-might-be-too.

says Oregon Governor Kate Brown, the country's first out bisexual governor, speaking openly about how hard it is being a public bisexual role model, in government or anywhere.[8] Hundreds of these stories wait to be uncovered or have been uncovered and then covered up again. An organized US bisexual rights and liberation movement keeps bringing stories like these to light, insisting on the importance of bisexual role models for everyone (Figure 1).

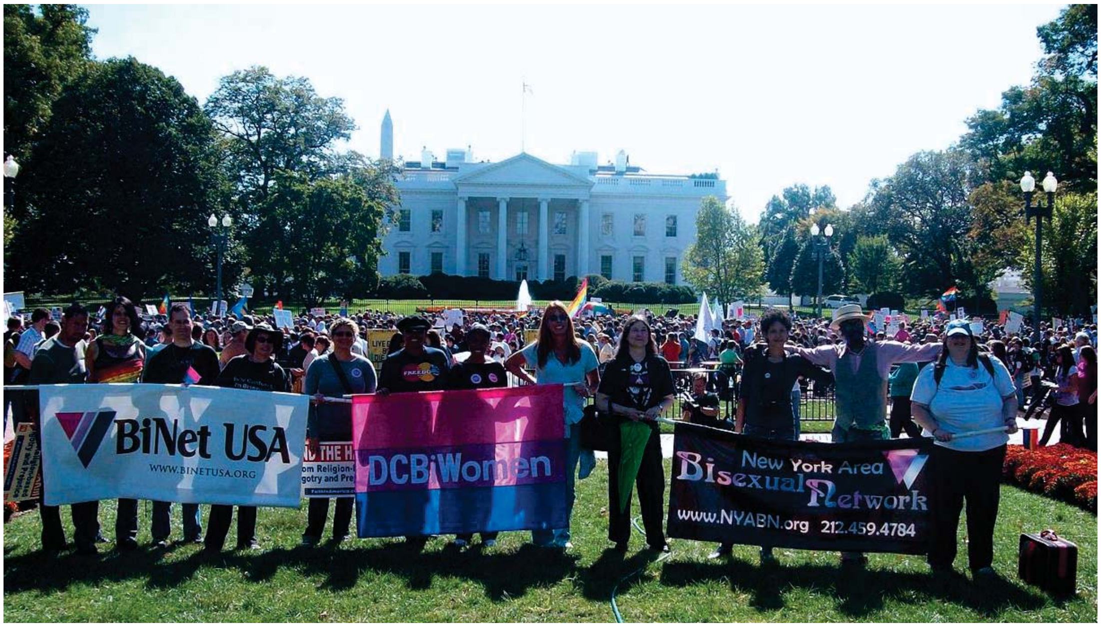


Figure 1: Some of the bisexual contingents at the 2009 National Equality March, Washington, DC. Photo by BlueFireIceEyes.[9]

The acronym LGBTQ—lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, queer—encompasses an inclusive, diverse coalition of sexual orientations and gender identities, and out bisexual people, whatever name they have called themselves or been called, have been a key part of making these changes happen from the start. However, when we open the book on the modern gay liberation movement in this country, its bisexual roots are often ignored. Though Sylvia Rivera, one of the key mobilizers of the resistance against the police crackdown at the Stonewall bar in New York City in June 1969, for instance, is often claimed as a gay and/or transgender person, what is not as widely acknowledged is that Rivera openly related intimately to more than one gender and was open about loving women as well as men.[10] So why not say that and teach that? Why keep part of Rivera's, and all these others' identities, silent? The list of famous US bisexuals is long, and growing, but as we reconstruct the history, where do we find the places they lived and loved?[11] Where do we find the big events that mark accomplishments for bisexual rights and liberation in the United States during the past fifty years? That is what this chapter brings to light.

---

[8] "She wrote in 'Out and Elected in the USA,' an online collection of essays by LGBTQ elected officials, that some of her gay friends called her 'half-queer.' Straight friends were convinced she couldn't make up her mind." See Associated Press, "Gov. Kate Brown veers from typical graduation speech to talk about her sexuality," *Oregonian*, May 20, 2016, http://www.oregonlive.com/politics/index.ssf/2016/05/gov_kate_brown_veers_from_typi.html.

[9] License: CC BY-SA 3.0. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Bis_at_NEM.jpg

Though much has been said about the limits of the binary (either/or) view of assuming everyone is gay OR straight, much has yet to be uncovered and understood. A great many people of all ages have the capacity to be bisexual. Many may know privately that they are. Many still are not open about it, for various reasons. However, there is a huge change in visibility that has been building over the past fifty years. New studies show that the majority of teens, in the United States and in some other Western countries, now recognize themselves as non-heterosexual.[12] They are comfortable being openly attracted to more than one gender, whether they act on it or not. This is a huge shift that US culture is still adjusting to, to say the least.

This chapter is dedicated to this next generation, and to everyone older who wants to better understand that bisexuality is not a "new" identity at all, by whatever names it goes by. Bisexualities and other, nonbinary ways of viewing attraction are merely coming out more into the open. It behooves us to be more informed about how this is happening. Chronological timelines of bisexual US history are available elsewhere.[13] This chapter offers a selection of the emblematic stories, the people, and places where important bisexual events have happened in the United States, particularly over the past half-century. First some basic definitions and historic research background for those interested.

---

[10] Sylvia Rivera was assigned male at birth and claimed her female identity at age ten, when she changed her name from Ray to Sylvia. Sylvia Rivera, "Queens in Exile, The Forgotten Ones," in *Street Transvestite Action Revolutionaries: Survival, Revolt, and Queer Antagonist Struggle* (Untorelli Press, 2013).

[11] Nicole Kristal and Mike Szymanski, *The Bisexuals Guide to the Universe: Quips, Tips, and Lists for Those Who Go Both Ways* (New York: Alyson Publications, 2006) has a list of famous bisexuals, as do a number of websites like the October LGBT History Month site at http://www.lgbthistorymonth.com.

[12] Matthew Rodriguez, "Queer Teens Are Now the Majority, Goodbye Straight People," *Mic*, March 12, 2016, citing a report from the J. Walter Thompson Innovation Group that found only 48 percent of teens identify as completely heterosexual on the Kinsey scale, a smaller percentage than any previous generations surveyed, see http://mic.com/articles/137713/queer-teens-are-now-the-majority-goodbye-straight-people.

i) Defining Bi Identity, the History of Being Bi

Bisexuality is simply the capacity to be attracted to and love more than one gender. Alfred Kinsey, the father of sexuality research in the United States was himself someone who had relations with men as well as women. In the 1930s through 1950s when US sexuality research was mostly nonexistent, Kinsey and his team surveyed thousands of people about their sexual experiences.[14] Out of this work he developed the Kinsey Scale, which charted a range of sexual orientations or attractions, all the way from exclusively attracted to a different sex than oneself (usually marked as zero) to exclusively attracted to one's own sex (marked as six), with five gradations or degrees in between.[15] Kinsey didn't label people or ask them how they identified, he merely cataloged their behaviors and experiences. What he found was that a lot of people who would regard themselves, and be regarded, as heterosexual (near the zero end of the scale), in fact had significant same-sex experience, and that a number of people who were primarily attracted to their own sex (toward the six end of the scale) had also sometimes had significant relations with a sex different than their own. But the human mind tends to sort things into easy binaries; black/white, hot/cold, up/down. And so the categories gay and straight oversimplify and distort the natural range of people's attractions, causing the vast and populated middle grounds to be minimized, and disappear.

---

[13] For bisexual history timelines, see for example: "Timeline: The Bisexual Health Movement in the US," BiNet USA website, http://binetusa.org/bihealth.html; "A Brief History of the Bisexual Movement," BiNet USA website, http://www.binetusa.org/bi-history; and "The Bisexual History of HIV/AIDS, In Photos," LGBT HealthLink website, https://blog.lgbthealthlink.org/2015/01/29/the-bisexual-history-of-hivaids-in-photos.

[14] From 1927 through 1956, Alfred Kinsey and his family lived in a home he designed in a neighborhood just south of the University of Indiana. It is a contributing element to the Vinegar Hill Historic District, listed on the NRHP on June 17, 2005. The Kinsey Institute for Research in Sex, Gender, and Reproduction is currently located in Morrison Hall, University of Indiana, Bloomington. See Alfred C. Kinsey, Wardell B. Pomeroy, and Clyde E. Martin, *Sexual Behavior in the Human Male* (Philadelphia: W. B. Saunders Co., 1948), 651, Table 147. Also see Ron J. Suresha, ed., *Bisexual Perspectives on the Life and Work of Alfred C. Kinsey* (London: Routledge, 2010).

[15] Kinsey also recognized that some individuals were asexual, or not sexually attracted to other people, regardless of gender. He placed these individuals in a category he labeled "X" that was separate from the Kinsey scale.

To complicate things even further, a lot of the post-Kinsey researchers tended to lump lesbians, gays, and bisexuals together when doing studies about non-heterosexual people so it was difficult, for a long time, to get good information on how many people have attractions for and relationships with more than one gender, i.e. how many people are

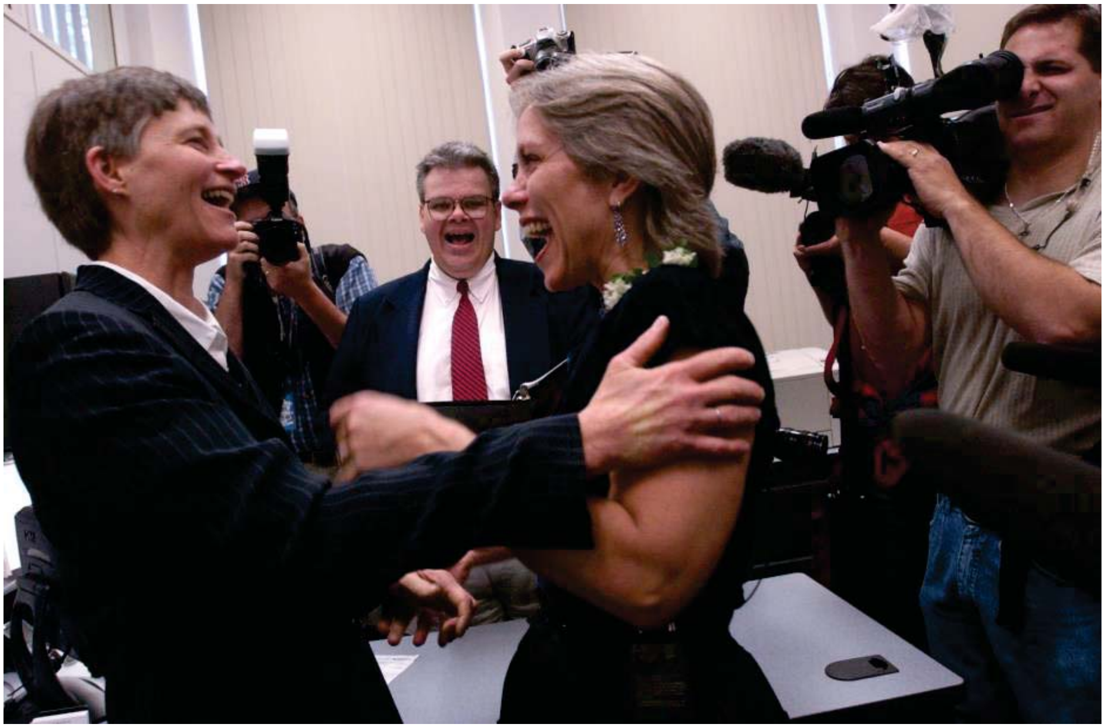


Figure 2: Peg Preble and Robyn Ochs, pronounced married by Town Clerk Pat Ward in the Town Clerk's Office, Brookline, Massachusetts. They were the first same-sex marriage ever in Brookline that morning of Monday, May 17, 2004, the day same-sex marriage became legal in Massachusetts. Often misrepresented in the media as a lesbian couple, Robyn identifies as bisexual and has been a long-time bisexual activist, as well as instrumental in the same-sex marriage equality movement. Photo by Kate Flock/Brookline Tab, courtesy of Robyn Ochs.

bisexual in the broadest sense.[16] And even when studies did try to collect that kind of data there were/are often discrepancies between which study counts only people who openly identify with the label, “bisexual,” (which is still a fairly small group, partly due to the stigma of being labeled such), versus the much larger group of people who have had sexual experiences with more than one gender/sex but don’t identify openly as members of a community or movement for bisexual rights and liberation (or a gay or lesbian rights movement either, for that matter). Still, as mentioned about the teens surveyed above, things have changed a lot in the past several decades, with more people now identifying as other than straight—and even other than homosexual. Marriage equality has changed things tremendously (Figure 2). Even while conservative backlash aims to limit and roll back the rights of lesbians, gays, bisexuals, transgender, and queer people as well as of other sexual minorities, there also continues to be forward motion and inclusionary measures building toward making our society more accepting of a diversity of sexualities and sexual identities.

ii) Erasure’s Roots in Research (& Organizing)

It is no exaggeration to say that bisexuality’s existence, prevalence, and significance in United States history has been erased and discounted, made repeatedly invisible even after it has surfaced, again and again and again. The reasons for this have been explored by some authors, but generally go beyond the scope of this chapter.[17] To briefly summarize the phenomena here, it is important to say that the foundational concepts of sexuality research, over the past century and a half of its existence, have tended far too much to frame human behaviors in a binary way that dismisses and/or eclipses attraction to any one sex/gender in favor of ignoring or discounting the other(s).[18] Beginning with sexuality researchers in nineteenth-century Europe, the same assumptions that have stigmatized homosexuality as a lesser-than-and-inferior orientation have also re-enforced the heterosexual/homosexual binary-only frame. In other words, the nineteenth-century white European males who were the first sexologists based their research on key binary assumptions that heterosexuality was the "opposite" of being attracted to one's own sex, and that it was also superior to same-sex attractions. Underlying these assumptions was the belief that people are *either* heterosexual or homosexual, and that being bisexual and attracted to more than one gender is neither legitimate nor real.[19] Of course this framework was invented by heterosexuals to differentiate themselves from homosexuals, neither of which category really exists outside the human mind. As Kate Millet wrote, "homosexuality was invented by a straight world dealing with its own bisexuality."[20]

---

[16] See Lani Ka’ahumanu and Loraine Hutchins, eds., *Bi Any Other Name: Bisexual People Speak Out,* 25th anniversary edition (New York: Riverdale Avenue Books, [1991] 2015), 38-47, psychology overview section.

[17] The interested reader is referred to texts such as sociologist Paula Rust’s works; legal scholars Ruth Colker and Kenji Yoshino’s classic studies on bisexual labeling, politics and erasure; historians Stephen Angelides’ and Clare Hemmings’ books; and Lindasusan Ulrich’s groundbreaking report to the San Francisco Human Rights Commission. All of these are cited in the author’s chapter in the new Routledge anthology on LGBTQ histories; “Let’s Not Bijack Another Century,” in *The Routledge History of Queer America,* ed. Don Romesburg (London: Routledge, 2017).

During the first few decades of LGBTQ Studies, bisexual erasure was, and still is, common.[21] The "B" has been included mostly in name only and often events and organizations that are labeled with the inclusive acronym are not really inclusive in the processes of reporting and pedagogy that play out. For example, while English departments, psychology departments, sociology departments, history departments, and others have opened up to including positive examples of gay and lesbian life and accomplishments and formalizing them via scholarly journals, textbooks, academic conferences, and curricula at undergraduate and graduate levels, the stories that follow here in this chapter were almost never included as part of these narratives. They still, for the most part, are not.

---

[18] Other(s) is stated as plural rather than singular since there are many who now argue there are more than two genders, that gender is not inherently binary, that binary, either/or male/female genders are a culturally-specific phenomena and an oversimplification of the vastly more complex reality of how humans understand and express themselves.

[19] Stephen Angelides, *A History of Bisexuality* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001).

[20] Kate Millet, *Flying* (Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 2000), 97.

[21] The first decades of LGBTQ studies are considered here to be the mid-1970s to the mid-1990s, beginning with the release of the first edition of Jonathan Ned Katz's groundbreaking work, *Gay American History: Lesbians and Gay Men in the U.S.A.* (New York: Avon Books, 1978).

You will read two examples under the Resistance and Protest heading, and more under other headings below.

Continuing to assert one's bisexuality in the face of this denial, dismissal, and erasure takes tremendous strength of will and sometimes just sheer cussedness or stubbornness—attributes that are often seen to be anathema to those who want to fit in and be well liked by others. And yet, bisexuals have been a part of many social movements, including what is now called the LGBTQ one. This activism has not been without cost, nor without almost constant censorship, even from within and without the bisexual movement. This biphobia, both internalized and from external sources has resulted in the achievements and events related to bisexual identities being erased or excluded from the record. Repeated efforts are needed to put bisexuality and bisexual history back in, over and over again.

iii) Important Events and Places in US Bisexual History

Although there were individual bisexual support groups in various cities during the 1970s and 1980s—including BiPOL, the first bisexual political organization that formed in San Francisco in 1983—it took until the late 1980s for a national bisexual networking capacity to form.[22] During the mid-1980s, US bisexual social groups and political action groups, not only on both coasts, but also in the Midwest, the Northwest, and the Southeast, began to communicate with each other. The official start of the US bisexual movement and the launch of BiNET USA is often marked as the day in Washington, DC, in October 1987 when about eighty bisexual activists from around the country who had come for the second national March on Washington for Lesbian and Gay Rights gathered to form the first ever bisexual contingent at a national march. But years of preparation and cross-country organizing went into making that contingent possible. People brought homemade bisexual pride signs. Some wore T-shirts bearing a bisexual symbol of overlapping pink and blue triangles making a purple triangle in the middle. Everyone marveled to see each other, finally, assembled in a suite at the Mayflower Hotel, a few blocks north of the White House.[23] Before they joined the line of the march farther south, they distributed copies of a flyer to give out to others along the route. The flyer, "Are We Ready For A National Bisexual Network?" included BiPOL's address that people could write to in order to keep in touch with national organizing efforts.[24] Some of these same bisexual leaders had been active with the March on Washington's national organizing committee during the previous year, including San Francisco BiPOL organizer, Lani Ka'ahumanu. Her piece in the march's civil disobedience handbook, "The Bisexual Movement, Are We Visible Yet?" was a first of its kind in national gay/lesbian publications of the day.[25] While the 1987 March weekend marks the beginning of national bisexual organizing, bisexual activists have been involved in the LGBTQ movement from its very beginnings.

---

[22] BiPOL was founded in San Francisco by Autumn Courtney, Lani Ka'ahumanu, Arlene Krantz, David Lourea, Bill Mack, Alan Rockway, and Maggi Rubenstein. See Lani Ka'ahumanu, "Timeline: The Bisexual Health Movement in the US," BiNet USA website, http://www.binetusa.org/bihealth.html; Alan Soble, ed., *Sex from Plato to Paglia: A Philosophical Encyclopedia* (New York: Greenwood Publishing Group, 2006), 115.

For those interested, a number of bi history timelines chronicling important meetings and occurrences from the 1960s on are available online.[26] These helpful resources—particularly on health, and political organizing topics—provide useful touchstones. What follows are examples of bisexual history being reclaimed. A number of archives concentrating on bisexual history are now also available, most notably the Bisexual Resource Center's collection in Boston; the University of Minnesota's Tretter Collection; the collection at the James C. Hormel LGBTQIA Center at the San Francisco Public Library; and the bisexual materials that are part of the San Francisco GLBT Historic Society Archives.[27]

---

[23] The Mayflower Hotel, 1127 Connecticut Avenue NW, Washington, DC, was listed on the NRHP on November 14, 1983.

[24] The address given for BiPOL was 584 Castro Street, San Francisco, California.

[25] The Civil Disobedience Handbook guided people through a day of nonviolent protest at the United States Supreme Court, in response to the Bowers v. Hardwick decision upholding Georgia's sodomy law criminalizing oral and anal sex in private between consenting same-sex adults. This decision was later overturned by the court's Lawrence v. Texas decision. The civil disobedience actions accompanying the 1987 march weekend occurred the day after the long march down Pennsylvania Avenue to the US Capitol Building.

[26] For bisexual history timelines, see websites included in note 12.

Sites of Resistance and Protest

Were bisexuals at Stonewall? Yes, of course. Those attracted to more than one gender, like Sylvia Rivera, one of the first transgender activists, and Brenda Howard, a multi-issue social justice activist, were part of organized response to police violence directed against sexual minorities during the days of the Stonewall uprising in New York City in June 1969 and a part of the one-year anniversary commemorative event, later recognized as Pride Day.[28] Howard, now known as "The Mother of Pride" for her work coordinating the first rally the year after Stonewall, was an antiwar activist who chaired the Gay Activists Alliance Speakers Bureau and was one of the first members of the Gay Liberation Front in New York City.[29] She helped steer the city's gay rights law through the city council in 1986, worked with ACT UP, Queer Nation, and helped found the New York Area Bisexual Network, along with its Bisexual Political Action Campaign (BiPAC) and many other groups. She served as a regional representative in the national organizing that mobilized the 1993 March on Washington for Lesbian, Gay and Bi Equal Rights and Liberation in Washington, DC, and served in 1994 as female co-chair of the leather contingent of the Stonewall 25 march held June 26, 1994 in New York City. She was also instrumental in organizing the Third International Bisexual Conference held on June 25th, the day before Stonewall 25, at Bayard Rustin High School.[30]

---

[27] The Bisexual Resource Center's collection is housed at Northeastern University's Snell Library, 360 Huntington Avenue, Boston, Massachusetts. The Jean-Nickolaus Tretter Collection in Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual and Transgender Studies is at the University of Minnesota's Andersen Library, 222 Twenty-First Avenue South, Minneapolis, Minnesota. The James C. Hormel LGBTQIA Center (formerly the James C. Hormel Gay and Lesbian Center) is located at the San Francisco Public Library, 100 Larkin Street, San Francisco (part of the Civic Center Historic District, added to the NRHP on October 10, 1978 and designated an NHL on February 27, 1987). The GLBT Historical Society Archives are at 989 Market Street, San Francisco, California.

[28] "Brenda Howard," LGBT History Month website, http://lgbthistorymonth.com/brenda-howard?tab=biography; Jade Salazar, "LGBTQ History #18: Sylvia Rivera: Transgender Activist and Stonewall Legend," *Tagg Magazine*, October 29, 2014, http://taggmagazine.com/community/sylvia-rivera-transgender-activist-stonewall-legend; Stonewall, 51-53 Christopher Street, New York City, New York was listed on the NRHP on June 28, 1999; designated an NHL on February 16, 2000; and declared Stonewall National Monument (an NPS unit) on June 24, 2016.

[29] Eliel Cruz, "Remembering Brenda: An Ode to the 'Mother of Pride,'" *Advocate*, June 17, 2014, http://www.advocate.com/bisexuality/2014/06/17/remembering-brenda-ode-%E2%80%98mother-pride%E2%80%99.

Though often described as gay in historic accounts, Alan Rockway, one of the key organizers of the Florida orange juice boycott against Save Our Children's Anita Bryant, was an out bisexual psychologist.[31] He went on to do bisexual political organizing with BiPOL in San Francisco, including helping organize the first Bisexual Rights Rally and protest during the 1984 Democratic Convention because the gay and lesbian delegates were not including bisexuals in the process (Figure 3).[32] Rockway created and taught the first college-level course on bisexuality, "Psychological Views of Bisexual Behavior," offered at Sonoma State College. [33] By 1977, Rockway had founded the Miami Transperience Center, a mental health services company providing counseling to the GLBTQ community.[34]

---

[30] The Bayard Rustin High School, named after the famous gay civil rights leader who was chief architect of the 1963 March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom, is now called the Bayard Rustin Educational Complex. It is located at 351 West 18th Street, New York City, New York.

[31] This early homophobic campaign, the precursor of today's anti-LGBT initiatives, was called "Save Our Children." It started in Florida in the 1970s and spread to other cities and states, and was championed by singer and Florida Citrus Commission spokesperson Anita Bryant. See "Foes of Anita Bryant Successful in Getting New Gay Law on Ballot," *Akron Beacon Journal* (Akron, Ohio), October 5, 1978, 37.

[32] The 1984 Democratic Party Convention was held July 16-19 in the Moscone Center, San Francisco's convention center, built in 1981, in the South of Market area. It was named after San Francisco Mayor George Moscone who had been assassinated, along with Supervisor Harvey Milk, in 1978. The Moscone Center currently consists of Moscone North, Moscone South, and Moscone West; Moscone South is the original structure, built in 1981. Rockway worked with San Francisco bisexual activist Lani Ka'ahumanu and others in BiPOL, a political action group, to create bisexual visibility actions around the convention, including securing a permit from the city for a protest stage for the first Bisexual Rights Rally in a parking lot across from the Moscone Center. The parking lot at 730 Howard Street is now occupied by Moscone Center North. Bisexuals had been explicitly told by organizers that they were not welcome in the National March for Lesbian and Gay Rights that took place from Castro and Market Streets to the Moscone Center during the convention.

[33] In some historic records, Susan Carlton's 1990 course on bisexuality, at the University of California, Berkeley is listed as the first college-level course taught on bisexuality. In fact, Rockway originated the first course a decade and a half earlier. Others have followed suit in various LGBTQ university programs, but stand-alone courses that focus solely on bisexual issues are still rare, forty years later. Sonoma State College (since 1978, Sonoma State University) is located at 1801 East Cotati Avenue, Rhonert Park, California. The Rockway Institute, founded in 2007, is a center for LGBTQ research and public policy at the California School of Professional Psychology, Alliant International University, One Beach Street, San Francisco, California. It is named in honor of Alan Rockway. See http://www.alliant.edu/cspp/about-cspp/cspp-research-institutes/rockway-institute/index.php

[34] "Nation's Press," *Panama City News-Herald* (Panama City, Florida), December 16, 1977, 36.

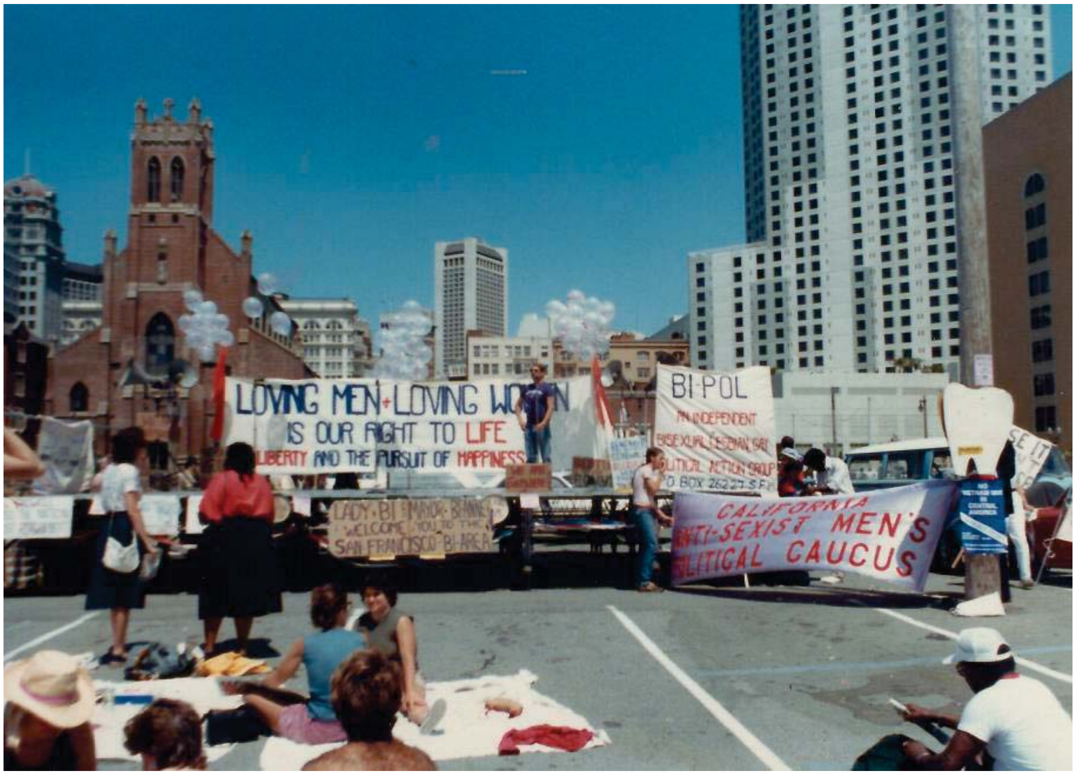

LOVING MEN+LOVING WOMEN
IS OUR RIGHT TO LIFE
LIBERTY AND THE PURSUIT OF HAPPINESS
BI-POL
AN INDEPENDENT
BISEXUAL LESBIAN GAY
POLITICAL ACTION GROUP
P.O. BOX 26227 S.F.
CALIFORNIA
ANTI-SEXIST MEN'S
POLITICAL CAUCUS
LADY BI MAYOR BINNIE
WELCOME YOU TO THE
SAN FRANCISCO BI-AREA

Figure 3: The first Bisexual Rights Rally in the United States at 730 Howard Street, San Francisco, California. Explicitly excluded from the lesbian and gay protests at the 1984 Democratic Party Convention held across the street at the Moscone Center, bisexual activists Alan Rockway, Lani Ka'ahumanu, and others in BiPOL arranged their own protest. Photo courtesy of Lani Ka'ahumanu.

Bisexuals are resilient, surviving in a world that repeatedly erases and elides their existence. They resist erasure over and over again. Left out of the names of organizations and marches, excluded from studies and efforts purporting to represent all same-sex loving people, they persist, and continue to assert who they are.

In 1991, Princeton and Rutgers universities cohosted the fifth annual Lesbian and Gay Studies Conference at the Rutgers campus in New Brunswick, New Jersey. Although organizers at the 1990 conference held at Harvard University had added bi into the title the year before, the word "bisexual" was taken back out of the name of the conference when it was held in New Jersey. Likewise, although a number of papers on bisexuality were presented at the 1991 New Jersey conference, the resulting anthology, *Negotiating Lesbian and Gay Subjects*, contained none of them.[35] No conference was held during 1992 or 1993 but this foundational effort in LGBTQ studies resulted in one last November 1994 conference at the University of Iowa, Iowa City. As a result of bisexual advocacy and resistance over being "written in and out" of earlier gatherings, the 1994 conference was dubbed "InQueery/InTheory/InDeed: The Sixth North American Lesbian, Gay and Bisexual Studies Conference." The Iowa City conference included programming on bisexual and transgender issues as well as gay and lesbian ones and produced a book based on conference proceedings.[36] The public parks and town square of Northampton, Massachusetts became a parallel site of resistance in response to this exclusionary "Now You See Us, Now You Don't" mentality. As has been partially related in Hemmings' *Bisexual Spaces: A Geography of Sexuality and Gender,* this small western Massachusetts town used a bi-inclusive title for its annual Pride celebration one year, and then erased the bisexual part of the name the next.[37]

Is resistance "futile," as the Star Trek Borg would tell us, or is it "fertile," as indomitable resisters of all types assert? Many bisexuals long known for refusing-to-choose (sides in a war not of their making) answer "it's both/and." Both "futile" in the sense of being monumentally discouraging to continually insist on one's right to belong and exist, and inspirationally "fertile" in the sense that hope beyond simplistic binaries springs eternal in non-gendered human breasts.

Many, many small towns and big city communities around the country have their own specific tales of bi inclusion/exclusion, instances where bisexuals were included in groups' titles, marches and other events, and then excluded again—sometimes over and over again, even up to this day in time. There have been bisexual grand marshals who were honored and helped lead Pride parades, and also many times when they could/should have been, and were not. For example, in 1986, when BiPOL's Autumn Courtney was elected co-chair of San Francisco's Lesbian Gay Freedom Day Pride Parade Committee, it was the first time an openly bisexual person was chosen to hold this sort of position in the United States.[38]

---

[35] Brett Beemyn and Michele Eliason, eds., *Queer Studies: A Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender Anthology* (New York: New York University Press, 1996), 1-2; Monica Dorenkamp and Richard Henke, eds., *Negotiating Lesbian and Gay Subjects* (London: Routledge, 1994.)

[36] Beemyn and Eliason, eds., *Queer Studies.*

[37] Clare Hemmings, *Bisexual Spaces: A Geography of Sexuality and Gender* (New York: Routledge, 2002). See pages 62-75 for photo reproductions of posters used for various years of the marches in Northampton, illustrating bi inclusion and exclusion. Since at least the late 1970s/early 1980s, Northampton, Massachusetts has been recognized as home to a large number of lesbians; in the early 1990s, it was dubbed "Lesbianville, USA" by the mainstream media. See Julia Penelope, "Lesbianville, U.S.A.?" *Off Our Backs* 23, no. 9 (October 1993): 8, 16-17.

Another kind of protest occurred when people did, and do, individual and small group actions, sometimes involving civil disobedience, to try and draw attention to their cause. One such example was the action of Dr. Elias Farajajé-Jones, an African American bisexual Howard University School of Divinity professor, who staged a sit-in at the Washington, DC Mayor's office in 1991 to protest inaction of the DC government regarding the release of HIV/AIDS funding.[39] The exact date of this protest has been lost and Farajajé himself died in early 2016. This protest is particularly poignant as his own lover was dying of AIDS in Washington, DC's Veterans Administration Hospital at the time.

As the above stories show, there is a lot of hidden history about the dynamics of coalition organizing—what gets put in a group's platform or a campaign's demands or a march's platform, and what gets left out or voted down.[40] It is always informative to ask your local college or place of worship or activist group what kind of naming battles went on, and/or are still going on, and what people think it means, what kinds of messages are sent, by the ways we use language: who is represented and who is not, present absences, absent presences, whose lives matter, here, there, anywhere.[41]

---

[38] For more of these kinds of bisexual historic political facts, see "A Brief History of the Bisexual Movement," BiNet USA website, http://www.binetusa.org/bihistory2.html.

[39] The Office of the Mayor is located at 1350 Pennsylvania Avenue NW, Washington, DC. Howard University, an historically black university, has its divinity school at 2900 Van Ness Street NW, Washington, DC. Dr. Farajajé-Jones became a Sufi scholar who later changed his name to Ibrahim Farajajé. He developed a department of Islam Studies at Starr King School for the Ministry in Berkeley, California, where he served as provost for many years before his death in February 2016. Starr King School for the Ministry is located at 2441 Le Conte Avenue, Berkeley, California.

[40] See, for example, the updated introduction, "Still About Naming After All These Years," in Ka'ahumanu and Hutchins, *Bi Any Other Name*.

Building Bisexual Communities – Local, Global, and Everything in Between

The first thing to understand about the concept of bisexual communities is that they do not stand alone, apart from other demographic groups. That's not how bisexuality works. Bisexuals partner and have children with those who are not bisexual, and work within and among and apart from and alongside many different kinds of interest groups. Bisexual leaders and activists in the past were well known for saying "there is no point in organizing a separate bisexual political movement" because the issues of loving more than one gender are woven into more than one community, so the point is to organize cross-communities and among them, not apart from them. Like others, bisexual activists do not work only to build bisexual-specific organizations or for bisexual rights, but work as out bisexuals in many movements that, ideally, network with each other. It means there are bisexually-identified people organizing within electoral politics and political parties, within LGBTQ organizations, within the labor movement, the civil rights movement, the women's movement, the environmental movement, and more; making the intersectional connections between bisexual issues and other issues whenever platforms, campaigns, and protest demands are formulated.

Still, when trying to trace more precisely the beginnings of bisexual-focused community efforts, we often start by looking back at the "firsts" in LGBTQ history, those that have been commemorated in the LGBTQ history books and textbooks, and those that also have sometimes been left out. Recognized as the first homophile organization in the United States, the Society for Human Rights was founded by Henry Gerber and others, including an African American clergyman named John T. Graves (who is listed as president on the incorporation papers), in Chicago, Illinois in 1924. The group, which operated out of Gerber's flat in a rooming house, limited membership to gay men only (explicitly excluding bisexuals). Unknown to the organizers, the society's vice president, Al Weininger, was married. His wife reported the organization to a social worker in 1925, resulting in a police raid of Gerber's quarters. The organization's records and typewriter were seized, and not returned, effectively ending the society's existence.[42]

---

[41] For example, regarding organizations on college campuses, see Brett Beemyn, "The Silence is Broken: A History of the First Lesbian, Gay and Bisexual College Student Groups," *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 12, no. 2 (April 2003), 205-223.

Using "gay" in the most expansive, inclusive sense possible, there have been lasting gay support and social groups on college campuses and in individual communities for over sixty years.[43] Some histories tell the story about how students in the late 1980s and early 1990s agitated to change the names of their groups to be more inclusive, often adding "lesbian" and "bisexual," and then "transgender" and "queer" to their names. But what isn't generally known, taught, or told, is that the very first US gay student group was started by a bisexual man.

The Student Homophile League at Columbia University was started in 1966, several years before Stonewall.[44] The founder was student Stephen Donaldson (birth name Robert Martin), perhaps better known as Donny the Punk. Donny led a short illustrious life, having affairs with famous gay and lesbian political leaders and organizing for bisexual rights among everyone from nonviolent Quakers to convicted felons. He was one of the very first anti-prison-rape activists and died of AIDS much too young. Today, meetings of the Columbia Queer Alliance are held in a special room

---

[42] The Henry Gerber Residence in the Old Town Triangle neighborhood of Chicago, Illinois was designated an NHL on June 19, 2015. Vern L. Bullough, *Before Stonewall: Activists for Gay and Lesbian Rights in Historical Context* (New York: Harrington Park Press, 2002), 27; John Loughery, *The Other Side of Science – Men's Lives and Gay Identities: A Twentieth-Century History* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1998), 54.

[43] The Mattachine Society was founded in Los Angeles, California in 1950; the Daughters of Bilitis formed in 1955 in San Francisco, California. Both of these homophile organizations lasted in various forms for many years.

[44] Brett Beemyn, "Bisexuality, Bisexuals and Bisexual Movements," in *Encyclopedia of LGBT History in America,* vol. 1, ed. Marc Stein (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 2003).

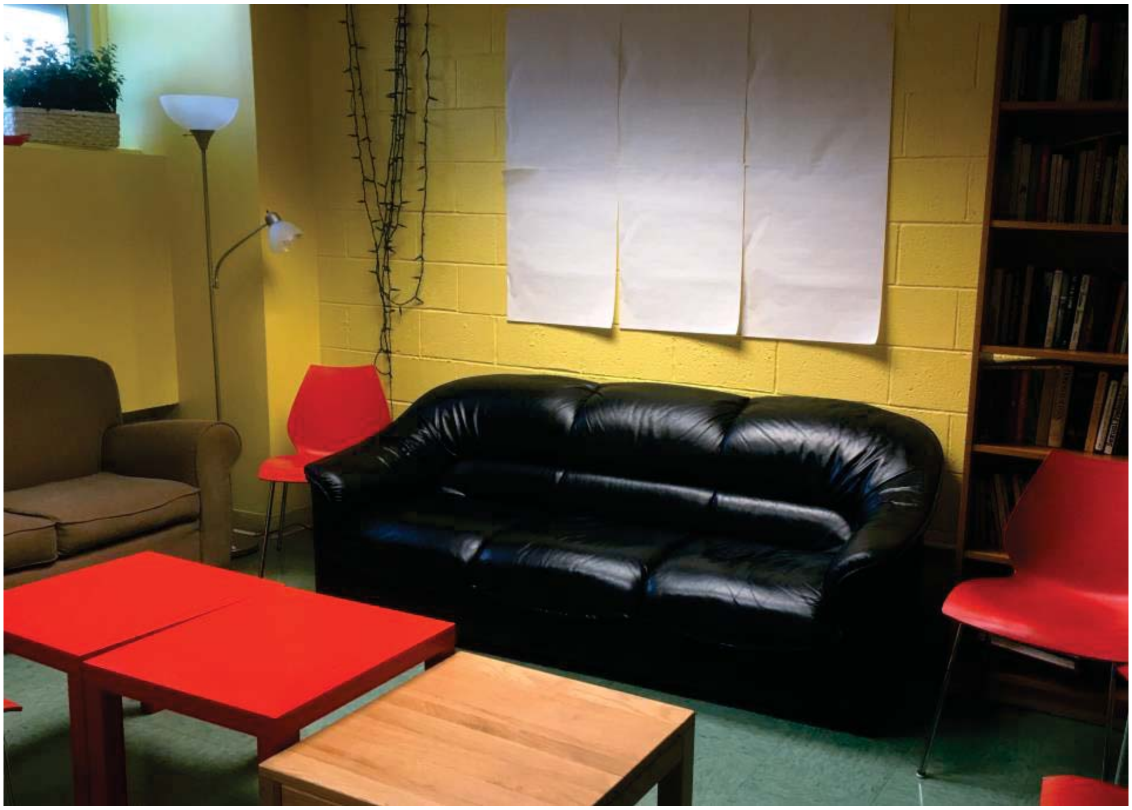


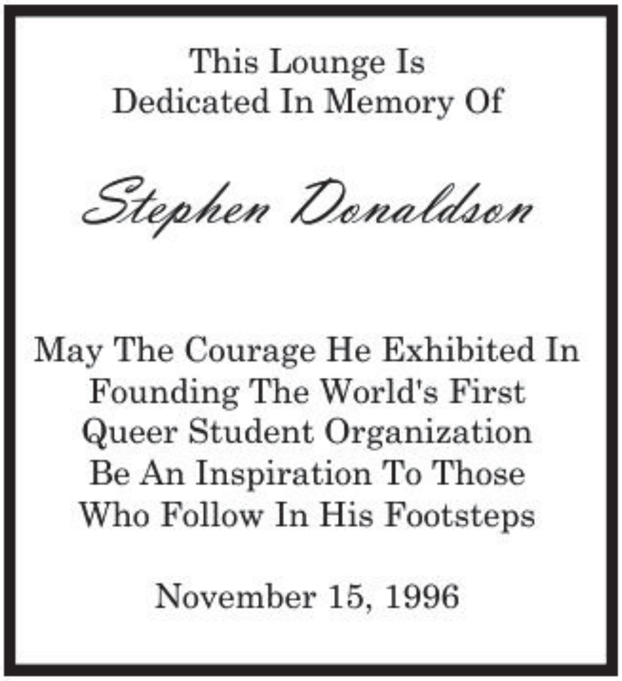
Figure 4: The Columbia Queer Alliance lounge, Furnald Hall, Columbia University, 2016. The lounge is dedicated to the memory of bisexual activist Stephen Donaldson, the Columbia University student who founded the first LGBTQ student group in the United States. Photo courtesy of Kaixi Wu, 2015.

dedicated to Donaldson's memory (Figures 4 and 5). With Donaldson's support, activists on other campuses formed similar groups, laying the groundwork for what became the gay liberation movement in the late 1960s and early 1970s.[45]

This is but one example of what historian Genny Beemyn has characterized as the pattern of many LGBTQ groups being started by, and continuing to be run by bisexual people, whether they are out and recognized as bisexual, or not. Other LGBTQ youth groups have also been started by bisexuals. In Miami in 1977, Alexei Guren, a young Cuban American bisexual activist, organized the Gay Teen Task Force, an LGBTQ youth group that met monthly at the offices of *The Weekly News*. In 1982,

---

[45] Meetings are held in the basement of Columbia University's Furnald Hall, Broadway and 116th Street, New York City, New York.



This Lounge Is
Dedicated In Memory Of

Stephen Donaldson

May The Courage He Exhibited In
Founding The World's First
Queer Student Organization
Be An Inspiration To Those
Who Follow In His Footsteps

November 15, 1996

Figure 5: Text of the plaque outside the Columbia Queer Alliance lounge at Furnald Hall, Columbia University commemorating Stephen Donaldson. From an image courtesy of Kaixi Wu, 2015.

it moved to the Institute of Sexism and Sexuality at Miami Dade College, where it often hosted up to fifty LGBTQ youth at the meetings. In 1996, the group incorporated and renamed itself Pridelines; it continues to provide a number of programs and services for the LGBTQ youth of Miami.[46] In 1975, Carol Queen—a young woman growing up in rural Oregon—cofounded Growing Alternative Youth (GAYouth) in Eugene, Oregon. When founded, it was only the third LGBTQ youth support/social group in the nation. It later affiliated itself with the Metropolitan Community Church of Eugene.

Grassroots bisexual social and support groups were the pre-internet basis of organizing the bisexual community and movement. There are hundreds unmentioned here. They continue, with the assistance of social media, to foster community ties and to serve as entry points for helping people identify openly as bi, to find resources, and for those interested in getting involved with activist and advocacy work on behalf of LGBTQ issues as well as those specific to bisexuality. Some long-lasting examples include BiFriendly in San Francisco, Biversity in Boston, and the many bi brunches and munches that spring up and die down and spring up again in communities across the country.

---

[46] Offices of *The Weekly News* were located at 901 NE Seventy-Ninth Street, Miami, Florida. The Institute of Sexism and Sexuality is located at the Wolfson Campus of Miami Dade College, 300 NE Second Avenue, Miami, Florida. Pridelines Youth Services currently has offices at 9526 NE Second Avenue, Miami, Florida.

Leisure

What is *leisure* to a community under oppression? Then again, leisure is all the more necessary and life-giving to people in crisis and under stress. During the 1980s and 1990s (and often still today) bisexuals were vilified as being the disease vectors who "spread AIDS to the general population," as if they themselves were not part of society.[47] In reality, bisexual health workers and activists designed and developed some of the first city, county, state, and federally-supported safer sex protocols now in use around the country. In San Francisco, bisexual activists David Lourea and Cynthia Slater worked to prevent the spread of HIV/AIDS before they, themselves, died of the disease. As early as 1981, they were providing safer-sex education in the city's bathhouses and BDSM clubs, and by 1983, Lourea had been appointed to San Francisco Mayor Dianne Feinstein's AIDS Education Advisory Committee. In 1984, he convinced the city's public health department to include bisexual men in its weekly "New AIDS Cases and Mortality Statistics" reports, a model later adopted by other public health departments across the country. Slater started the first Women's HIV/AIDS Information Switchboard in San Francisco in 1985.[48] Other bisexuals have made important contributions to HIV/AIDS prevention, including Rob Yaeger at the Minneapolis AIDS Project and Alexei Guren, who as well as founding Pridelines, was involved with the 1983 founding of the Health Crisis Network in Miami, Florida which did outreach and advocacy for Latino married men who have sex with men. From 1992 to 1994, Lani Ka'ahumanu was project coordinator at Lyon-Martin Women's Health Services in San Francisco for an American Foundation for AIDS research grant—the first grant in the United States targeting young high-risk lesbian and bisexual women for HIV/AIDS prevention and education research.[49]

---

[47] See, for example, Martin S. Weinberg, Colin J. Williams, and Douglas W. Pryor, *Dual Attraction: Understanding Bisexuality* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), 205.

[48] Lourea also worked professionally with LGBTQ and HIV/AIDS communities, and published articles including "HIV Prevention: A Dramaturgical Analysis and Practical Guide to Creating Safer Sex Interventions," (with Clark L. Taylor), in *Bisexualities: Theory and Research*, eds. Dr. Fritz Klein and Timothy J. Wolf (New York: Haworth Press, 1985). Lourea died in 1992; Slater in 1989.

Safer sex education is a topic of science and organizing, not a topic of leisure. But it relates to leisure because in the time of HIV/AIDS, the prevention of sexually-transmitted diseases became a matter of life or death. These safer sex protocols were most efficiently, effectively, and popularly taught at public baths, at leather bars and sex parties, and at workshops during conferences where explicit demonstrations and conversations could be had without fear of condemnation or retribution. These often transient places can never be fully cataloged.

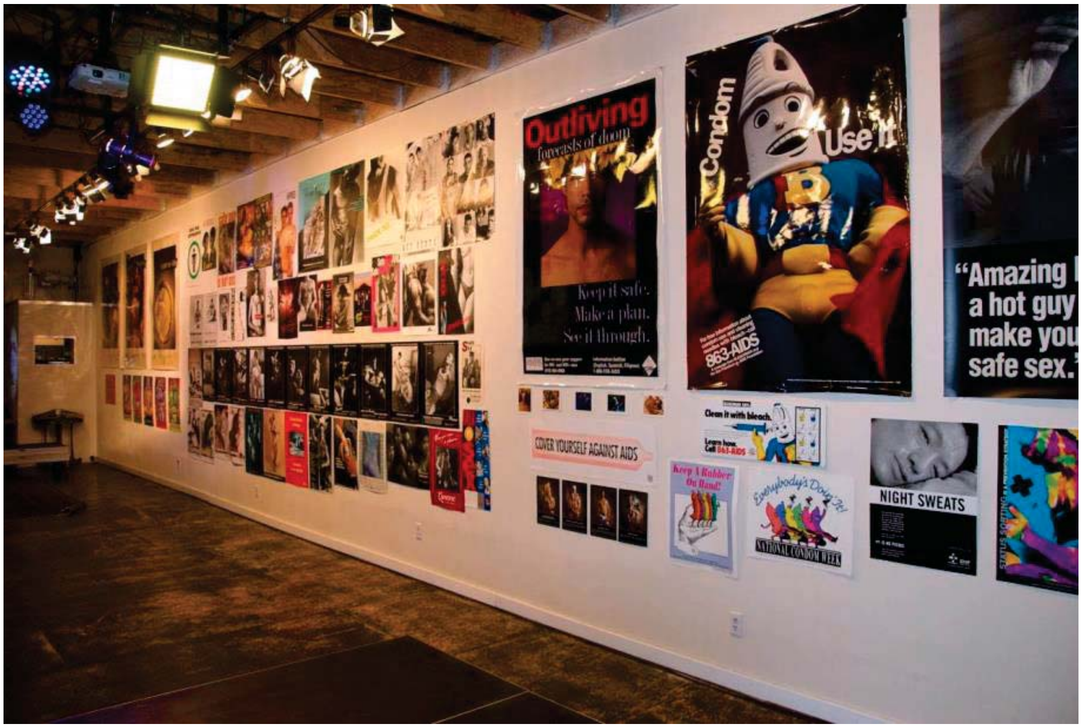

Outliving
forecasts of doom
Keep it safe.
Make a plan.
See it through.
Condom
Use It
863-AIDS
"Amazing
a hot guy
make you
safe sex."
COVER YOURSELF AGAINST AIDS
Clean it with bleach.
Keep A Rubber On Hand!
Everybody's Doing It!
NATIONAL CONDOM WEEK
NIGHT SWEATS

Figure 6: The Center for Sex and Culture hosts a World AIDS Day show in 2014 featuring posters from the collection of safer sex activist Buzz Bense. Photo courtesy of Robert Morgan Lawrence, EdD.

---

[49] In 1998, Heath Crisis Network merged with the Community Research Initiative to form Care Resource, South Florida's oldest and largest HIV/AIDS service organization. They currently have four locations in Miami, Fort Lauderdale, and Miami Beach, Florida, see "About," Care Resource website, http://www.careresource.org/about. For more information on bisexual involvement in health, see "Timeline: The Bisexual Health Movement in the US," BiNet USA website, http://www.binetusa.org/bihealth.html; see also Batza (this volume) and Capó (this volume). The Minneapolis AIDS Project is located at 1400 Park Avenue, Minneapolis, Minnesota; Lyon-Martin Women's Health Services is at 1748 Market Street, San Francisco, California.

One of the modern-day inheritors of these traditions is the Center for Sex and Culture founded in 2000 by bisexual activists Carol Queen (who also co-founded GAYouth, described above) and Robert Lawrence.[50] The Center for Sex and Culture hosts many bisexual and bi-friendly events for the larger San Francisco community and maintains an archives of sexuality research (Figure 6). In New England, long-time bisexual activist and author Wayne Bryant founded Bi Camp, a popular summertime leisure activity that ran from 1994-2009.[51] Each winter, announcements and flyers were mailed out encouraging people to get their camping gear together, to start thinking about potluck campfire recipes, and to make packing lists of musical instruments, games, and sports equipment to bring along. Bi Camp started at a campground in Vermont's Green Mountain National Forest, and moved after five years to Indian Hollow Campground owned by the Army Corps of Engineers in Chesterfield, Massachusetts.[52] The camp hosted anywhere from 25-80 campers each year, including bisexual people, their families, and friends. It inspired a video Bryant made, and a sing-along, multi-versed song by Philadelphian Moss Stern, called "Bi Camp."

Organizing Every Which Way

Bisexuals have helped organize the first national marches for the rights of sexual minorities in the United States, as well as similarly-oriented local community events, and have been part of Pride parades since the beginning (Figure 7). They have helped organize LGBTQ events as well as bisexual-specific ones, locally, nationally, and globally for many years, recognized or not.

---

[50] The Center for Sex and Culture is located at 1349 Mission Street, San Francisco, California. They strive to promote creativity, information, and healthy sexual knowledge, see "Mission and Vision," Center for Sex and Culture website, http://www.sexandculture.org/mission.

[51] Bryant was the author of the first book ever to critique films from a bisexual point of view, *Bisexual Characters in Film: From Anais to Zee,* Haworth Gay & Lesbian Studies (New York: Haworth Press, 1997). He served on the board of the Bisexual Resource Center, 29 Stanhope Street, Boston, Massachusetts and was an organizer of the Fifth International Conference on Bisexuality that drew nine hundred attendees to Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts from April 3-5, 1998.

[52] Green Mountain National Forest is located near Rutland, Vermont. Part of the US Forest Service, it was established on April 25, 1932.

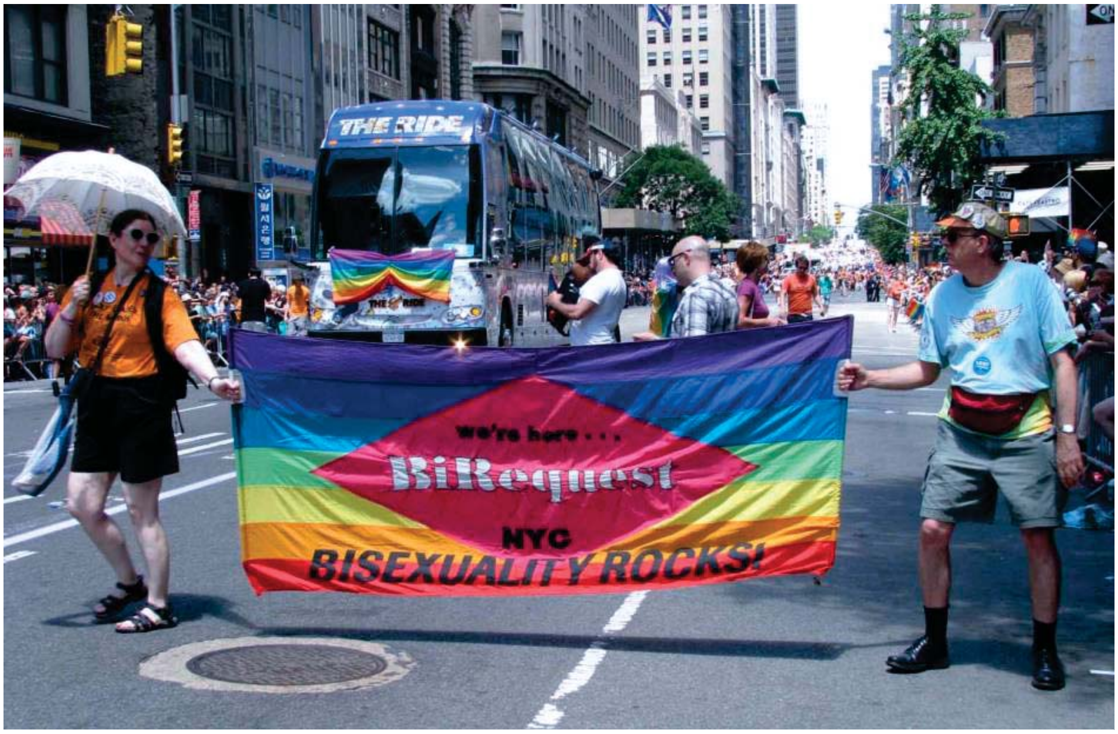


Figure 7: BiRequest/NYC Bisexuality Rocks contingent in the June 2012 Pride march in New York City. Holding the banner are long-time bisexual activists and leaders Estraven (L) and Matt LeGrant (R). BiRequest is a bisexual social and support group in Manhattan. Photo courtesy of Efrain Gonzalez.

Bill Beasley, a bisexual man who was also involved in the black civil rights movement, helped lead the first Los Angeles Pride parade down Hollywood Boulevard in 1970, and went on to serve on the board of San Francisco Pride, as well as being active with the Bay Area Bisexual Network.[53] A. Billy S. Jones (now Jones-Hennin), an African American activist and author, served as operations coordinator for the first National March on Washington for Lesbian and Gay rights on October 14, 1979.[54] The event featured a march down Washington DC's Pennsylvania Avenue to the National Mall, where a program of speeches and musical entertainment occurred. Illustrating the kind of bicoastal organizing of the time, Jones had been active in San Francisco's Bisexual Center before moving to the Washington, DC, area.[55] During the weekend of the 1979 march, Jones also served as one of the key conveners of the Third World Lesbian Gay Conference held at the Harambee House Hotel.[56] It was at this conference that ties among many black and other people of color LGBTQ communities were strengthened. Audre Lorde, who was just beginning to come out as a lesbian poet and leader, spoke at that conference, as did many others. In the year following that conference, Jones and the National Coalition of Black Lesbians and Gays, brought the first ever people of color delegation to meet with President Carter's White House staff. This delegation was organized because an all-white gay delegation had arranged a meeting with the White House a year earlier. Thirty-three years later, on a cool 2013 September morning, Jones and many other bisexual activists and leaders returned to the White House to talk with administration officials about bisexual policy issues for the first time.[57]

---

[53] The Bay Area Bisexual Network met at the San Francisco LGBT Community Center, 1800 Market Street, San Francisco, California.

[54] Wanting more support as a bisexual man with a wife and family and not finding it in existing groups, in 1978 Jones founded the Gay Married Men Association (GAMMA) of Washington, DC, which has been meeting continuously ever since. They currently meet at Saint Thomas' Parish Episcopal Church, 1772 Church Street NW, Washington, DC. There are now several GAMMA groups meeting across the country. See GAMMA-DC website, http://www.gammaindc.org.

The bisexual movement in the United States has been built on conferences that knit and weave and sew the experiences of local communities together and make joint actions across state, and even national borders, possible. One of the earliest recorded meetings on bisexuality took place at a gathering of Quakers (Friends) in upstate New York in the early 1970s. Bisexual activist Stephen Donaldson—the same man who founded the first gay student group in the United States—told *The Advocate* that he had organized an impromptu workshop on bisexuality at the 1972 Friends General Conference in Ithaca, New York.[58] Donaldson, whose birth name was Robert Martin, said the workshop involved over one hundred participants and overflowed into several different meeting rooms over two days, resulting in what has become known as The Ithaca Statement on Bisexuality, which may have been the first public statement on bisexuality by a religious or political group.

---

[55] The San Francisco Bisexual Center was located on Hayes Street just north of the Golden Gate Park panhandle, in the bottom flat of a two-flat building that is now a residence. The San Francisco Bisexual Center was founded by Maggi Rubenstein and Harriet Levi. Before it closed in 1984, it provided a newsletter, support groups, counseling, social activities, a presence in Pride marches, and was internationally renowned.

[56] The Harambee House Hotel was located on the 2200 block of Georgia Avenue NW, Washington, DC, near the Howard University campus. It opened in 1978. In 1981, Howard University purchased the Harambee House Hotel from the federal Economic Development Administration. Profitable in the 1980s, Howard University operated the hotel until 1995, when they closed it after continued financial losses. See Ronald Roach, "The Promise and the Peril – African American Colleges and Universities' Hotel and Conference Center Ownership," *Diverse: Issues in Higher Education*, July 5, 2007, http://diverseeducation.com/article/8075.

[57] Bisexual leaders have met twice with Obama Administration officials for roundtable consultations focused on the specific needs of bisexual people regarding health, education, employment, and immigration, among others. See Amy Andre, "Obama Administration Invites Bisexual Leaders to the White House," *Huffpost Queer Voices*, August 27, 2013, http://www.huffingtonpost.com/amy-andre/obama-bisexual-leaders_b_3819857.html; Faith Cheltenham, "BiNet USA in the White House Photo Blast #whatbilookslike," *BiNet USA's Blog*, September 4, 2014, http://binetusa.blogspot.com/2014/09/binet-usa-in-white-house-photo-blast.html.

From the 1970s, one bisexual man, Dr. Fritz Klein, has helped perhaps more than anyone else to facilitate bisexual networking and conferences. Dr. Klein was a psychiatrist who did early research and publishing on bisexuality. He also traveled widely, especially in the 1980s and 1990s, connecting bisexual communities around the world with each other, and helping to start international bisexual conferences in London, Amsterdam, Toronto, and Vancouver. Klein himself was bicoastal, living for a long time in New York City and then moving to San Diego. He started the first peer-reviewed scholarly journal on bisexuality, *The Journal of Bisexuality*. Klein founded the American Institute of Bisexuality in 1998 to encourage research and education about bisexuality. He served as Chairman of the Board until his death in 2006.[59]

---

[58] While efforts to find records of this meeting in Friends' archives have been unsuccessful, there are mentions of it in the August 8, 1972 *Advocate* article, and in a number of anthologies chronicling bisexual history. Stephen Donaldson, "The Bisexual Movement's Beginnings in the '70s: A Personal Retrospective," in *Bisexual Politics: Theories, Queries, & Visions,* ed. Naomi Tucker (New York: Harrington Park Press, 1995), 31-45; Robert Martin, "Quakers 'Come Out' at Conference," *Advocate,* August 2, 1972, 8. The Friends General Conference took place in June 1972 at Ithaca College, 953 Danby Road, Ithaca, New York.

[59] The American Institute of Bisexuality was located at 8265 West Sunset Boulevard, West Hollywood, California. Fritz Klein also developed a variation of the Kinsey Scale called the Klein Sexual Orientation Grid which built upon Kinsey's zero to six scale. His book, *The Bisexual Option,* was one of the first studies that did not pathologize bisexuality, and that gave the identity legitimacy. See "About Fritz Klein," American Institute of Bisexuality website, http://www.americaninstituteofbisexuality.org/fritz-klein. Klein lived with his partner, Tom Reise, in the Emerald Hills neighborhood of San Diego, California from 1995 until his death in 2006.

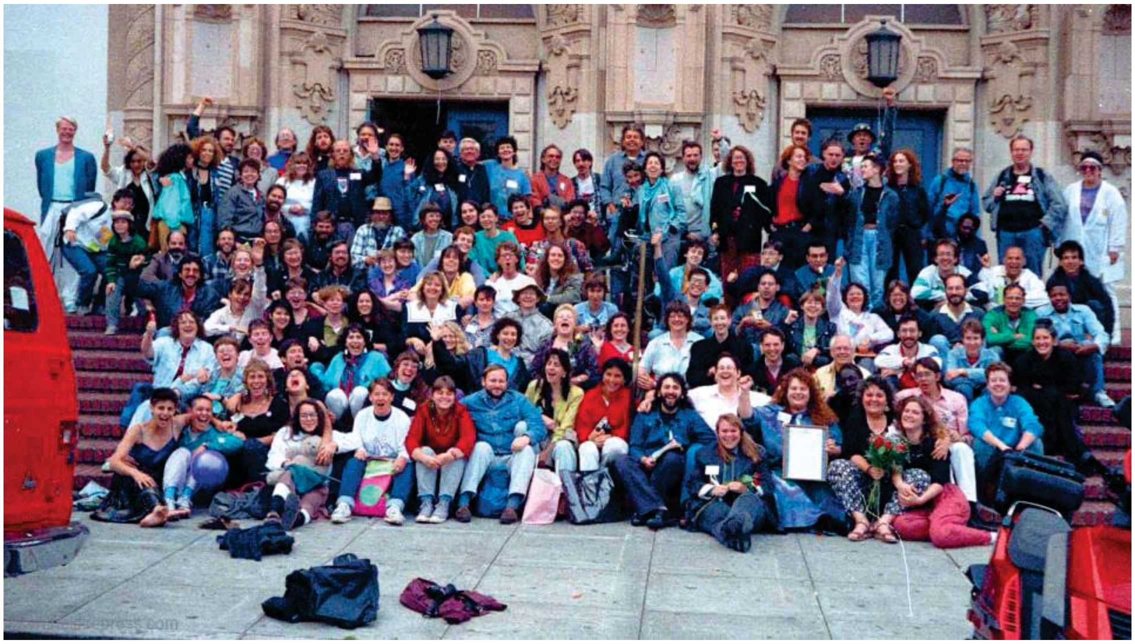


Figure 8: Participants of the first ever National Conference on Bisexuality sit on the steps of the Mission High School, San Francisco, California, June 1990. Photo courtesy of Efrain Gonzalez.

One of the most catalyzing and foundational conferences of the US bisexual movement took place in June 1990 at San Francisco's Mission High School (Figure 8).[60] The conference was the result of outreach done during the 1987 March on Washington for Lesbian and Gay Rights mentioned earlier, and drew over 450 people from twenty US states and five countries. The school is located directly across from Dolores Park in the Mission District, and in the beautiful weather that weekend, many conference goers took their conversations out onto the grass across the street and created impromptu workshops on the balconies and in the courtyard of the old school. It was at this conference that BiNet USA, the oldest national bisexual organization in the United States, was inaugurated.[61]

---

[60] The Mission High School is located at 3750 Eighteenth Street, San Francisco, California.

[61] BiNet USA facilitates communication and networking among bisexual communities, promotes bisexual visibility, and distributes educational information about bisexuality, see BiNet USA website, http://www.binetusa.org.

Other regional bisexual organizing conferences have been held, including Washington, DC's Embracing Diversities Conference in fall 1991; the BECAUSE Conference that has been an annual convening in the Midwest since 1992; and the Transcending Boundaries Conference created to bring the bisexual and transgender communities together that has taken place since 2001 around New England.[62]

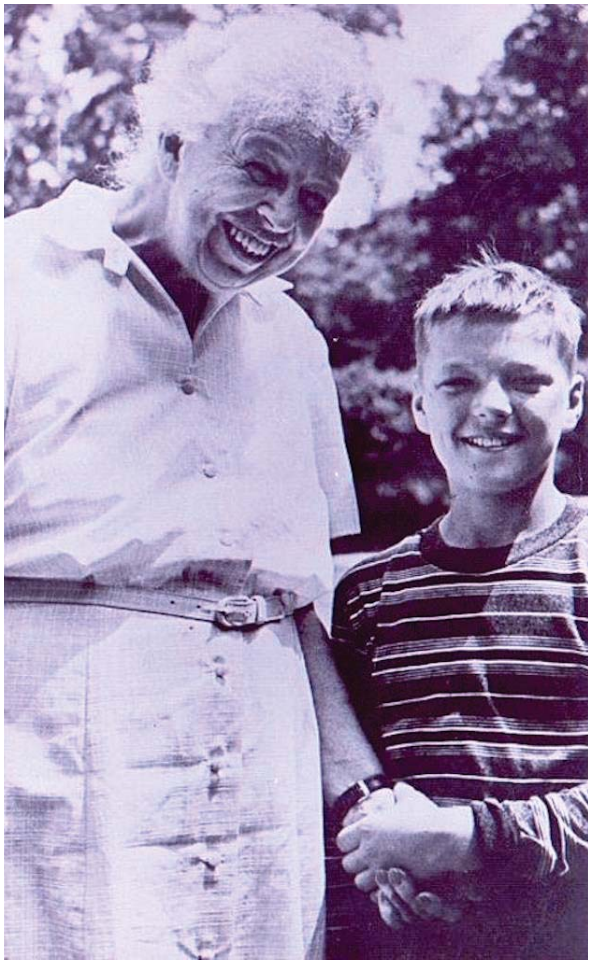


Figure 9: Cliff Arnesen (age 12) and Wiltwyck School for Boys Chairman, Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt at her estate in Val-Kill, Hyde Park, New York, July 1959. Photo taken during Mrs. Roosevelt's Annual Picnic for the 100 boys of the predominantly African-American Wiltwyck School for Boys, Esopus, New York. Photo courtesy of Clifton Francis Arnesen, Jr.[63]

Much has changed in the way municipal, state, and federal laws deal with same-sex relationships over the years, yet in some ways, much remains to be done. Years before bisexual people, along with their lesbian, gay, and queer siblings, became active in marriage equality efforts, bisexuals were also active in organizing for veterans' rights and for the rights of those in the military. One of the most prominent was Cliff Arnesen, who was dishonorably discharged from the military for being bisexual (Figure 9). Afterwards, he went on to become an activist for all LGBTQ people in the military and was the first LGBTQ veteran to testify before a congressional subcommittee about the health needs and rights of his fellow service members.[64]

---

[62] *Embracing Diversities* was sponsored by AMBi, Washington DC's bisexual political action group at the time, and was held at St. Thomas' Parish Episcopal Church, 1772 Church Street NW, Washington, DC. The *BECAUSE* conference is usually held on the University of Minnesota campus in Minneapolis.

[63] Val-Kill is part of the Eleanor Roosevelt National Historic Site in Hyde Park, New York. The NPS unit was established on May 27, 1977. Val-Kill was added to the NRHP on March 20, 1980 and designated an NHL on May 27, 1977.

In 2013, a group of activists at the Lavender Law Conference, hosted by the National LGBT Bar Association, formed BiLaw, the first national organization of bisexual-identified lawyers, law professors, law students, and their allies.[65] In 2015, the Lavender Law Conference programmed its first panel on issues of bisexual jurisprudence, bisexuality, and the law.

Protesting Amongst Our Own

As mentioned earlier, a lot of the hard work of bisexual organizing occurs within non-bisexual organizations. These may not be openly welcoming to people with bisexual identities but may include many closeted bisexuals among them, whether passing as heterosexual, lesbian/gay, or both. More explicitly, the work of dismantling bisexual erasure and invisibility is constant. It takes place not only in the energizing bisexual conferences and meetings held around the country, but is also alive within professional organizations like the National LGBT Bar Association (mentioned above) and professional organizations such as the American Library Association, the American Psychological Association, the National Association of Social Workers, the National Women's Studies Association, the American Historical Association, and more. When LGBTQ caucuses are formed within these groups and gay/lesbian specific presentations and panels are scheduled at annual conferences, bisexual topics are often left out. This, alas, is almost as likely to occur within gay and lesbian oriented organizations as it is within those more in the mainstream. For example, in 1989, the Hetrick-Martin Institute, a nonprofit organization serving the needs of LGBTQ youth, advertised a workshop to be held at their Harvey Milk High School.[66] The workshop was called, "Bisexual Men: Fact or Fiction?" In response to the workshop title, which challenged the very existence of bisexual men, BiPAC New York, a bisexual political action group, protested. In response, institute staff agreed to withdraw the workshop from their curriculum. This is but one example of instances like it around the country.

---

[64] *Bi Any Other Name*

[65] The Lavender Law Conference that year was held at the San Francisco Marriott Marquis Hotel, 55 Fourth Street, San Francisco, California.

[66] Harvey Milk High School was founded in 1985 by the Hetrick-Martin Institute to provide a safe place for LGBTQ youth to get an education (threats and instances of violence, bullying, and harassment affect the ability of many LGBTQ youth from succeeding in school). It is located at 2-10 Astor Place,

On a national basis, many national LGBTQ gatherings have been sites of protests focused on bisexual rights. Two historic examples from the early 1990s concern bisexual activists and the National LGBTQ Task Force—then known as the National Gay and Lesbian Task Force.[67] The Task Force began its historic annual Creating Change conferences in Washington, DC, in 1988, the year after the 1987 March on Washington for Lesbian and Gay Rights. Since then, Creating Change has become the largest annual gathering of LGBTQ activists and leaders in the United States and bisexuals have been there from the beginning, often fighting for recognition and space on the program, sometimes recognized and sometimes not. In November 1991, Creating Change drew almost one thousand participants to Alexandria, Virginia.[68] For the first time at Creating Change, bisexual activists held a workshop for gay and lesbian leaders to talk with bisexual activists about tensions between the groups.

Creating Change returned to the DC area again in November 1996, when two thousand people again convened in Alexandria, Virginia.[69] In the intervening years, the bisexual community had continued to hold separate women's and men's dialogues across orientation lines at each annual Creating Change, initiating and fostering difficult communication between

---

New York City, New York. The Hetrick-Martin Institute operated the school until 2002, when it became a fully accredited public school under the jurisdiction of the New York City Department of Education.

[67] The National LGBTQ Task Force was founded in 1973 as the National Gay Task Force; they changed their name to the National Gay and Lesbian Task Force in 1985, and to the current name that includes bisexuals, transgender people, and queer/questioning people in October 2014. Lani Ka'ahumanu was the first openly bisexual person to serve on the board of the National Gay and Lesbian Task Force, completing her term in 2000. The National LGBTQ Task Force headquarters are located at 1325 Massachusetts Avenue NW, Washington, DC.

[68] The 1991 Creating Change Conference was held at the Best Western Old Colony Inn, 1101 North Washington Street, Alexandria, Virginia.

[69] The 1996 Creating Change Conference was held at the Radisson Plaza Hotel at Mark Center, 5000 Seminary Road, near the Crystal City neighborhood of Alexandria, Virginia. In 1999, Hilton Hotels and Resorts bought the hotel; it is now the Hilton Alexandria Mark Center.

those who identified as gay or lesbian and those who identified as bisexual. Things came to a head at the 1996 conference when the number of discriminatory acts and remarks against bisexuals and transgender people reached such a peak that a Bi/Trans Action at the main plenary on Saturday morning was planned. Before the keynote speeches began, activists took to the stage recounting examples of biphobic and transphobic offenses committed against them during that weekend conference. They asked everyone in the room who identified as bi and/or transgender, and/or who was an ally, to stand up and be counted and to vow to confront biphobic and transphobic actions and attitudes in the future. Although the Bi/Trans Action was not included in the Gay and Lesbian Task Force press release following the conference, they did note that the first significant conversation between bisexual and transgender activists and members of the administration had occurred that weekend:

> …Representatives of the bisexual and transgender community held a first-ever meeting at the Conference with a White House representative to discuss discrimination, violence, ENDA, bi and trans visibility and inclusivity in the Administration and other issues. Richard Socarides, outgoing White House liaison to the g/l/b/t community, met with the bi and transgender leaders to hear their concerns in a meeting that was described as productive and promising….[70]

That meeting laid the groundwork for White House meetings that would take place in the new century.

---

[70] "Creating Change Wrap-up," National Gay and Lesbian Task Force Press Release, November 19, 1996, http://www.qrd.org/qrd/orgs/NGLTF/1996/creating.change.wrap-up-11.19.96. Richard Socarides, ironically, is an out gay man who is the son of Charles Socarides, a psychiatrist who worked to "treat" homosexuality beginning in the 1960s. In 1992, he helped found an organization offering conversion therapy to change the sexual orientation of people with same-sex attraction. See "Deaths: Socarides, Charles William, MD," *New York Times*, December 27, 2005, http://query.nytimes.com/gst/fullpage.html?res=9B0DEED91230F934A15751C1A9639C8B63. Use of conversion therapy on minors is currently banned in California, New Jersey, Illinois, Oregon, and the District of Columbia. It is considered unethical by the American Psychiatric Association.

Political Activism as Celebration

Sometimes political victories are the cause for much celebration and, in fact, inspire sites of rejoicing and festivities in and of themselves. Such was the case with the 1993 March on Washington for Lesbian, Gay and Bi Equal Rights and Liberation the last weekend in April. The 1993 march was the third of a total of five marches held on Washington for LGBTQ rights and, in many ways, the most grassroots and inclusive of all of them. The "bi" word was included, after much debate, in the title of the march for the first time and a bisexual speaker, Lani Ka'ahumanu, was invited to speak from the main stage on the National Mall for the first time as well.[71] Bisexual activists converged on Washington, DC, a week before the march to staff an impromptu bisexual coordinating center located in donated office space in the Dupont Circle neighborhood (Figure 10). They camped out in the homes of local bisexual activists in the Mt. Pleasant, Adams Morgan, and Takoma neighborhoods; organized the Second National Conference Celebrating Bisexuality that took place two days before the march;

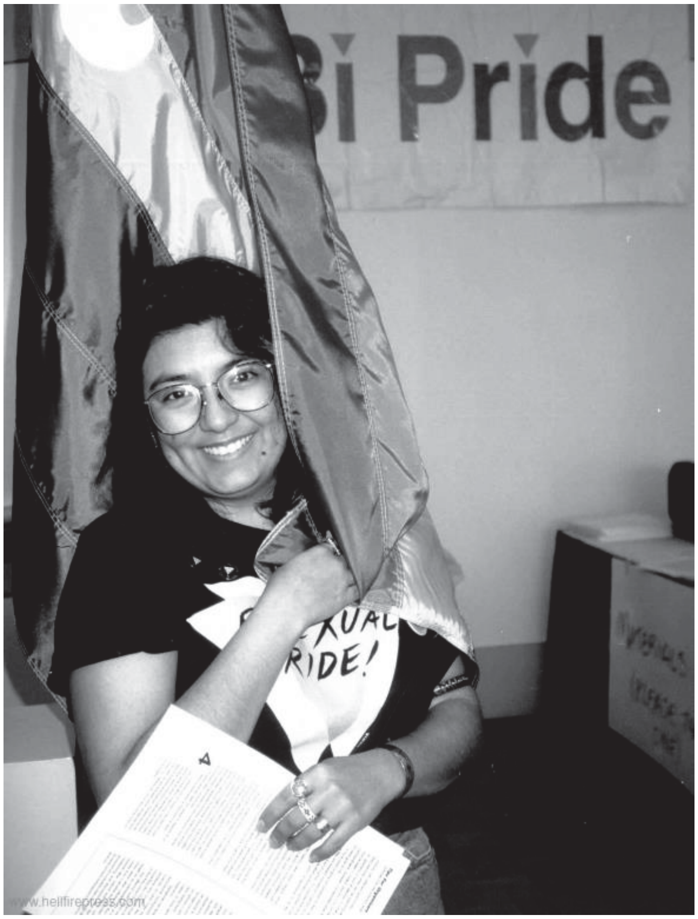


Figure 10: Bisexual activist and reproductive justice and rights activist Laura Perez at the 1993 March on Washington for Lesbian, Gay and Bi Equal Rights and Liberation. Photo courtesy of Efrain Gonzalez.

---

[71] The National Mall was added to the NRHP on October 15, 1966. It is part of the National Mall and Memorial Parks NPS unit.

and held a national meeting of BiNet USA, followed by a Bi Dance at George Washington University's Marvin Center, the night before.[72] The march itself had been organized with 50/50 gender/racial parity, meaning that there were many more women and people of color involved in leadership roles determining the platform demands of the march as well as traveling to Washington, DC, as participants.

First observed in 1999, Celebrate Bisexuality Day was started by three BiNet USA activists, Wendy Curry from Maine, Michael Page from Florida, and Gigi Raven Wilbur from Texas. It has been celebrated in small towns, large cities, and internationally, on the internet and at many events, usually around September 23, the date of the first event. A 2013 White House meeting between federal officials and bisexual activists to discuss bisexual issues was scheduled for September 23 in recognition of the day.[73] Since 2013, BiNet USA working in coalition with other bisexual and LGBTQ organizations, has expanded Celebrate Bisexuality Day to cover a whole week. The Bisexual Resource Center in Boston has also designated the

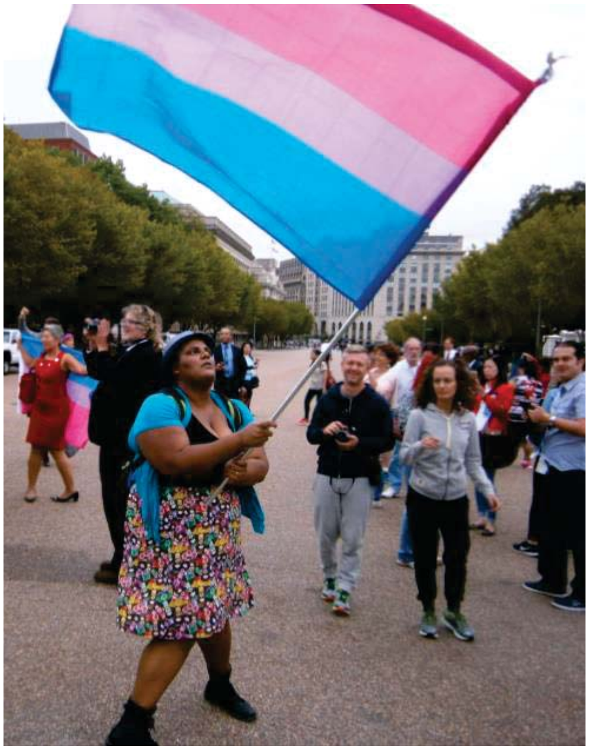


Figure 11: Faith Cheltenham, president of BiNET USA flies the bisexual pride flag outside the White House following the September 2015 bisexual issues policy roundtable with federal officials. Photo courtesy of Kevin Hogan.

---

[72] The Second National Conference Celebrating Bisexuality, organized by BiNet USA, the Bisexual Resource Center, and the Washington, DC, organization Alliance of Multicultural Bisexuals (AMBi) was held at American University's Ward Circle Building, 3590 Nebraska Avenue NW, Washington, DC. The Bi Dance was held at George Washington University's Cloyd Heck Marvin Center, 800 Twenty-First Street NW, Washington, DC.
[73] The informal meeting took place in the Indian Treaty Room of the Eisenhower Executive Office Building (then the Old Executive Office Building) at Pennsylvania Avenue NW and Seventeenth Street NW, Washington, DC. The building was added to the NRHP on June 4, 1969 and designated an NHL on November 11, 1971.

month of March as Bisexual Health Awareness Month, focusing on raising awareness about bisexual health issues, nationally and locally.

Two years later, many of the same leaders who had been at the 2013 meeting returned that same week in September to meet again with representatives from federal offices to discuss bisexual concerns. When leaving the meeting, many participants pulled bisexual pride flags out of their backpacks and briefcases and created an impromptu celebration in front of the White House (Figure 11).

Conclusion

Bisexuals have chosen many different names for themselves through the years. Many people whose lives encompass loving more than one gender never openly call themselves bisexual, or even queer or gay or lesbian, or any other label that describes a sexual minority. Yet, bisexual people continue to exist, to make families and communities, and to organize—among themselves and with others—for better acceptance and understanding. Did bisexuals help build the United States of America? You bet. Have we discovered all the places they have lived and worked and loved and where they continue to do so? Not a chance. And that's beautiful. Discovering more of the history, seeing them clearly, are the next steps.

09

SEXUAL AND GENDER DIVERSITY IN NATIVE AMERICA AND THE PACIFIC ISLANDS

Will Roscoe

This chapter provides an introduction to the significant diversity in gender roles, sexualities, and identities among the native peoples of the United States—American Indians, Alaskan Natives, and native Hawaiians. Following an overview of the varying characteristics, roles, and meanings attributed to sexual and gender diversity in native traditions, the lives of four historical two spirits who played notable roles in American history are explored.

Two Spirits in Native Tradition: Roles, Genders, Identities, and Diversity

In 1564, René Goulaine de Laudonnière arrived in Florida to assert French claims to the region, homeland of the village-dwelling Timucua people.[1] On a forced march through the dense Florida woodlands, his party found itself exhausted and far from its destination. At that moment, he reported, "We met an Indian woman of tall stature, which also was an Hermaphrodite, who came before us with a great vessell full of cleere fountaine water, wherwith she greatly refreshed us.... And I beleeve that without the succour of that Indian Hermaphrodite... we had taken up our lodging all night in the wood."[2] Later he encountered another "hermaphrodite" serving as an emissary of a Timucuan king.

The artist Jacques Le Moyne, who accompanied the expedition, painted two pictures of these "hermaphrodites," published as engravings in 1591

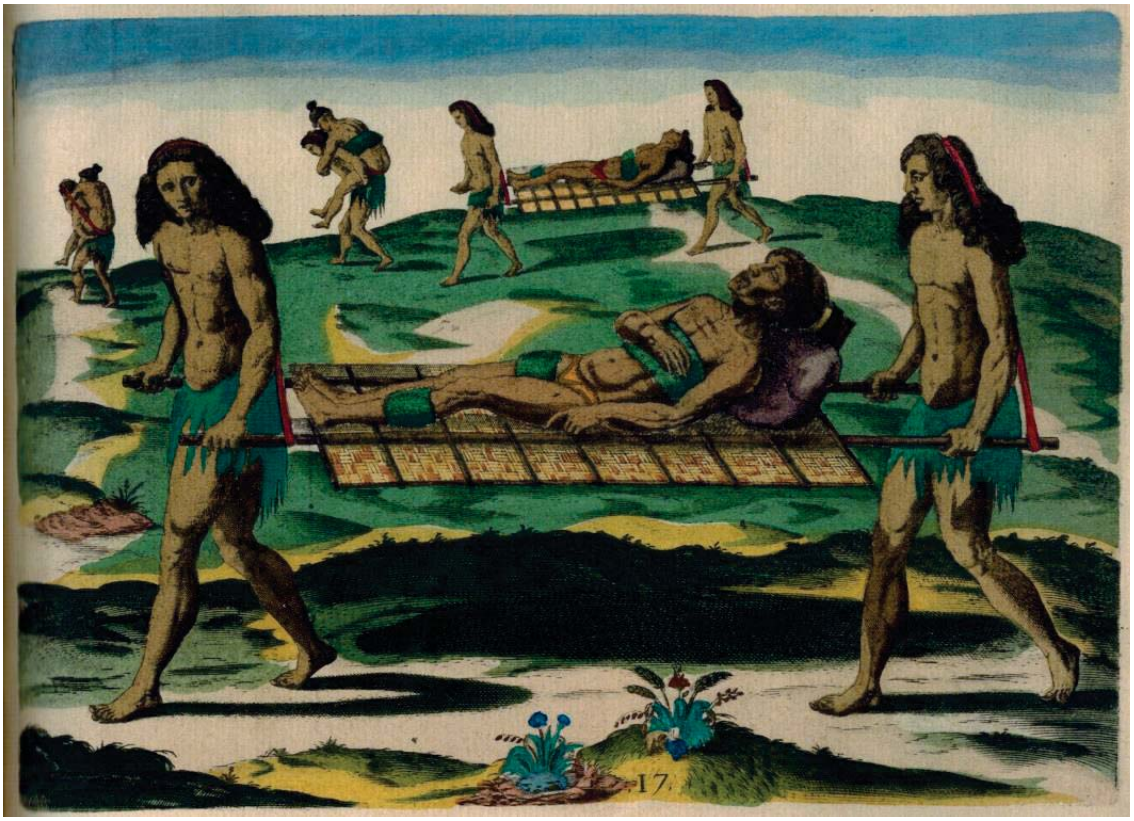


Figure 1: "Employments of the Hermaphrodites," engraving based on a watercolor by Jacques Le Moyne depicting Timucuan two spirits, published by Theodore De Bry, 1591. Source: Charles Bourel de La Roncière, ed., *La Floride Française: Scènes de la Vie Indienne Peintes en 1564* (Paris: Les Éditions Nationales, 1928), plate 17.

---

[1] Timucuan Ecological and Historic Preserve, Florida (National Preserve established and listed on the NRHP on February 16, 1988); Fort Caroline National Memorial, Florida (established January 16, 1953; listed on the NRHP on October 15, 1966).

[2] René Goulaine de Laudonnière, in *The Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques, and Discoveries of the English Nation*.... vol. 9, 1-100, ed. Richard Hakluyt (Glasgow, Scotland: James MacLehose and Sons, 1904), 16, 56, 69.

(Figure 1). One depicts four long-haired men carrying corpses on stretchers, while two others carry sick or injured persons on their backs. According to Le Moyne, because they were strong, hermaphrodites accompanied warriors to battle, carrying provisions and tending to the injured.[3]

The multiplicity of gender and sexuality among native peoples was noted as early as 1540 along the Colorado River by Alarcón, in the 1770s, in Hawaiʻi by Cook's third expedition, and in the same decade by Russian explorers in Alaska.[4] Sadly, the gestures of friendship made by the Timucuan hermaphrodite and others in these early encounters were often met with condemnation and violence—epitomized by the grizzly episode in 1513 when Vasco Núñez de Balboa had forty two spirits in Panama thrown to his dogs.[5]

The term hermaphrodite was often used by Europeans to describe native people they encountered who appeared to be crossing or mixing genders. In fact, the striking individual that gave Laudonnière "succour" represents traditions with no counterpart in European societies—belief systems in which gender is not limited to "man" and "woman," and sexuality is not constrained to relationships between "opposite" genders defined by anatomical sex. Europeans had no single term for these multidimensional identities—and, indeed, the sheer diversity of Native American and Pacific Island cultures makes the use of any umbrella term problematic.

---

[3] Jacques Le Moyne de Morgues, *Brevis Narratio Eorum quae in Florida Americae Provicina Gallis Acciderunt, Secunda in illam Navigatione, duce Renato de Laudoníere Classis Praefaecto Anno MDLXIIII; quae est Secunda pars Americae*, ed. Theodore de Bry (Frankfurt, Germany: Theodore de Bry, 1591), pl. 17, 23.

[4] Fernando Alarcón, "Report of Alarcon's Expedition," in *Narratives of the Coronado Expedition 1540–1542*, ed. George P. Hammond and Agapito Rey, 124–155 (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1940), 130, 148; Robert J. Morris, "*Aikāne*: Accounts of Hawaiian Same-Sex Relationships in the Journals of Captain Cook's Third Voyage (1776–80)," *Journal of Homosexuality* 19, no. 4 (1990): 21–54; and Stephen O. Murray, "The Traditional Kodiak and Aleutian Islanders' Non-Sacralized Trans-generational, Trans-gender role," ed. Stephen O. Murray, *Oceanic Homosexualities* (New York: Garland, 1992), 341–352.

[5] Peter Martyr, "De Orbe Novo Petri Martyris ab Angleria, Mediolanensis Protonotarii Caesaris Senatoris Decades," *Opera*, facs. ed. (Graz, Austria: Akademische Druck and Verlagsanstalt, [1516] 1966), 106.

One finds an array of terminology in Euro-American accounts. To describe what appeared to be a mixing of genders, some of the earliest explorers evoked the figure of Hermaphroditos from Greco-Roman mythology. In Renaissance Europe, "hermaphrodite" could indicate intersexuality, androgyny, or homosexuality. Others singled out what they saw as the sexuality of the males they observed and deemed them "sodomites"—men who committed an abominable act. Throughout the contact period the terminology used by Euro-Americans alternated between this dichotomy of gender and sexuality. As a Spanish explorer of California in 1775 wrote, "I inferred they must be hermaphrodites, but from what I learned later I understood that they were sodomites."[6]

The word "berdache" is believed to have been introduced by the French, although only one published use of it in reference to Native Americans occurs before 1800. [7] At the time, versions of "berdache" were current in several western European languages, referring to a younger or subordinate partner in a male homosexual relationship. In Canada and the Mississippi Valley it became an intercultural or "frontier" term used by both French speakers and Native Americans to identify a social role common among various tribes.[8] From the Mississippi Valley its use spread into the Plains and Rocky Mountain regions, and in the early nineteenth century, Métis *voyageurs* from Canada introduced it into the Chinook jargon, a pidgin trade language used along the lower Columbia River.[9] In some instances it was used as a personal name (see the account of Qánqon below). When anthropologists heard it spoken by both whites and natives they recorded it using a variety of spellings—bardache, berdashe, bird-ash, bredache, and so forth—and identified it merely as French-

---

[6] Pedro Font, *Font's Complete Diary: A Chronicle of the Founding of San Francisco*, trans. Herbert E. Bolton (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1931), 105.

[7] Pierre Deliette, "The Memoir of Pierre Liette," in *The Western Country in the 17th Century: The Memoirs of Lamothe Cadillac and Pierre Liette*, ed. Milo Milton Quaife, 87-174 (Chicago: Lakeside Press, 1947), 124.

[8] John F. McDermott, "A Glossary of Mississippi Valley French, 1673-1850," *Washington University Studies, Language and Literature*, n.s., 12 (1941): 22-23.

[9] See "Chinook Jargon Phrase Book," accessed August 28, 2015, http://www.fortlangley.ca/chinook%20jargon/people.html#engl

Canadian in origin, unaware of its longer history in European, Arabic, and Persian languages.[10]

In the twentieth century, “berdache” became the standard anthropological term for alternative gender roles among Native Americans. By the 1980s, however, its inappropriateness, as articulated by scholars and community members, led to a search for new terminology. “Two spirit” was coined at a gathering of Native American and First Nations people in 1990 and embraced for its connotations of balancing or combining male and female qualities. In 1993 a conference sponsored by the Wenner-Gren Foundation brought together anthropologists, native scholars, and community members who adopted a formal statement endorsing its use.[11] Today, “two spirit” (sometimes rendered as “two-spirited”) is used in reference to both male-bodied and female-bodied native people who mix, cross, or combine the standard roles of men and women.[12]

Two-spirit males have been documented in at least 155 tribes; in about a third of these a recognized status for females who adopted a masculine lifestyle existed as well.[13] Each tribal language had its own terms for such individuals and each term reflects distinct beliefs, traditions, and social customs. In Crow, a male two spirit was called *boté*, in Lakota *winkte*, in Zuni *lhamana*, in Navajo *nádleehí*.[14] Terms for a female two spirit include *hwame:* in Mohave, *hetaneman* in Cheyenne (Figure 2), and *tayagigux‘* in Aleut. Sometimes the same word was used for both male and female two spirits: *tw!inna ́ek* in Klamath, *t‘übás* in Northern Paiute, and *tangowaip* in western Shoshone. Some of these terms can be translated as “man-woman” but many cannot. *Nádleehí*, for example, literally means “one who is changing.”[15]

---

[10] See Will Roscoe, *Changing Ones: Third and Fourth Genders in Native North America* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1998), 7, 249; Randy P. Conner, *Blossom of Bone* (San Francisco: HarperSanFrancisco, 1993), 186–187.

[11] Roscoe, *Changing Ones*, chap. 5; Sue-Ellen Jacobs, Wesley Thomas, and Sabine Lang, eds., *Two-Spirit People: Native American Gender Identity, Sexuality, and Spirituality* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1997); and “Revisiting the ‘North American Berdache’ Empirically and Theoretically: A Wenner-Gren Conference,” November 17–21, 1993, Quality Inn, 1900 Connecticut Avenue, Washington, DC.

[12] “Two spirit” has been widely embraced but some commentators have pointed to its limitations. In many tribal belief systems *all* individuals are understood to combine male and female modes of being, whether intellectually, psychologically, socially, or ceremonially. In these contexts, identifying specific tribal members as “two spirits” implies that they achieve this balance while others do not, which can lead to confusion and division. In other cases, when “two spirit” is translated back into native languages it acquires unintended meanings (see Bea Medicine and Sue-Ellen Jacobs, eds., *Learning to Be an Anthropologist and Remaining “Native”: Selected Writings* [Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2001], 147–148). Yet others have noted the way in which its use fosters blanket statements about the universal presence and social acceptance of “two spirit people.” The case for presence and status needs to be established for each tribe through careful research grounded in written and oral sources. As the dialogue among scholars and in native communities evolves, the most encompassing way to identify the subject of this chapter is “two-spirit/LGBTQ” native people. For additional discussion, see Wesley Thomas and Sue-Ellen Jacobs, “…And We Are Still Here”: From *Berdache* to Two-Spirit People,” *American Indian Culture and Research Journal*: 1999, 23 no. 2 (1993): 91-107; Joseph Gilley, *Becoming Two-Spirited: Gay Identity and Social Acceptance in Indian Country* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2006); and the various contributors to Jacobs, Thomas, and Lang, *Two-Spirit People*. For a discussion of the interrelationships of white colonialism, modern queer identity, and two-spirit activism, see Scott L. Morgensen, *Spaces Between Us: Queer Settler Colonialism and Indigenous Decolonization* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2011).

These terms, which distinguish two spirits from men and women, have lead anthropologists, historians, and archeologists to describe two-spirit roles as alternative or multiple genders.[16] Although Western cultures assume only two genders are “natural” based on anatomical sex, many native societies are capable of accommodating three, four, and possibly more genders, or having a gender system characterized by fluidity, transformation, and individual variation.

---

[13] For an index of anthropological and historical sources by tribe see Roscoe, *Changing Ones*, 223-247. The evidence is heavily weighted toward tribes west of the Mississippi River. Various factors account for this. Unlike the Spaniards, who sought to missionize intact native communities and often recorded details of their cultures, English settlers were singularly uninterested in the cultures of the people whose lands they were determined to occupy and recorded little about them. Indeed, Puritans such as John Winthrop conflated the entire native population with the Biblical Sodomites (Charles M. Segal and David C. Stineback, *Puritans, Indians, and Manifest Destiny* [New York: G. P. Putnam’s Sons, 1977], 50). By the time anthropologists began documenting native cultures in the late nineteenth century, few descendants of Eastern tribes remained with knowledge of traditional practices and beliefs. Limited, but questionable, evidence has been cited for the presence of two spirits among the Iroquois, and a single reference from 1825 suggests that male two spirits had at one time been present in Cherokee society. See Roscoe, *Changing Ones*, 250-251 and Gregory D. Smithers, “Cherokee ‘Two Spirits’: Gender, Ritual, and Spirituality in the Native South,” *Early American Studies* 3 (2014): 626-651 (Smithers offers a nuanced discussion of the challenges and opportunities for recovering two spirit traditions in the face of limited documentation using the methodology of ethnohistory). Better evidence for male and female two spirits comes from the Algonkian-speaking Illinois of the Mississippi Valley, where Marquette observed males called *ikoueta*, who engaged in women’s work, assisted men on war parties, sang at ceremonies, and gave advice at tribal councils, and Lahontan noted women who refused to marry and were called *ickoue ne kioussa*, or “hunting women,” because of their preference for men’s activities (Jacques Marquette, “Of the First Voyage Made by Father Marquette Toward New Mexico, and How the Idea Thereof was Conceived,” in *Travels and Explorations of the Jesuit Missionaries in New France, 1610-1791*, ed. Reuben G. Thwaites, 86-163, *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents* 59 [Cleveland, OH: Burrows Brothers, 1900], 128–129; Louis Armand de Lahontan, *Memoires de l’Amérique Septentrionale, ou la suite des voyages de Mr. Le Baron La Hontan*, vol. 2 [Amsterdam: Jonas L’Honoré, 1705], 144).

[14] The term *nádleehí* refers to an individual who is a member of the gender class *nádleeh*, see Jacobs, Thomas, and Lang, eds., *Two-Spirit People*, 15.

[15] For a listing of native language terms for alternative gender roles see Roscoe, *Changing Ones*, 213–222.

[16] See Roscoe, *Changing Ones*; Jacobs, Thomas, and Sabine, *Two-Spirit People*; Sabine Lang, *Men as Women, Women as Men: Changing Gender in Native American Cultures* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1998); Sandra E. Hollimon, “The Archaeology of Nonbinary Genders in Native North American

Typically, male and female two spirits were identified in childhood based on a preference for activities of the “opposite” sex. In some tribes, entry into two spirit status was marked ceremonially. Shoshone, Ute, Kitanemuk, and Pima-Papago families staged a ritual test in which a boy was placed in a circle of brush with a bow and a basket (men’s and women’s objects, respectively). The brush was set on fire, and whichever object the boy picked up as he ran out determined his identity: if he took the basket he would be two spirit.

The occupations Le Moyne attributed to Timucuan “hermaphrodites”—conducting burial rites, caring for the ill, assisting on war parties, serving

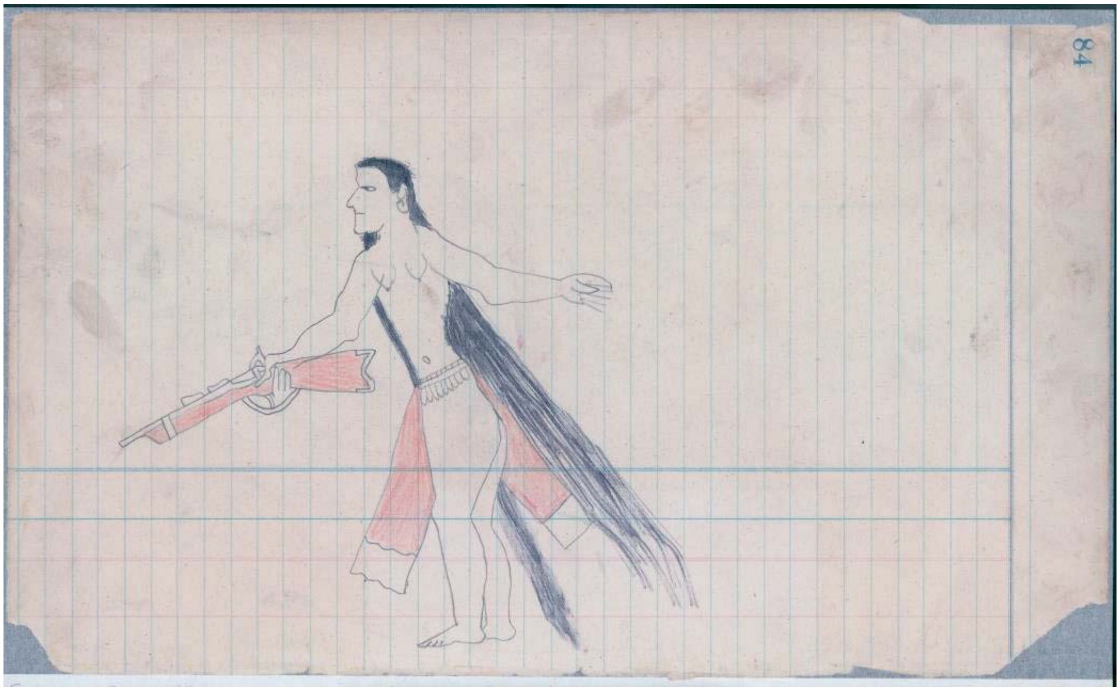


Figure 2: Cheyenne *hetaneman*, or female two spirit, in battle wearing a man’s breechcloth. Ledger book drawing attributed to Yellow Nose, ca. 1889. Courtesy of the Smithsonian Institution, National Anthropological Archives (MS 166,032, 08709000).

Societies,” in *Handbook of Gender in Archaeology*, ed. Sarah M. Nelson (Lanham, MD: Altamira Press, 2006), 435–450.

as intermediaries—were common to two male two spirits in many parts of North America. Perhaps the trait most often attributed to them was skill in crafts typically made by women. As Ruth Benedict noted, “The Dakota had a saying, ‘fine possessions like a berdache’s,’ and it was the epitome of praise for any woman’s household possessions.”[17] Among Plains tribes, male two spirits excelled in working with hides, which were used to make everything from clothing to shelter; in California they were basket-makers; in the Southwest, weavers and potters.

In many instances, male and female two spirits were medicine people, healers, shamans, and ceremonial leaders. While these roles were not specific to two spirits, certain ceremonial functions were. Cheyenne *he’emaneo* and Mohave *alyha:* directed their tribes’ victory dances, while Crow and Hidatsa two spirits selected the tree used for construction of Sun Dance lodges. In the late nineteenth century, a Mohave female two spirit, or *hwame:*, was widely recognized as a powerful shaman able to cure venereal disease. Among Plains tribes, dreams and visions of female deities or the moon served to confirm male two-spirit identity and convey unique abilities. Some *winkte* were seers who could locate enemies at great distances, predict the weather, and foretell future events. Among the Pueblo Indians, two-spirit status was sanctioned by myths and portrayed in masked dances representing mythological figures.

Evidence for a named status for females who routinely engaged in men’s activities such as hunting and warfare comes predominantly from tribes west of the Rocky Mountains, but as noted earlier, absence of evidence cannot be taken as evidence of absence. The lives of native women have been overlooked in general and obscured by Euro-American sexual and racial stereotypes. Taking a broader view reveals that women throughout North America and the Pacific Islands often engaged in male pursuits, from hunting to warfare and tribal leadership, without necessarily acquiring a different gender identity. Some of these women deserve recognition as leaders in the Native American resistance to European settlement. Weetamoo, a chief of the Pocassets led a force of more than three hundred warriors against the English during King Philip's war, and the Apache warrior woman Lozen fought alongside Geronimo until his final surrender in 1886.[18]

---

[17] Ruth Benedict, *Patterns of Culture* (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1959), 264.

Two spirits typically formed relationships with non-two-spirit individuals of the same sex, which were viewed within their own cultures as equivalent to those between men and women (but typically understood as homosexual by Euro-Americans). In the 1930s, a Navajo elder told Willard Hill, "If they marry men, it is just like two men working together."[19] In the early nineteenth century, the Crow leader Woman Chief married four women following her successes in battle. Because two spirits occupied a distinct gender status, their relationships were not viewed as being same-sex. Some had relations with both men and women, and sometimes heterosexually-married men and women became two spirits on the basis of dreams or visions. (The one sexual pattern not attested is that of two spirits in sexual relationships with each other.)

Sexual and Gender Diversity in Native Hawaiʻi

In native Hawaiʻi, males who preferred the work of women and formed relationships with other men were called *māhū*, a status present in several Polynesian societies.[20] Christian missionaries and travelers, in their zeal to suppress what they considered immoral practices, recorded little about *māhū*, but a vibrant oral tradition credits them with a variety of significant roles, from healing, to caretaking, naming infants, and above all teaching and leading hula dance traditions.[21]

---

[18] See Roscoe, *Changing Ones*, chap. 4. Weetamo was present at the Great Swamp Fight in 1675 (Great Swamp State Management Area, West Kingston, Rhode Island). After drowning while attempting to escape the English 1675, her head was displayed on a pole in Taunton, Massachusetts (Taunton Green Historic District; listed on the NRHP on March 1, 1985). Key sites associated with Lozen include the Fort Apache Historic District, located on the Fort Apache Indian Reservation, Arizona (listed on the NRHP on October 14, 1976), Castillo de San Marcos National Monument, St. Augustine, Florida (designated a National Monument on October 15, 1924; listed on the NRHP on October 15, 1966), and Mount Vernon Arsenal-Searcy Hospital Complex, Mount Vernon, Alabama (listed on the NRHP on May 26, 1988), where she died as a prisoner of war in 1889.

[19] Willard W. Hill. "The Status of the Hermaphrodite and Transvestite in Navaho Culture," *American Anthropologist* 37 (1935): 276.

[20] Terms for a similar status in other Polynesian languages include *fa'fafine* in Samoan and *wakawawine* in Pukapukan. See Raleigh Watts, "The Polynesian Mahu," in *Oceanic Homosexualities*, 171–184.

Distinct from *māhū* were men who formed *aikāne* relationships. This term is often translated as "friend" or "lover," but in native Hawaiian it has distinctly sexual connotations. A member of the Cook expedition of 1776–1780 wrote, "It is a disagreeable circumstance to the historian that truth obliges him to inform the world of a custom among them contrary to nature, and odious to a delicate mind. . . .The custom alluded to is that of sodomy, which is very prevalent if not universal among the chiefs." [22] *Aikāne* relationships were often between older and younger, or higher and lower status men, but they could be formed by men of similar age and social status, and in traditional stories the goddess Hiʻiaka has an *aikāne*.[23] Most men with *aikāne* were bisexual and married women as well. One of the legendary hero-kings of Hawaiian mythology, Kepakailiula, has an *aikāne*, and with him performs some of his most spectacular feats.[24]

The Cook expedition had several encounters with *aikāne* of Hawaiian chiefs. In January 1779, after making landfall at Kealakekua Bay on the island of Hawaiʻi, Palea, an *aikāne* of the chief Kalaniʻopuʻu, appeared as an emissary.[25] His negotiations with one of Cook's officers resulted in the chief's ceremonial visit soon after. But a month later, when Cook returned, Palea had been replaced by a rival. The embittered former *aikāne* was implicated in the theft of one of Cook's boats, resulting in the hostilities that led to the explorer's death.[26]

---

[21] Andrew Matzner, *'O Au No Keia: Voice from Hawai'i's Mahu and Transgender Communities* (n.p.: Xlibris, 2001); Carol E. Robertson, "The Māhū of Hawaiʻi," *Feminist Studies* 15, no. 2 (1989): Watts, op. cit.; Mario Vargas Llosa, "The Men-Women of the Pacific," *Tate Etc.* 2 (Autumn 2010), accessed April 4, 2015, www.tate.org.uk/context-comment/articles/men-women-pacific.

[22] Morris, "*Aikāne*," 32; Robert J. Morris, "Same-Sex Friendships in Hawaiian Lore: Constructing the Canon," in *Oceanic Homosexualities*, 71–102.

[23] Matzner, "*'O Au No Keia,*" 222.

[24] Abraham Fornander, *Fornander Collection of Hawaiian Antiquities and Folk-lore*, Memoirs of the Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum (Honolulu: Bishop Museum, 1918–1919), 4: 384–405, 5: 498–517.

[25] Kealakekua Bay Historic District, Hawai'i (listed on the NRHP on December 12, 1973).

[26] Morris, "*Aikāne*," 33–34.

Two Spirits Today: Renewal and Change

"Before Alcatraz," recalled Mohawk poet Maurice Kenny, referring to the occupation of the island by Indian activists in 1969, "it was just about impossible to stand up and say who you were. If you had a job you'd get fired. Your family might disown you. You certainly would be ridiculed."[27] Kenny's 1976 essay, "Tinselled Bucks: An Historical Study of Indian Homosexuality," and Paula Gunn Allen's 1981 article, "Beloved Women: Lesbians in American Indian Cultures," marked the beginning of renewed awareness of two-spirit traditions.[28]

In 1975, Barbara Cameron (Lakota) and Randy Burns (Northern Paiute) founded Gay American Indians in San Francisco.[29] In addition to providing advocacy and social services, the group published *Living the Spirit: A Gay American Indian Anthology* in 1988. Several contributors have since played prominent roles in fostering cultural renewal and political activism among two-spirit/LGBTQ native people, including Richard LaFortune (Anguksuar), who launched the Two Spirit Press Room in 2005, and the writers Beth Brant, Chrystos, Anne Waters, and Janice Gould.[30] In 1988, a conference organized by American Indian Gay and Lesbians in Minneapolis inaugurated a tradition of annual gatherings.[31] By the 1990s, LGBTQ native organizations had appeared throughout the country, often in response to the need for services created by the HIV/AIDS epidemic.

---

[27] Roscoe, *Changing Ones*, 101. Alcatraz, San Francisco Bay, California (became a National Recreation Area in 1972; listed on the NRHP on June 23, 1976; designated an NHL District on January 17, 1986).

[28] Maurice Kenny, "Tinselled Bucks: An Historical Study in Indian Homosexuality," *Gay Sunshine*, nos. 26–27 (Winter 1975–76): 17–48; Paula Gunn Allen, "Lesbians in American Indian Cultures" *Conditions* 7 (1981): 65–87.

[29] Burns, Cameron, and other founding members met while participating in the American Indian Art Workshop at the American Indian Center, 225 Valencia Street, San Francisco, California.

[30] Roscoe published a bibliography of Native American LGBTQ writers in 1998 (*Changing Ones*, 279–280).

[31] "The Basket and the Bow: A Gathering of Lesbian and Gay Native Americans," June 18–19, 1988, American Indian Center, 1530 East Franklin Avenue and Gay 90's Bar, 408 Hennepin Avenue, Minneapolis, Minnesota. See Megan L. McDonald, "Two-Spirits Organizing: Indigenous Two-Spirit Identity in the Twin Cities Region," in *Queer Twin Cities*, ed. Twin Cities GLBT Oral History Project (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2010), 150–170; See also Qwo-Li Driskill, Daniel Heath Justice, Deborah Miranda, and Lisa Tatonetti, ed., *Sovereign Erotics: A Collection of Two-Spirit Literature* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2011).

Many who identify as two spirit today are active in intertribal powwow networks. In 2015, the Bay Area American Indian Two-Spirits Powwow drew more than two thousand attendees.[32] Comments from participants reveal the broad range of identities and beliefs encompassed by the term "two spirit" today. One dancer explained that "two spirit means being born with a male and a female spirit," while for another the term is "more of a historical reminder that before colonization all of our tribes had multiple genders."[33] In Hawaiʻi there has been a similar revival of the *māhū* role.

In the 1990s, the HIV/AIDS epidemic, as it had among American Indians and Alaskan Natives, provided impetus for creating organizations reaching out to Hawaiian gay and transgender communities. Today, the

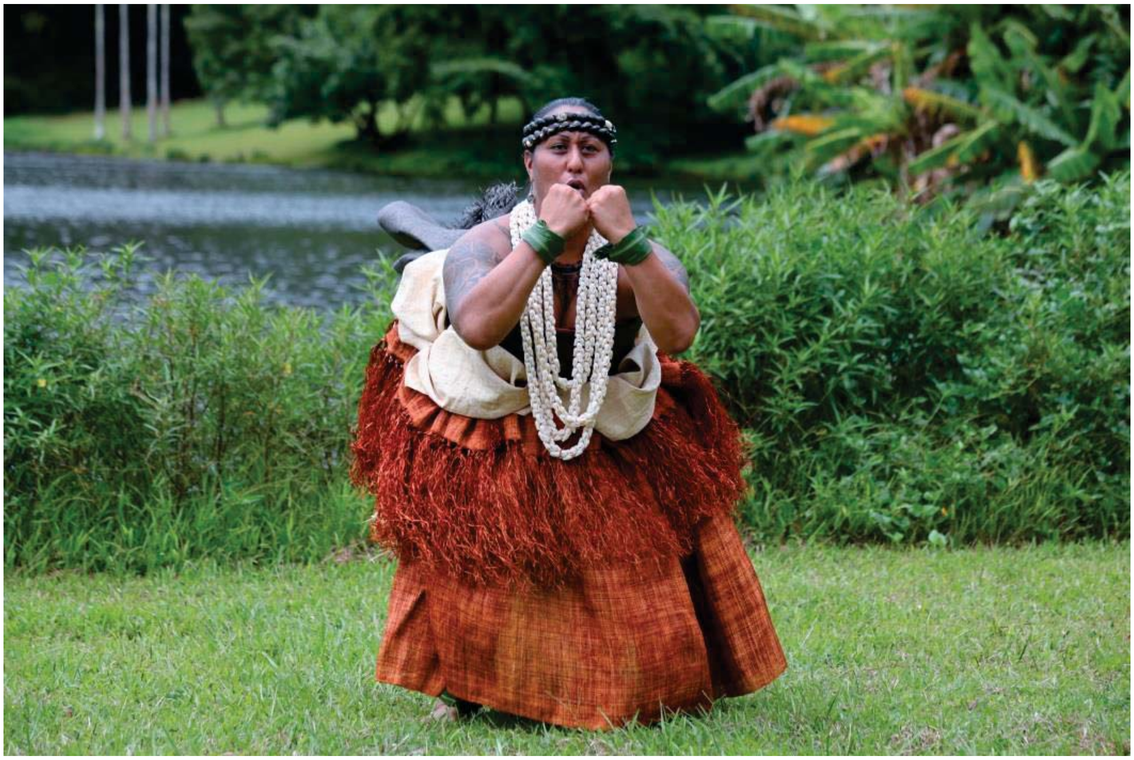


Figure 3: Hina Wong-Kalu, Hawai'ian *kumu* (teacher), transgender woman, and *māhū*. Kumu Hina photograph by Kai Markell, 2013. Copyright Qwaves, LLC, http://kumuhina.com.

---

[32] Bay Area American Indian Two Spirits Fourth Annual Two-Spirit Powwow, February 7, 2015, Cow Palace, 2600 Geneva Avenue, Daly City, California.

[33] Jorge Rivas, "Native Americans Talk Gender Identity at 'Two-Spirit' Powwow," *Fusion*, February 9, 2015, accessed March 22, 2015, www.fusion.net/story/46014/native-americans-talk-gender-identity-at-a-two-spirit-powwow.

term *māhū* is being reclaimed by a wide range of individuals, and some like Hina Wong-Kalu, are widely-respected as traditional *kumu*, or teachers (Figure 3).[34] As one contemporary *māhū* explains:

> The American Indians have a really nice way of putting it. They say "two-spirited." So I like to borrow that and apply it to *māhū,* and have it mean "two-spirited"....Because *māhū* could mean a guy who likes a guy, but is somewhat soft, and likes to have relations with the same sex. Or it could be like us [transgender]. And many, many others. So, if you're anywhere within that two-spirited realm, the word

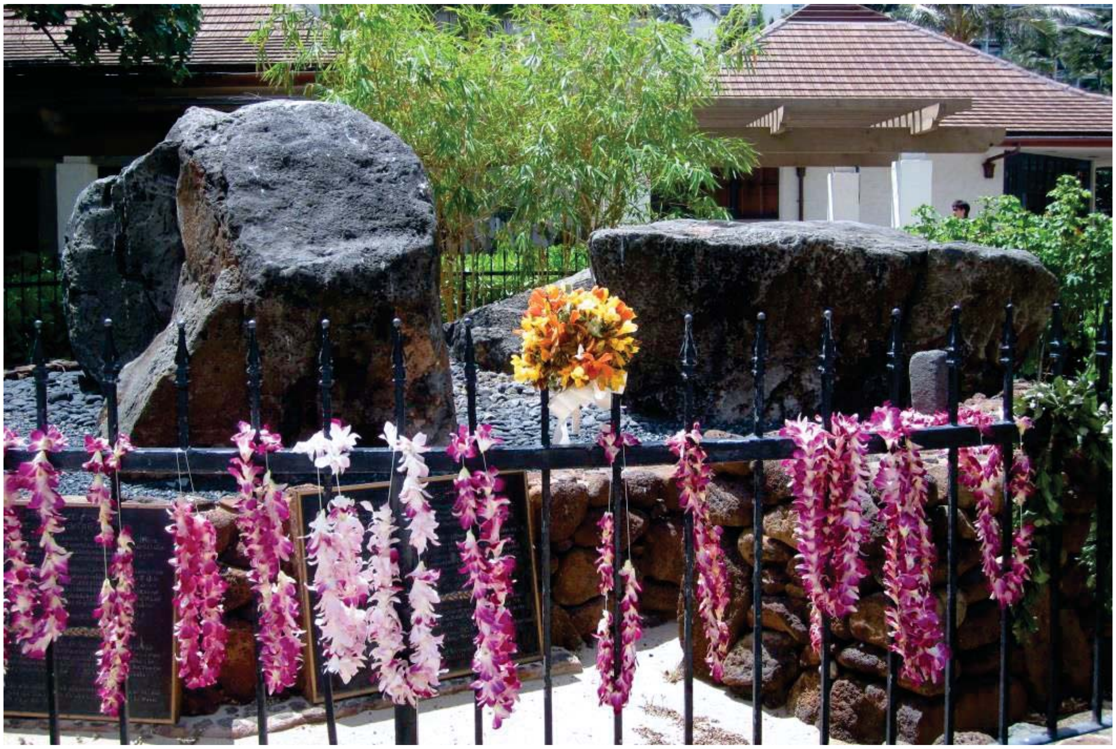


Figure 4: The Stones of Kapaemāhū (Nā Pōhaku Ola Kapaemāhū ā Kapuni), Kuhio Beach Park, Waikiki, Hawai'i. Photograph by Wally Gobetz, 2010.[35]

---

[34] According to Robertson, "The *māhū* population today embraces an astounding variety of individuals. It can designate women who dress and work as men, men who dress and work as women, women or men who dress and act so as to obscure their biological classification, women who will only associate with other women, men who dress 'festively,' men who undergo hormone treatments and/or eventually change their sex surgically, true hermaphrodites, and women and men who might, in English, call themselves 'gay.' Any of these people may choose to procreate or to raise children through the traditional adoption arrangement known as *hanai*. In fact, parents sometimes put their children in the care of *māhū*, for mixed gender individuals are recognized as special, compassionate, and creative," ("The Māhū of Hawai'i," 314–315).

[35] License: CC BY-NC-ND 2.0. https://www.flickr.com/photos/wallyg/4744202959/

> *māhū* could apply to you. People like this have an aura…They give off both man and woman.[36]

In Waikiki, Hawai‘i, tucked between the tourist hotels lining Kalakaua Avenue, four worn boulders embedded upon a stone platform attest to the enduring presence of *māhū* traditions in Hawaiian history (Figure 4).[37] According to markers in English and Hawaiian, the stones were erected as monuments in the early sixteenth century at the direction of four powerful healers from Tahiti.[38] In Hawaiian historical accounts, these healers performed miraculous cures throughout the Hawaiian Islands. To commemorate their deeds they had these stones placed at Waikiki, transferring their *mana*, or spiritual power, to them before they returned to their homeland. The stones were named for these four priests, the most important of whom was Kapaemahu.

The element “mahu” in this name is the only trace in this account of the true significance of the stones. By supplementing written sources with oral tradition, Andrew Matzner gives a fuller telling of their history. The four priests were *māhū*—“hermaphrodites” in the earliest sources. They had both male and female appearance and manners, and this quality was the source of their powers. Today, hundreds of tourists pass by the site every day, but as Matzner notes, “The transgendered aspect at its core remains deeply buried, like a piece of history deemed unfit for consumption.”[39]

For centuries the stones remained in place and were credited with healing the sick and protecting seagoers. When Archibald Cleghorn acquired the site in 1872 the stones had naturally settled into the sand.

---

[36] Matzner, *‘O Au No Keia*, 221.

[37] The Stones of Kapaemāhū, Kuhio Beach, adjacent to Waikiki City Police Station, 2425 Kalakaua Avenue, Honolulu, Hawai’i.

[38] Mary K. Pukui, E. W. Haertig, and Catherine A. Lee, *Nana I Ke Kumu (Look to the Source)* (Honolulu: Queen Lili’uokalani Children’s Center, 1972), 2: 108, 110; June Gutmanis, *Pohaku: Hawai’ian Stones* (Laie, HI: Institute for Polynesian Studies, Brigham Young University, Hawaii, [1986]), 33–36. Andrea Feeser speculates that they may have settled in O‘ahu during the second wave of Polynesian immigration to Hawai‘i, which introduced Tahitian religious and sociopolitical practices to the islands (*Waikīkī: A History of Forgetting and Remembering* (Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 2006), 79.

[39] Matzner, *‘O Au No Keia,* 279; Feeser, *Waikīkī*, 78–82.

Cleghorn had them unearthed and placed in a prominent setting on his estate; his wife, Princess Likelike and her daughter prayed to them whenever they went swimming. Following Cleghorn's death the stones underwent a variety of ignominies: the Moana Hotel was built behind them; in the 1920s they were buried beneath a bowling alley.[40]

By the standards of many preservationists, historical significance is seen as function of what humans attribute to places and structures. The disappearance of the stones in the sands of Waikīkī Beach represents an interruption in their use that compromises their historical integrity. But for native people, as Luan Fauteck Makes Marks notes, "the Land inheres as sacred—beyond human perception and conception, beyond our capacities for belief and imagination—in and of itself." [41] This is especially true for sacred places. As Christopher H. Peters of the Seventh Generation Fund says, "If there were no humans on earth, they would still be sacred." [42]

Recovered in the 1960s, the Stones of Kapaemāhū, as they are known today, were relocated to their present site in 1980; in 1997, they were rededicated in a ceremony lead by the Hawaiian leader Papa Henry Auwe—and as the leis strewn upon the wrought iron fence that surrounds them today attest, for Hawaiian people the influence of the stones in their lives, that is, their spiritual power, has never been interrupted.

Two Spirits in the History of the United States

In the long history of contact between native and Euro-American peoples, two spirits have had important roles and their stories are linked to many places and sites. Qánqon-kámek-klaúlha (Kutenai), Ohchiish (Crow), We'wha (Zuni), and Hastíín Klah (Navajo) were each remarkable individuals who lived complex lives against the backdrop of unfolding conflict and change.

---

[40] Feeser, *Waikīkī*, Ibid.; Gutmanis, *Pohaku*, 35.

[41] Luan Fauteck Makes Marks, *A Typology of Native North American Sacred Lands and Places* (Little Canada, MN: Indian Land Tenure Foundation, 2008), 45, accessed August 28, 2015, http://sacrednaturalsites.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/07/NaturesoftheSacredTypology.pdf.

[42] Ibid.

Qánqon-kámek-klaúlha (ca. 1780s–1837)

One of the most fascinating, if ultimately mysterious, female two spirits was the Kutenai known as Qánqon-kámek-klaúlha, Sitting-in-the-Water-Grizzly, or simply Qánqon. Born in the late 1700s along the lower Kootenai River around the border of Idaho and British Columbia, her tribe occupied a strategic area of the Northwest, the site of fierce competition between the Americans and British in the fur trade.

According to Kutenai elders interviewed in the 1930s, Qánqon's original name was One-Standing-Lodge-Pole-Woman.[43] Undistinguished as a child, she grew up to be large and strong. The earliest reference to her is in the journals of David Thompson of the British North West Company, who crossed the Rocky Mountains and established a trading post near the headwaters of the Columbia River in 1807. One of his men returned from a foray accompanied by a Kutenai wife. According to Thompson, her "conduct was then so loose that I had to request him to send her away to her friends."[44] This was the woman who became known as Qánqon.

When Qánqon rejoined her people she told a fantastic tale. Her white husband had "operated" on her and transformed her into a man; she now called herself Gone-to-the-Spirits. "We Indians," she said, "did not believe that white people possessed such power from the supernaturals. I can tell you that they do, greater power than we have." As a result of her experiences among the whites, Qánqon claimed to have acquired supernatural power of her own.[45]

She began dressing in men's clothes and courting women, and she became interested in hunting and warfare. The Kutenai called such women *títqattek*, which has been translated as "pretending to be a man."[46] After her first war party she adopted the name Qánqon Kámek Klaúlha, Sitting-in-the-Water-Grizzly. She was also known by the Europeanized name Ignace Onton.

---

[43] Claude E. Schaeffer, "The Kutenai Female Berdache: Courier, Guide, Prophetess, and Warrior," *Ethnohistory* 12, no. 3 (1965): 193–236.

[44] David Thompson, *David Thompson's Narrative of His Explorations in Western America*, ed. J. B. Tyrrell (Toronto, Canada: The Champlain Society, 1916), 512–513.

[45] Schaeffer, "The Kutenai Female Berdache," 196–197.

In April 1811, the Americans established a trading post at Astoria at the mouth of the Columbia River.[47] Simultaneously, David Thompson was making his way down the river from the east. Unbeknownst to him, two Kutenai Indians were traveling ahead of his party and reached Astoria before him. The Americans believed them to be a man and a woman; in fact, they were the two spirit Qánqon and her companion. They had with them a letter addressed to a trading post in British Columbia, and they claimed, somewhat dubiously, to have become lost while attempting to deliver it.[48]

When David Thompson arrived at Fort Astoria in June he immediately identified Qánqon as the Indian woman once married to his aide. The Americans were unfazed. Qánqon's glowing description of the interior and the maps she drew for them convinced them to organize an exploring party to compete with Thompson. In late June, two parties left Astoria—the Americans, guided by Qánqon and her wife, and Thompson.[49]

One of the Astorians described the Kutenai women as "bold adventurous amazons....They sometimes shot ahead, and at other times loitered behind, as suited their plans. The stories they gave out among the non-suspecting and credulous natives as they passed were well calculated to astonish as well as to attract attention."[50] Qánqon claimed that she had been sent by "the great white chief" to announce that white men were bringing the Indians wonderful presents. As they traveled upstream, the couple was eagerly greeted along the way and given generous gifts.

---

[46] Ibid., 224.

[47] Fort Astoria, Astoria, Oregon (contributing property to the Astoria Downtown Historic District; listed individually on the NRHP on October 15, 1966; designated an NHL on November 5, 1961).

[48] Schaeffer, "The Kutenai Female Berdache," 202.

[49] Ibid., 212.

[50] Ibid., 206.

Eventually, they led the Americans to the confluence of the Columbia and Okanogan rivers, where the Astorians established Fort Okanogan.[51]

Qánqon's prophecies spread throughout the Pacific Northwest. According to the explorer John Franklin, "many young men put themselves under her command....and at length she became the principle leader of the tribe, under the designation of 'Manlike Woman.'"[52] In the early twentieth century, Kutenai elders remembered her as a shaman as well, who on one occasion cured a chief.[53]

In 1825, Qánqon appeared at Flathead Post in western Montana with a group of Kutenai.[54] The trader John Work described her as a "leading character among them" and called her "Bundosh" —a variation of the word "berdache." Fluent in the Flathead language, Qánqon served as an interpreter.

In 1837 she appeared at another key moment, when William Gray, who had helped establish the Whitman Mission at Walla Walla, Washington, was traveling through northwestern Montana with a group of Flathead Indians. The party encountered hostile Blackfoot and several were killed. The Flatheads were holding a victory dance when three unknown Indians appeared—two Blackfoot and a woman, whom Gray identified as "Bowdash." They were seeking a truce, with Qánqon serving as an interpreter. Gray was able to resume his journey, but several days later wrote in his journal: "We have been told that the Black Feet have killed the Kootenie woman, or Bowdash, as she is called. She has hitherto been

---

[51] Fort Okanogan, Okanogan County, Washington (listed on the NRHP on June 4, 1973. The fort site was flooded in 1967 by the newly-formed Lake Pateros reservoir, following the construction of the Wells Dam).

[52] John Franklin, *Narrative of a Second Expedition to the Shores of the Polar Seas in the Years 1825, 1826, and 1827* (Philadelphia: Carey, Lea, and Carey, 1828), 251–252.

[53] Schaeffer, "The Kutenai Female Berdache," 214.

[54] Flathead Post (also known as Saleesh House), Highway 200, one mile east of Thompson Falls, Montana. The location is identified by a Montana State Historical Marker.

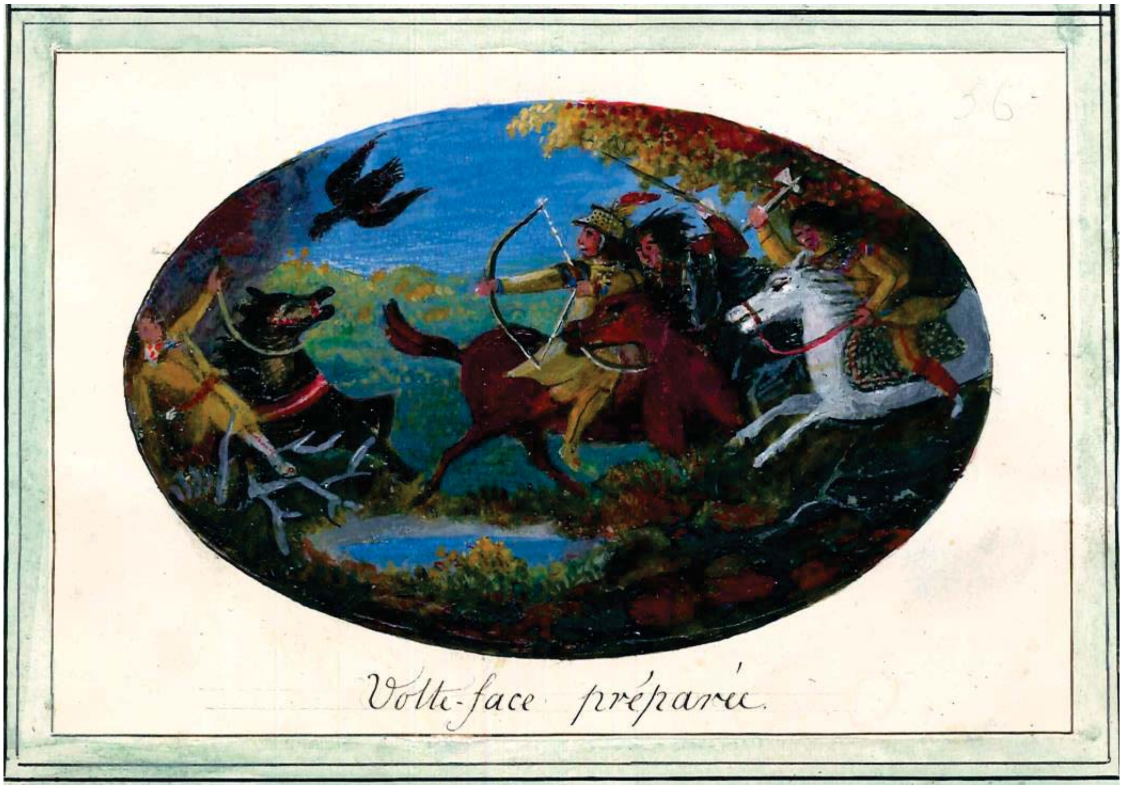


Figure 5: Kuilix, Pend D'Oreilles (Kalispel) warrior woman, in a painting by Father Nicolas Point ca. 1846. According to Point, after advancing into enemy lines she made such a swift about face that her opponents were left "stupefied." Courtesy of The Archive of the Jesuits in Canada/Archives des jésuites au Canada (Nicolas Point, fonds).

permitted to go from all the camps, without molestation, to carry any message given her to either camp."[55]

In 1916, a Flathead elder recalled his memories of the Kutenai two spirit. She was a strong woman and a great prophetess. After her success as a warrior, she became a peace messenger among the warring tribes. She was killed by the Blackfoot because they discovered that she had purposely delayed the talks in 1837 to allow the Flatheads to escape.[56]

In the early nineteenth century, native women in several tribes gained renown for crossing cultures and genders. Woman Chief of the Crow led war parties, killed a grizzly bear single-handedly, and had four wives; Kuilix, a Pend d'Oreille woman who wore a British soldier's coat (Figure 5), was observed in battle by the Jesuit missionaries Pierre-Jean De Smet and Nicholas Point; and Running Eagle of the Blackfoot, joined nine raids and counted coup three times.[57]

---

[55] Schaeffer, "The Kutenai Female Berdache," 214–215.
[56] Ibid., 217.

We'wha (ca. 1849–1896)

Gender diversity among the Zuni Indians of western New Mexico can be traced from prehistoric times. At the site of Hawikku, near present-day Zuni, archeologists found males buried with objects typically associated with women—a ball of clay and baskets—and in one case a woman was buried wearing both a dress and a man's dance kilt.[58]

In 1879, the first expedition of the government's newly-founded Bureau of Ethnology arrived at the remote village of Zuni. Led by James Stevenson, accompanied by his wife Matilda Coxe Stevenson, the expedition was charged with collecting artifacts and recording the customs of a people considered to be both ancient and on the verge of extinction. The Stevensons encountered a striking Zuni working for the local missionaries. We'wha, Matilda Stevenson noted, "was the most intelligent person in the pueblo" with an extensive knowledge of Zuni history and culture, and therefore an excellent informant for anthropological research. But there was something unusual about We'wha. "She" was one of the tallest members of the tribe, male or female, and in Stevenson's opinion, "certainly the strongest, both mentally and physically."[59] Nonetheless, many years passed before Stevenson discovered the truth: We'wha was a man. His identity in Zuni culture was that of the *lhamana* or two-spirit male (Figure 6).

---

[57] See Roscoe, *Changing Ones*, chap. 4.

[58] Watson Smith, Richard B. Woodbury, and Nathalie F. S. Woodbury, *The Excavation of Hawikuh by Frederick Webb Hodge: Report of the Hendricks-Hodge Expedition 1917–1923*, Contributions from the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, vol. 20 (New York, 1966). Hawikuh, Cibola County, New Mexico (added to the NRHP on October 15, 1966; designated an NHL on October 9, 1960; part of the Zuni-Cibola Complex NHL designated on December 2, 1974).

[59] Matilda Coxe Stevenson, "The Zuñi Indians: Their Mythology, Esoteric Fraternities, and Ceremonies," *Twenty-third Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, 1901–1902* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1904), 20, 37, 310–311. Stevenson uses both male and female pronouns in referring to We'wha. We'wha's life is the subject of Will Roscoe, *The Zuni-Man Woman* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1991).

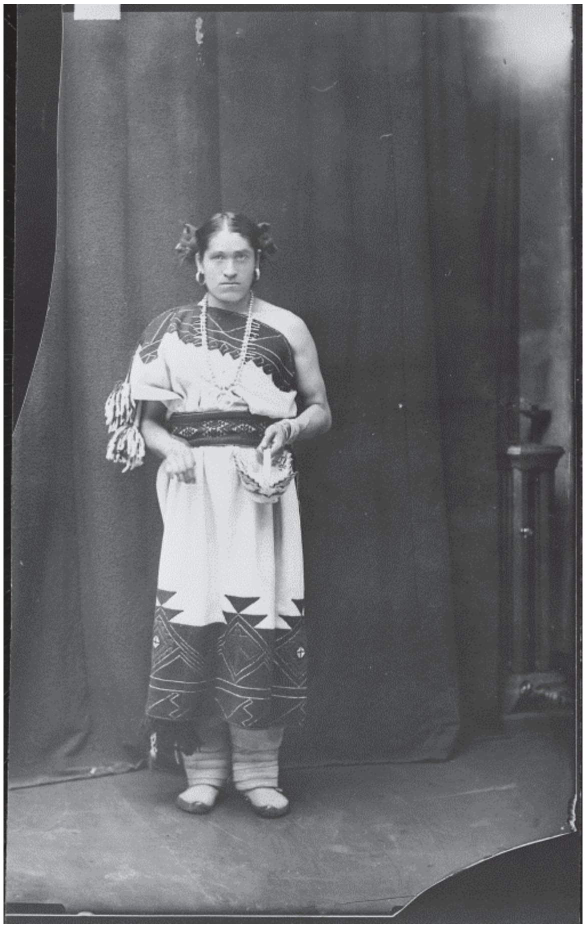


Figure 6: We'wha in ceremonial dress. Photograph by John K. Hillers, Washington, DC, 1886. Courtesy of the US National Archives and Records Administration (NAI 523798).[60]

The *Ihamana* role entailed complex interweavings of men's and women's traits and activities. Born around 1849, We'wha demonstrated a talent for women's work at an early age and learned pottery making from female relatives. But We'wha also excelled in weaving, which was usually done by men, and a census made in 1881 lists him as a farmer, another male role. We'wha was also a member of the men's kachina society, responsible for performing masked dances.

Stevenson formed an enduring friendship with the Zuni *Ihamana*. In 1886, she brought We'wha to live with her and James for six months in Washington, DC, where We'wha called on President Cleveland and other political leaders and circulated in Washington society.[61] All believed he was a woman. We'wha assisted Stevenson with her ethnographic research and posed for a series of photographs documenting Zuni weaving at the Smithsonian Institution and on the National Mall—one of the first uses of photography for this purpose.[62] In fact, We'wha may be one of the first Native American artists to have signed their work—two pots in the collections of the American

---

[60] In the public domain: https://catalog.archives.gov/id/523798

[61] Home of James and Matilda Coxe Stevenson, 1913 N Street NW, Washington, DC (no longer extant).

[62] Smithsonian Building, Jefferson Drive at Tenth Street SW, Washington, DC (added to the NRHP on October 15, 1966; designated an NHL on January 12, 1965), National Mall (added to the NRHP on October 15, 1966).

Museum of Natural History bear a crude signature with a version of that name.[63]

In 1892, six years after traveling to DC, We'wha was arrested for striking an American soldier attempting to arrest the Zuni governor. A contingent of heavily armed troops from Fort Wingate was dispatched to the pueblo and a raucous confrontation ensued. In the aftermath, key Zuni leaders, and We'wha, were arrested and imprisoned at Fort Wingate for a month.[64]

Stevenson was present at We'wha's death in 1896:

> We'wha asked the writer to come close and in a feeble voice she said, in English: "Mother, I am going to the other world....Tell all my friends in Washington good-by. Tell President Cleveland, my friend, good-by. Mother, love all my people; protect them; they are your children; you are their mother."[65]

We'wha's death, Stevenson reported, elicited "universal regret and distress."[66] When a Zuni woman was tried by tribal authorities for having caused We'wha's death by witchcraft, soldiers were again dispatched from Fort Wingate and occupied the village for five months. These traumatic events are remembered vividly by Zunis to the present day.[67]

Ohchiish, (1854-1929)

On June 17, 1876, General George Crook was leading one of three Army columns bearing down upon the hostile Lakota Sioux and Cheyenne Indians amassed under Sitting Bull when he decided to bivouac along the

---

[63] See Dwight P. Lanmon and Francis H. Harlow, *The Pottery of Zuni Pueblo* (Santa Fe: Museum of New Mexico Press, 2008).
[64] Fort Wingate Historic District, near Gallup, New Mexico (added to the NRHP on May 26, 1978).
[65] Stevenson, "The Zuñi Indians," 311–312.
[66] Ibid., 310.
[67] For a full account of the episode and its aftermath see Roscoe, *The Zuni Man-Woman*, chap. 4.

Rosebud River in southern Montana.[68] He sat down to play a game of cards with his officers. At that moment the Sioux and Cheyenne attacked.

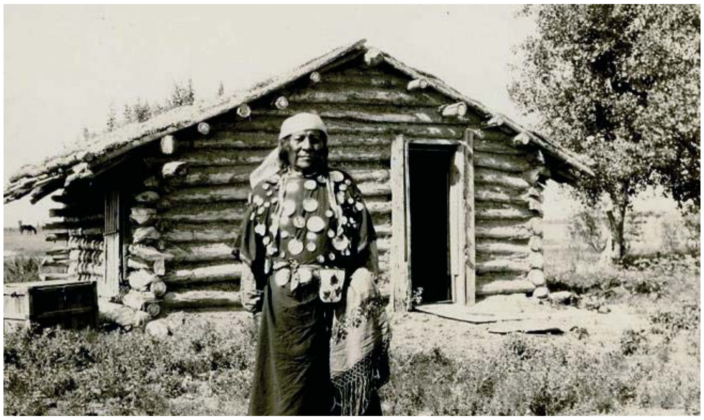


Figure 7: Ohchiish (Finds-Them-and-Kills-Them) standing in front of his cabin, wearing clothes he had prepared for his burial. Photograph by C. H. Asbury, 1928. Courtesy of the Smithsonian Institution, National Anthropological Archives (INV 00476300).

Crook barely avoided Custer's fate, whose forces were wiped out ten days later at the Little Big Horn. In the initial fray, Crook's command was nearly overwhelmed and only the intervention of Crow warriors, who had joined his forces to fight their traditional enemies, saved his position. Among these was the *boté* Ohchiish, a shorted form of Ohchikapdaapesh, or Finds-Them-and-Kills-Them (Figure 7).[69]

Born in 1854, Ohchiish had shown interest in women's work from an early age and as an adult dressed as a woman. He enjoyed a reputation for skill in leatherwork and beading, and was credited with making the largest tipi known in the tribe, the lodge of Chief Iron Bull. Years later, a Crow woman named Pretty Shield recalled what happened that day on the Rosebud:

---

[68] Rosebud Battlefield–Where the Girl Saved Her Brother, near Kirby, Montana (added to the NHRP on August 21, 1972; designated an NHL on August 19, 2008). "Where the Girl Saved her Brother" is the Cheyenne name for the site, based on an incident that occurred during the battle when a Cheyenne woman, Buffalo Calf Road Woman, charged into the fray to rescue her brother. She was not a *hetaneman*, or two-spirited female, however, as indicated by her appearance in a ledger drawing depicting the event (National Anthropological Archives, MS 166,032, 08704700), where she is dressed in the typical manner of a Cheyenne woman. In contrast, the Cheyenne female depicted in Figure 2 is fighting *as a man*, bare-chested, wearing a man's breechclout.

[69] See Roscoe, *Changing Ones*, chap. 2. I follow the transcription of the name in Lillian Bullshows Hogan, *The Woman Who Loved Mankind: The Life of a Twentieth-Century Crow Elder* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2012). Hogan, a Crow elder, uses both male and female pronouns in referring to Ohchiish and notes, "They don't call him 'him' or 'her.' They just say 'a person'" (124).

> Yes, a Crow woman fought with Three-stars [Crook] on the Rosebud, two of them did, for that matter; but one of them was neither a man nor a woman. She looked like a man, and yet she wore woman's clothing; and she had the heart of a woman. Besides, she did a woman's work. Her name was Finds-them-and-kills-them....
>
> The other woman...was a wild one who had no man of her own. She was both bad and brave, this one. Her name was The-other-magpie; and she was pretty....
>
> During the fight on the Rosebud both these women did brave deeds. When Bull-snake fell from his horse, badly wounded, Finds-them-and-kills-them dashed up to him, got down from her horse, and stood over him, shooting at the Lacota as rapidly as she could load her gun and fire. The-other-magpie rode round and round them, singing her war-song and waving her coup-stick, the only weapon she had.
>
> When the Lacota, seeing Bull-snake on the ground, charged to take his scalp, The-other-magpie rode straight at them, waving her coup-stick. Her medicine was so strong that the Lacota turned and rode away; and Bull-snake was saved.
>
> Both these women expected death that day. Finds-them-and-kills-them, afraid to have the Lacota find her dead with woman-clothing on her, changed them to a man's before the fighting commenced, so that if killed the Lacota would not laugh at her, lying there with a woman's clothes on her. She did not want the Lacota to believe that she was a Crow man hiding in a woman's dress, you see.[70]

---

[70] Frank B. Linderman, *Red Mother* (New York: John Day Company, 1932), 227–231.

Fighting together, Ohchiish and The-Other-Magpie killed a Lakota warrior and returned to camp bearing his scalp.

In the years that followed, the Crows faced growing pressure to abandon traditional culture. *Boté*, including Ohchiish, were singled out by government agents, school teachers, and missionaries. One agent attempted to suppress the role altogether. According to tribal historian Joe Medicine Crow, "The agent incarcerated the *badés*, cut off their hair, made them wear men's clothing. He forced them to do manual labor, planting these trees that you see here on the BIA [Bureau of Indian Affairs] grounds. The people were so upset with this that Chief Pretty Eagle came into Crow Agency, and told [the agent] to leave the reservation."[71]

In the end, none of this seemed to affect Ohchiish. In 1919, retired Army general Hugh Scott interviewed "Woman Jim" as he was known among the local whites. Using Plains Indian sign language, Ohchiish recalled the day he fought on the Rosebud. An officer, Colonel Guy Henry, was shot in the face, and while being carried on a travois dropped into a mud hole. Ohchiish pulled him up and remembered how the gallant officer laughed at his predicament. Asked how he felt, another observer reported, Henry replied, "Bully! Never felt better in my life. Everybody is so kind."[72]

Hastíín Klah, (1867-1937)

In November 1937, a group of Anglo-Americans and Navajo Indians gathered on a hilltop above Santa Fe to inaugurate a unique institution, the Museum of Navajo Ceremonial Art. Built at the expense of the Boston heiress, Mary Cabot Wheelwright, the museum was to be devoted to the preservation of the art and culture of the Navajo Nation. Today, the Wheelwright Museum of the American Indian continues to occupy the same striking structure dedicated that day—a large-scale recreation of the traditional Navajo house, the eight-sided hogan.[73]

---

[71] Walter L. Williams, *The Spirit and the Flesh: Sexual Diversity in American Indian Culture* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1986), 179. Chief Plenty Coups (Alek-Chea-Ahoosh) Home, Pryor, Montana (added to the NRHP on October 6, 1970; designated an NHL on January 20, 1999).

[72] Martin F. Schmitt, ed. *General George Crook: His Autobiography* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1946), 197.

The Wheelwright Museum was the result of a collaboration between two remarkable individuals, Wheelwright and perhaps the most influential two spirit in American history, the Navajo *nádleehí*, Hastíín Klah (Figure 8).

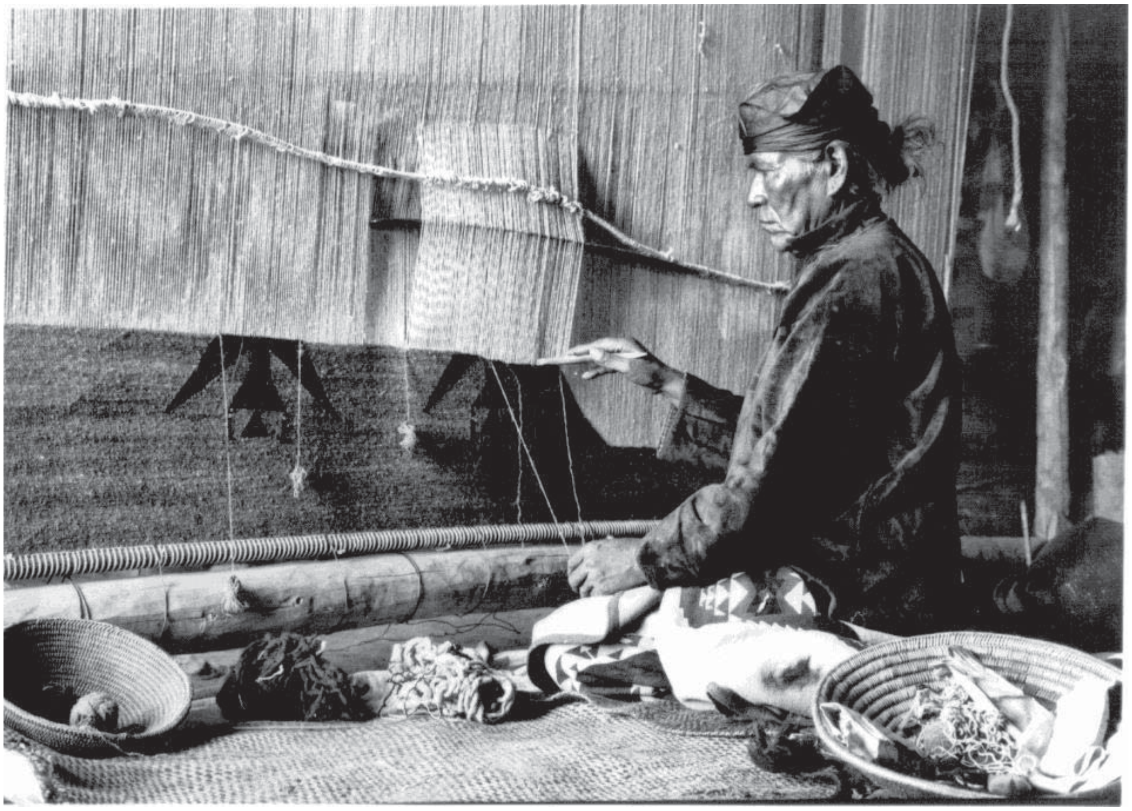


Figure 8: Hastíín Klah, weaving a sandpainting tapestry. Photograph by Dane Coolidge, ca. 1925. Courtesy of the Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley (BANC PIC 1905.17171:47).

Klah was born in 1867 in western New Mexico. He showed interest in religion at an early age, and by the time he was ten he had learned his first ceremony.[74] This required memorizing long chants, mastering complex ceremonial procedures, and creating sandpaintings using ground stones and other materials depicting mythological scenes.

---

[73] Wheelwright Museum of the American Indian, 704 Camino Lejo, Santa Fe, New Mexico (added to the NRHP on December 18, 1990).

[74] The following account of Klah's life is based on Roscoe, *Changing Ones*, chap. 3 and Franc Johnson Newcomb, *Hosteen Klah: Navaho Medicine Man and Sand Painter* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1964).

Klah's *nádleeh* status was confirmed when he was a teenager following his recovery from a near-fatal accident. According to his friend Francis Newcomb, he had entered a "very special category":

> The Navahos believed him to be honored by the gods and to possess unusual mental capacity combining both male and female attributes. He was expected to master all the knowledge, skill, and leadership of a man and also all of the skills, ability, and intuition of a woman. Klah during his lifetime lived up to these expectations in every way.[75]

As an adult, Klah dressed as a man. The anthropologist Gladys Reichard observed that "there was nothing feminine about him unless an indescribable gentleness be so called. The reasons the Navajo called him 'one-who-has-been-changed' were chiefly that he wove blankets and was not interested in women."[76] He mastered the skills of weaving smooth, finely patterned rugs, and in 1893 he was invited to demonstrate his craft at New Mexico's exhibit at the World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago.[77]

When Arthur and Francis (known to friends as Franc) Newcomb took over a remote trading post near Klah's home in 1914, he was a prominent figure in the area. Whereas most medicine men learned one or two ceremonies in a lifetime, Klah mastered eight.[78] At his first Yeibichai dance in 1917, Newcomb estimated that nearly two thousand Indians from several tribes attended. Klah distributed goods and sheep representing one-third of his worldly wealth and declared his intention to devote his life to spiritual concerns.

In 1919, Franc Newcomb proposed that Klah incorporate sandpainting designs into his weavings. "I assured him that a blanket of this type would never be used on the floor but would be hung on the wall of some museum. He said he would think about it."[79] Klah's first sandpainting tapestry created a stir. Because of its religious content, some Navajos demanded that it be destroyed. Klah believed that his powers as a medicine man could protect him. His tapestries were an immediate success. In the midst of the Depression, they sold for as much as five thousand dollars. Most are now in museums. Klah's bold innovation helped transform what had been a craft into a fine art.

---

[75] Newcomb, *Hosteen Klah*, 97.
[76] Gladys A. Reichard, "Individualism and Mythological Style," *Journal of American Folklore* 57 (1944): 23.
[77] Burnham Park, Lakefront and Northerly Island, 5491 South Shore Drive, Chicago, Illinois.
[78] James C. Faris, *The Nightway: A History and a History of Documentation of a Navajo Ceremonial* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1990), 87.

Wheelwright's friendship with Klah began in 1921 soon after she purchased one of his weavings. In 1931, when Klah's assistant died, it was a bitter disappointment. In his sixties, he no longer had time to train another student. Wheelwright asked him if he would be willing to place his ceremonial equipment and weavings in a place where they would be preserved and could be studied. Klah agreed and plans were begun for the museum in Santa Fe.

In 1934, Klah returned to Chicago to demonstrate sandpainting and display his tapestries at the Century of Progress International Exhibition.[80] En route, a newspaper reporter asked him for his impression of Americans. Klah replied:

> The Americans hurry too much. All the time you hurry and worry how you are going to hurry and worry more. You go thru life so fast you can't see beauty. I live the way I did when I came here first in 1893. I am happy. That is why I come. I want to show the white people that I am happier than they are because I don't have all those things to worry about.[81]

Hastíín Klah died at the age of seventy in February 1937, a few months before the dedication of the museum he helped envision.

---

[79] Newcomb, *Hosteen Klah*, 157.
[80] Jackson Park, 6401 South Stony Island Avenue, Chicago, Illinois.
[81] Roscoe, *Changing Ones*, 57.

Conclusion: History Matters

Knowledge of the sexual and gender diversity of American Indians, Alaskan Natives, and native Hawaiians has real implications for Americans of all backgrounds. The 2010 film *Two Spirits* relates the story of a young Navajo named Fred Martinez, Jr.[82] As a teenager in Cortez, Colorado, Fred expressed many of the mix-gender traits and temperament typical of a traditional *nádhleeh*. In the film his mother recalls, "He's the kind of person so willing to give what he has. If he seen somebody, a boy that has a shoe that's not good…'I got lots of shoes, I got lots of shirts. Let me give this to them.' He would give it to them.'" Fred wore makeup and often used female names. His mother supported him, but living off the reservation he had no access to traditional extended family support systems or mentoring. Nor did school officials intervene when he was subjected to bullying. Tragically, as the film relates, Fred was murdered in 2001 by a young Anglo man in a brutal hate crime.

The incident shocked the community, and in its aftermath the local high school changed its dress code and instituted anti-bullying programs to protect gay and transgender children, while local law enforcement officials gained awareness of the seriousness of crimes motivated by homophobia and transphobia. But another lesson is to be learned, as well. Two-spirit/LGBTQ history not only challenges stereotypes and transforms prejudice, it provides the path to self-esteem, empowerment, and community for two-spirit/LGBTQ native people, while the stories of two-spirit males and females in American history teach us all about sexual and gender diversity and the ways in which these differences make distinctive cultural and historical contributions.

---

[82] Lydia Nibley and Russell Martin, *Two Spirits* (Los Angeles: Independent Lens/Riding the Tiger Productions, LLC, 2010), DVD.

10

TRANSGENDER HISTORY IN THE UNITED STATES AND THE PLACES THAT MATTER

Susan Stryker

The word "transgender" first appeared in print in American English in 1965, and entered widespread use only in the 1990s.[1] Thus, it might seem to name a relatively recent phenomenon without much of a history—one that has had scant time to leave many traces in the built environment or inhabited landscape. In most respects, "transgender" is just today's term for referring to the ways people can live lives that depart from the conventional patterns according to which all bodies are assigned a sex at birth (male or female) and enrolled in a social gender (girl or boy), form gendered personalities (subjective feelings of being a man or a woman or something else), and come to occupy the social and kinship roles considered normal for people assigned to their particular birth-sex (for example, becoming a wife or father). In so doing, such people cross over (*trans*-) the gender categories that organize the historically specific ways we all imagine ourselves to be the particular kind of persons that we are.

---

[1] Cristan Williams, "Transgender," *TSQ: Transgender Studies Quarterly* 1, no. 1-2 (2014): 232-234.

Such “gender variance” is a common feature in human cultures. It seems that however a given culture constructs its typical ways of being a person, some members of that culture do it differently, for whatever reason.[2]

Different cultures deal with gender variance differently.[3] Over the past few hundred years, gender variance in societies of western European origin, including dominant US culture, has most often been understood as something antisocial, sinful, criminal, or psychopathological—and thus in need of correction. People with what we might now call transgender feelings about themselves have often resisted the moral, legal, and medical characterizations of their lives that have resulted in their social oppression. At the same time they have sought to be recognized legally and socially as the kind of gendered person they consider themselves to be, and may also have sought medical treatment or psychotherapeutic support for expressing their gender. Since the nineteenth century, the struggles of such people have formed one thread in the larger historical tapestry of identity-based social movements that have sought to better the conditions of life for people in marginalized minority communities in the United States. Transgender social history has definitely left its mark on America, and these stories are increasingly coming to the public’s attention. As the title of a 2016 web-based series of trans-history mini-documentaries puts it, “We’ve Been Around.”[4]

Prior to European colonization, and continuing until the present day, many cultures indigenous to North America have organized gender, sexuality, and social roles quite differently than settler societies of modern European origin.[5] Transgender histories in the United States, like the broader national histories of which they form a part, originate in colonial contact zones where members of the arriving culture encountered kinds of people it struggled to comprehend. This is *not* to say that such indigenous persons can or should be slotted into a contemporary "transgender" category, but to note that Eurocentric notions of transgender are inextricably caught up in colonial practices for the management of cultural difference. Important sites for transgender history thus include places where soldiers, missionaries, and settlers encountered indigenous practices that did not align with their own sense of proper expressions of gender and sexuality.

---

[2] Susan Stryker, *Transgender History* (Emeryville, CA: Seal Press, 2008), 1.

[3] There is an extensive literature on cross-cultural gender variance; some helpful starting places are: Trystan Cotten, ed., *Transgender Migrations: The Bodies, Borders, and Politics of Transition* (New York: Routledge, 2011); Gilbert Herdt, ed., *Third Sex, Third Gender: Beyond Sexual Dimorphism in History and Culture* (Cambridge, MA: Zone Books, 1996); Toni Lester, ed., *Gender Nonconformity, Race, and Sexuality: Charting the Connections* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2002); DeWight R. Middleton, *Exotics and Erotics: Human Cultural and Sexual Diversity* (Long Grove, IL: Waveland Press, 2001); Serena Nanda, *Gender Diversity: Crosscultural Variations,* 2nd ed. (Long Grove, IL: Waveland Press, 2014); Evan B. Towle and Lynn M. Morgan, "Romancing the Transgender Native: Rethinking the Use of the ‘Third Gender’ Concept,” *GLQ: A Journal of Lesbian and Gay Studies* 8, no. 4 (2002): 469-497; David Valentine, *Imagining Transgender: An Ethnography of a Category* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2007).

[4] *We’ve Been Around,* directed by Rhys Ernst (Los Angeles: Nonetheless Productions, 2016); available online at various media outlets, for details see http://www.nonethelessproductions.com.

In the first published narrative of European exploration in what is now the United States, Álvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca, writing of his overland journey from Florida to Mexico between 1528 and 1536, described encounters with apparent males who lived and worked as women, whom he called *hombres amarionados impotente* (impotent effeminate men). Jacques Marquette, the first European known to have visited the Upper Mississippi, observed "men who do everything women do" in his travels in what is now Illinois, between 1673 and 1677.[6] Relatedly, indigenous scholar Deborah Miranda (Esselen and Chumash) characterizes as "gendercide" the compulsory regendering, or outright extermination, of indigenous persons at Spanish missions in California and the Southwest who did not conform to Eurocentric ideas of proper gendered personhood (Figure 1).[7]

---

[5] See Roscoe (this volume).

[6] Primary documents in English translation are included in Jonathan Katz, *Gay American History: Lesbians and Gay Men in the U.S.A.* (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, 1976), see 281-284 for Cabeza de Vaca, and 287 for Marquette.

[7] Deborah A. Miranda, "Extermination of the *Joyas:* Gendercide in Spanish California," *GLQ: A Journal of Lesbian and Gay Studies* 16, no. 1-2 (2010): 253-284. Many missions in California and elsewhere are listed on the NRHP and/or designated NHLs. Specifically mentioned in the article are the Mission San Carlos Borromeo del rio Carmelo (Carmel Mission); Mission San Antonio de Padua (Mission San Antonio); Mission Basilica San Diego de Alcala (Mission San Diego); Mission Santa Barbara; Mission San Jose; Mission San Francisco de Asis (Mission Dolores); Mission Santa Clara de Asis (Mission Santa Clara); and Mission Santa Ynez (Mission Santa Ines). The Carmel Mission, 3080 Rio Road, Carmel-by-the-Sea, California, was listed on the NRHP on October 15, 1966 and designated

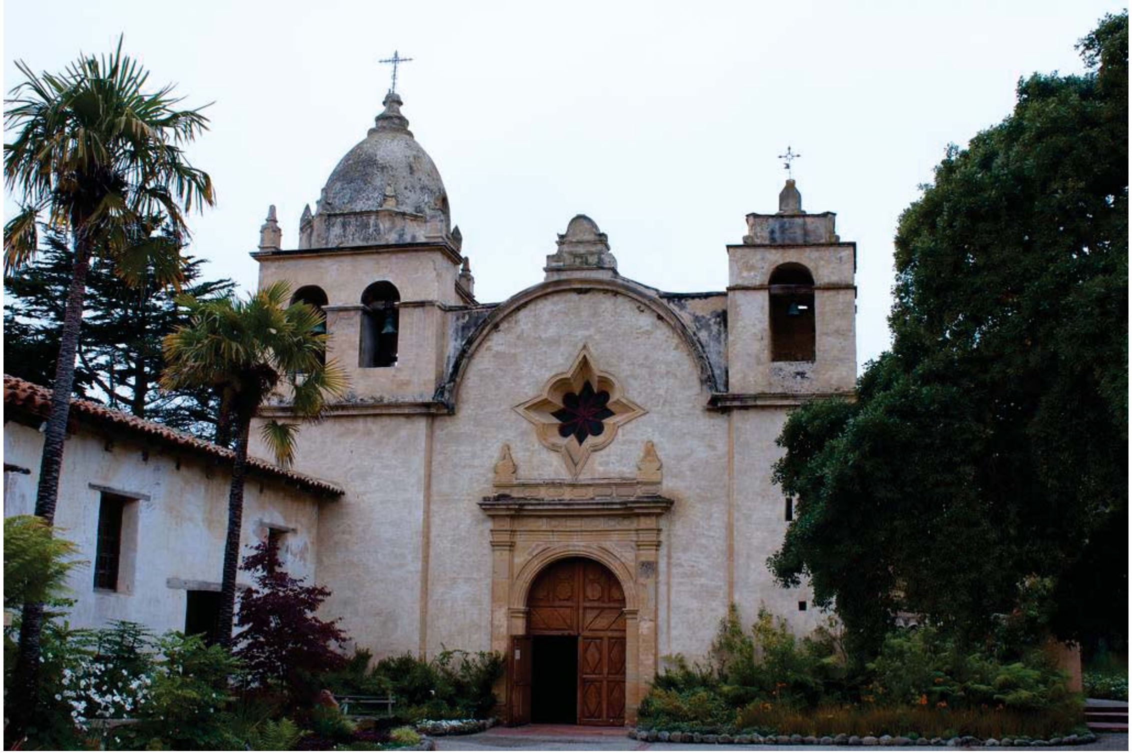


Figure 1: The chapel at the Mission San Carlos Borromeo de Carmelo (Carmel Mission), Carmel-by-the-Sea, California. Photo by Kristina D.C. Hoeppner, 2011.[8]

While such encounters left no physical landmarks, interpretive signage and other explanatory text on websites and in visitor centers devoted to historic trails and early colonial sites could describe European perceptions of gender variance, and note that the perception of gender variance in indigenous cultures typically functioned as a justification for colonization: that these people were worthy of death, in need of salvation, or unfit to occupy the land.[9] Similarly, interpretive materials could also incorporate

---

an NHL on October 9, 1960. Mission San Antonio de Padua, near Jolon, Monterey County, California was listed on the NRHP on April 26, 1976 and is located along the Juan Bautista de Anza National Historic Trail (a unit of the NPS) established in 1990. Mission San Diego, 10818 San Diego Mission Road, San Diego, California was listed on the NRHP and designated an NHL as the San Diego Mission Church on April 15, 1970. Mission Santa Barbara, 2201 Laguna Street, Santa Barbara, California was added to the NRHP on October 15, 1966 and designated an NHL on October 9, 1960. Mission San Jose, 43300 Mission Boulevard, Fremont, California was listed on the NRHP on July 14, 1971. Mission San Francisco de Asis, 320 Dolores Street, San Francisco, California was listed on the NRHP on March 16, 1972. Mission Santa Clara, 500 El Camino Real, Santa Clara, California, not listed; Mission Santa Ynez, 1760 Mission Drive, Solvang, California, was listed on the NRHP on March 8, 1999 and designated an NHL on January 20, 1999.

[8] License: CC BY-SA 2.0. https://www.flickr.com/photos/4nitsirk/6095826918

[9] Drawing on this article, the following are examples of places that could include the recognition of native variance from European norms, and European responses to it, in interpretive materials: for Cabeza de Vaca, see Donald E. Sheppard, “Cabeza de Vaca, Journeys Across North America 1528-36,” http://www.floridahistory.com/cabeza.html; for Marquette, see Melinda Roberts, “Jacques

indigenous worldviews that demonstrate how “gender” could be conceptualized differently.

It is by looking at the lives of transgender, transsexual, cross-dressing, and gender variant individuals and groups that we reveal the historical geographies of American transgender history. Cases involving gender-variant people are present in some of the earliest legal records of the Anglo-American colonies. In 1629, the Virginia Court in Williamsburg heard testimony to decide the fate of one Thomasine or Thomas Hall, apparently an individual born with physically ambiguous genitalia who lived as both a man and a woman at different periods of life. Raised in England as a girl, Hall presented as a man to become a sailor, presented again as a woman to work as a lacemaker, and eventually became an indentured servant in Virginia as a man. Accused of performing an illicit sexual act with a female servant, the question before the Virginia Court was to determine whether Hall was male, and therefore guilty of fornication, or female, and therefore guilty of no crime, given that sexual activity between women was considered physically impossible. Unable to reach a conclusion, the court ordered Hall to wear a mix of men’s and women’s clothing.[10] It is unknown whether Hall, who thereafter disappears from the historical record, complied.

Marquette and Louis Joliet,” *Wisconsin Historical Markers* (blog), http://wisconsinhistoricalmarkers.blogspot.com/2013/04/jacques-marquette-and-louis-joliet.html; for California Missions, see “El Camino Real,” http://missiontour.org/wp/related/el-camino-real.html. Other indigenous and colonial locations include: the area around Yuma, Arizona along the Juan Bautista de Anza National Historic Trail, where on December 7, 1775 a member of the group described “effeminate men” among the Yuma; the Stones of Kapaemahu on Kuhio Beach, Waikiki, Hawai’i, which commemorate the arrival of the gender variant mahu; Fort Caroline National Memorial that commemorates the founding of Fort Caroline in 1564, an event that brought Europeans into contact with gender-variant Timucua Indians; and the Chief Plenty Coups (Alek-Chea-Ahoosh) Home, residence of Chief Plenty Coups who, in the late 1880s, told federal Indian Agents to leave the reservation after they tried to make the two-spirit *bote* dress in male clothing. The Juan Bautista de Anza National Historic Trail (a unit of the NPS) was created in 1990; Fort Caroline National Memorial was listed on the NRHP on October 15, 1966 and designated a National Memorial on January 16, 1953; the Chief Plenty Coups (Alek-Chea-Ahoosh) Home at 1 Pryor Road, Pryor, Montana was added to the NRHP on October 6, 1970 and designated an NHL on January 20, 1999.

[10] H. R. McIlwaine, ed., *Minutes of the Council and General Court of Colonial Virginia, 1622-1632, 1670-76* (Richmond, VA: Colonial Press/Everett Waddey, 1924), 194-195; the court convened twice yearly at the colonial capital in Williamsburg. For an insightful discussion of the Hall case, see Mary Beth Norton, *Founding Mothers and Fathers: Gendered Power and the Forming of American Society* (New York: Vintage, 1997), 183-202. The Williamsburg Historic District was added to the NRHP on October 15, 1966 and designated an NHL on October 9, 1960.

In 1652, Joseph Davis of Haverhill, Massachusetts was presented to the Court of Strawberry Banke (Portsmouth, New Hampshire), and charged with “putting on women's apparel and going from house to house in the night time with a female.”[11] In 1677, Dorothie Hoyt of Essex County, Massachusetts was summoned to the Salem Court “for putting on man's apparel;” Hoyt failed to appear, having “gone out of the county.” These and other such cases, such as Mary Henly’s appearance in the Middlesex County Court in 1692 to face a charge of wearing men's clothing, undoubtedly contributed to Massachusetts Bay Colony’s passage of an anti-cross-dressing law in 1696.[12] Of significance here is the *kind* of spaces and institutions within which gender variant people become visible in the colonial period: primarily in courts, attesting to the perception of gender variant practices as problems of social order. These lives leave traces on the physical landscape, shaping the laws and spaces designed to regulate gender and sexuality.

It is often not possible to determine what motivated the behavior of people who entered the historical record centuries ago for wearing clothing not typically worn by people of their apparent sex. Sometimes, even when it is, the reasons have nothing to do how we now typically understand transgender identity. In 1776, the former Jemima Wilkinson, from a prominent Philadelphia Quaker family, had a transformative religious experience in which she believed Christ entered her body during a serious illness. Wilkinson thereafter claimed to be neither female nor male, adopted a unique manner of dress, took the non-gender-specific name The Publick Universal Friend, began to preach, and attracted a devoted following. The Friend’s followers eventually built a separatist religious community they named Jerusalem, on the shores of Keuka Lake in Upstate New York, in the 1790s. The community’s buildings, whose architecture reflected the celibate and communal lifestyle of its adherents

---

[11] Strawberry Banke was added to the NRHP on June 20, 1975.

[12] All examples of seventeenth-century cross-dressing are taken from Elizabeth Reis, *Bodies in Doubt: An American History of Intersex* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins Press, 2009), 15.

(and thus their atypical ideas about gender and sexuality), are still extant and many are registered historic sites in Yates County, New York.[13]

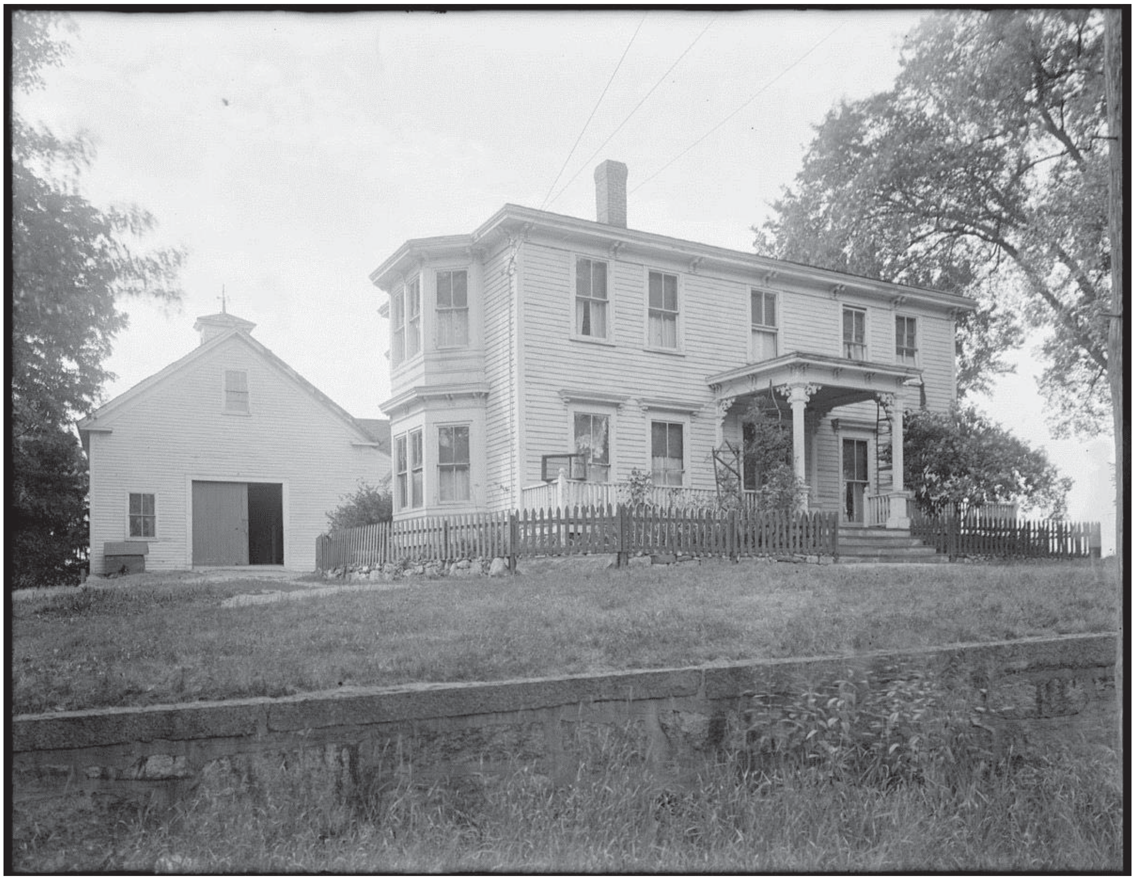


Figure 2: Deborah Sampson Gannett House, East Street, Sharon, Massachusetts. Photo by Leon H. Abdalian, 1930, from the collections of the Boston Public Library.[14]

It would be remiss to interpret the perception of cross-dressing by others as an expression of transgender identification by the person thus dressed. Deborah Sampson, for example, born December 17, 1760 in Plympton, Plymouth County, Massachusetts, assumed the identity of her deceased brother Robert to enlist in the Continental Army, Fourth Massachusetts Regiment, in which she participated in combat. After the war she resumed life as a woman, married, mothered children, lectured publicly on her years passing as a man, and received a government pension as a veteran of the Revolutionary War. While she certainly engaged in transgender *practices* during one period of her life in order to participate in activities denied to women, there is no evidence she expressed a transgender *identity*. That she cross-dressed only temporarily for a patriotic cause, and did not ultimately challenge the stability of gender categorization, goes a long way towards explaining how Sampson could be celebrated as a heroine in her own day, and remembered positively in the present (Figure 2).[15]

---

[13] Herbert Wisbey, Jr., *Pioneer Prophetess: Jemima Wilkinson, the Publick Universal Friend* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2009); Paul B. Moyer, *The Public Universal Friend: Jemima Wilkinson and Religious Enthusiasm in Revolutionary America* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2015). The Jemima Wilkinson House in Jerusalem, New York was added to the NRHP on August 24, 1994.

[14] License: CC BY 2.0. https://www.flickr.com/photos/boston_public_library/2589479441

This is in contrast to Albert Cashier, an Irish immigrant given the name Jennie Hodgers at birth, who saw combat in the Civil War as a member of the 95th Illinois Infantry. Cashier had been sent out by his impoverished parents to work as boy from an early age; he changed his name and began living as a man upon arrival in the United States in 1862. After being honorably discharged at the end of the war, Cashier continued to live as a man without incident in the small town of Saunemin, Illinois, where he worked as a farmhand and jack-of-all-trades. In 1910, Cashier's employer accidently hit him with a car, badly breaking his leg, whereupon the employer arranged for Cashier's admission to the Soldiers' and Sailors' Home in Quincy, Illinois. By now an old man, Cashier developed dementia and needed to be moved to the Watertown State Hospital, where his biological sex was discovered.[16] No longer able to assert his sense of being a man, the staff dressed Cashier in women's clothes and housed him in the women's ward. The federal government attempted to revoke his military pension, claiming fraud, until Cashier's former infantry comrades rallied on his behalf and testified about his commendable service. When he died in 1915, Cashier was buried back in Saunemin, under his male name and military rank. Although Cashier has been characterized as a woman who went to war—and the name on his gravestone subsequently changed by well-intentioned feminist historians—his persistent presentation as a man both before and after his military service suggests that it would be more accurate to characterize Cashier as a transgender man. The persistence of his masculine presentation, his quiet insistence on it as a daily reality, is precisely what enabled the government to accuse him of fraud, of being someone other than he claimed to be.[17]

---

[15] Alfred Fabian Young, *Masquerade: The Life and Times of Deborah Sampson, Continental Soldier* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2004); Sheila Solomon Klass, *Soldier's Secret: The Story of Deborah Sampson* (New York: Henry Holt, 2009). The town of Sharon, Massachusetts is home to the Deborah Sampson Gannett House on East Street, a Deborah Sampson Park, and a commemorative Deborah Sampson statue in front of the public library. The Plympton city flag incorporates Sampson as the Official Heroine of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts.

[16] The Soldiers' and Sailors' Home (now the Illinois Veterans' Home) is at 1707 North Twelfth Street, Quincy, Illinois. Watertown State Hospital, now operating as the East Moline Correctional Center, is located at 100 Hillcrest Road, East Moline, Illinois.

At a time when transgender people are only now being allowed to serve openly in the US military, stories of long-gone transgender veterans like Cashier illustrate the ever-shifting historical dimensions of transgender experience, and show that not every change counts as "progress."[18] His story illustrates as well the ongoing importance for transgender history of such built environments as cemeteries, care facilities, mental hospitals, and prisons, which are often sex-segregated, or sex-specific. These physical institutions where practices of nonconsensual gender-ascription play themselves out can survive for decades or even centuries. The presence of hard-to-classify transgender people in them poses a challenge to the spatial organization of such places, and to the cultural assumptions that undergird them. The troubling of gender norms can leave traces in the historical record that can be recovered long afterward. As early as

---

[17] In May 1863, Private Cashier was captured at the Siege of Vicksburg before escaping, see "Jennie Hodgers, aka Private Albert Cashier," National Park Service website, https://www.nps.gov/resources/story.htm?id=187. Vicksburg National Military Park (an NPS unit), located in Vicksburg, Mississippi and Delta, Louisiana was established February 21, 1899; it was added to the NRHP on October 15, 1966. Cashier's post-Civil War residence and grave are designated historical sites in Saunemin, Illinois. On the broader history of female-bodied people serving in the Civil War, see Elizabeth D. Leonard, *All the Daring of the Soldier: Women of the Civil War Armies* (New York: W.W. Norton & Co, 1999); and Larry G. Eggleston, *Women in the Civil War: Extraordinary Stories of Soldiers, Spies, Nurses, Doctors, Crusaders, and Others* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2003). On how Cashier's gender and identity should be conceptualized, see Amy Benck, "Albert D. J. Cashier: Woman Warrior, Insane Civil War Veteran, or Transman?" *OutHistory.org*, http://outhistory.org/exhibits/show/tgi-bios/albert-cashier.

[18] Dan Lamothe, "The Pentagon's Ban on Transgender Service Just Fell – But the Details are Complicated." *Washington Post,* June 30, 2016. https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/checkpoint/wp/2016/06/30/the-pentagons-ban-on-transgender-service-just-fell-but-the-details-are-complicated/.

1799, for example, a person named Samuel (a.k.a. Sarah) Johnson was discovered to be a female "who had accustomed herself to wear men's cloaths for several years" after being arrested for housebreaking in Allegheny County, Pennsylvania and sentenced to three years in Philadelphia's Walnut Street Prison—the first modern penitentiary. Johnson was incarcerated with women, but was allowed to continue dressing as a man.[19] His presence there helps historians today better understand how gender was conceptualized more than two centuries ago.

The life of Joseph Lobdell, christened Lucy Ann at birth, ended in 1912, at age eighty-three, in the Willard Asylum for the Chronic Insane in Ovid, New York.[20] Born in 1829 on the outskirts of Albany, New York and raised around Long Eddy in the Delaware River Valley, Lobdell rebelled against feminine expectations from an early age. Lobdell won fame as an excellent hunter and marksman, and published an autobiography that doubled as an impassioned feminist denunciation of inequality between the sexes. He changed name and gender presentation in his mid-twenties, lived in various locations on the western fringes of white settlement in Minnesota and Western New York, and entered into a decades-long co-habiting relationship with Marie Louise Perry. Prone to fits of mania by middle age, Lobdell's siblings had him declared legally insane, told his common-law partner that he had died, and locked him away for the rest of his long life under his former name and gender.[21] A psychiatrist's report on Lobdell's case, which emphasizes his physical sex rather than his gender identity, is among the earliest uses in the US medical literature of the term *lesbian*, and exemplifies a growing forensic interest in gender variance.[22]

---

[19] Jen Manion, *Liberty's Prisoners: Carceral Culture in Early America* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2016), 164; Johnson's case is noted in the Walnut Street Prison Sentence Docket Book on December 4, 1799. The Walnut Street Prison was located on a lot on Walnut Street, bounded by Locust and Sixth Streets, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. The prison was razed following its closure in 1835.

[20] The Willard Asylum for the Chronic Insane, Ovid, New York was added to the NRHP on June 7, 1975.

[21] Bambi Lobdell, *A Strange Sort of Being: The Transgender Life of Lucy Ann/Joseph Israel Lobdell, 1829-1912* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2011).

[22] P. M. Wise, "A Case of Sexual Perversion," *Alienist and Neurologist: A Quarterly Journal of Scientific, Clinical and Forensic Psychiatry and Neurology* 4, no. 1 (1883): 87-91.

Lobdell's story represents two important trends in nineteenth-century US transgender history: the development of new medical and scientific ideas that increasingly reframed transgender behavior as illness (discussed immediately below), and a relationship between gender nonnormativity and westward migration (discussed further below). During the late nineteenth century, the fledgling life sciences vastly expanded knowledge about basic biological processes, and medicine began to gain unprecedented social power. Some transgender people found ways of working within this emerging biomedical nexus, such as the early radiologist Alan Lucill Hart, a Stanford-educated doctor who began life with the name Alberta Lucille Hart. Hart used the eugenic argument that "inverts" such as himself should not be allowed to reproduce, and thereby was given a hysterectomy, making him the first known person in the United States to request a surgical procedure for the purpose of expressing his gender identity.[23]

Typically, this new medicolegal configuration of power and knowledge was harnessed to the task of shoring up legal distinctions between people in order to maintain hierarchies between races and sexes. It enabled arguments that blacks were biologically inferior to whites, and women inferior to men.[24] People with transgender feelings increasingly became targets of medical intervention precisely because they represented problems of biopsychosocial classification, as well as opportunities for demonstrating the power of medicolegal and social-scientific knowledge. Johns Hopkins University in Baltimore played a central role in the development of these new conceptual frameworks starting in the nineteenth century. By the early twentieth century, its Brady Urological Clinic, under the direction of Hugh Hampton Young, became closely linked to the development of genital reconstructive surgeries, and it played a pioneering role in the development of endocrinology.[25] Working there in the 1950s, Lawson Wilkins and his student John Money developed the modern treatment protocols for medically managing intersex conditions. In later decades, as an extension of Money's earlier work on intersex, Johns Hopkins became home to the first surgical sex-reassignment clinic in the United States, in 1966.[26]

---

[23] Hart's medical treatment is discussed in J. Allen Gilbert, "Homo-Sexuality and Its Treatment," *Journal of Nervous and Mental Disease* 2, no. 4 (October 1920): 297-332; Gilbert's office was located at 610 SW Alder Street, Seventh Floor, Portland, Oregon. On Hart's life, see Emile Devereaux, "Doctor Alan Hart: X-Ray Vision in the Archive," *Australian Feminist Studies* 25, no. 64 (2010): 175-187, Brian Booth, *The Life and Career of Alberta Lucille / Dr. Alan L. Hart with Collected Early Writings* (Portland, OR: Friends of the Aubrey Watzek Library, Lewis & Clark College, 2003); and Colin Patrick Close, "Manifesting Manhood: Dr. Alan Hart's Transformation and the Embodiment of Sex in Early Twentieth-Century Sexology," master's thesis, Sonoma State University, 2014, available online at https://www.researchgate.net/publication/272831386_Manifesting_Manhood_Dr_Alan_Hart's_Transformation_and_the_Embodiment_of_Sex_in_Early_Twentieth-Century_Sexology.

[24] On the relationship between race and sex classification in scientific sexology, see Siobhan B. Somerville, *Queering the Color Line: Race and the Invention of Homosexuality in American Culture* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2000); on the long history of Johns Hopkins University in the biomedicalization of race and sex, see Rebecca Skloot, *The Immortal Life of Henrietta Lacks* (New York: Random House, 2010).

As discussed above, transgender expression significantly predates its medicalization, and as Lobdell's case makes clear, people who expressed their gender differently sometimes wound up on the margins of settler culture, both socially and geographically. Peter Boag has noted, in his history of gender variance in areas opened to settlement in North America from the 1850s forward, that "cross-dressers were not simply ubiquitous, but were very much part of daily life on the frontier and in the West."[27] The relative anonymity and transience to be found in mining camps, lumber towns, and new "instant cities" such as Denver and San Francisco proved fertile ground for people whose gender identity or expression made geographical movement seem necessary or desirable. Gender ambiguity was so prevalent that one of the most popular souvenirs of the early California Gold Rush was a daguerreotype purporting to be of a "girl miner" dressed in male attire; that the androgynous figure later turned out be a long-haired young man named John Colton only highlights the extent to which gender ambiguity was a common feature in the settlement of the West (Figure 3).[28] Moreover, the post-Civil War years witnessed a marked upsurge in cross-dressing within many forms of popular entertainment, with historians of the theater noting that cross-dressing stage performances were first popularized by the so-called "wench roles" in blackface minstrelsy. Cross-dressing, particularly female-to-male cross-dressing, was also quite common in early cinema. Until the 1920s, theatrical and cinematic cross-dressing was typically considered "respectable" entertainment, and was not associated with social perceptions of "deviance." Consequently, the spectacle of cross-dressed bodies was a familiar sight on stage and screen, in theaters, vaudeville houses, and cinemas throughout the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.[29]

---

[25] On the development of genital surgeries at Hopkins, see Hugh Hampton Young, *Genital Abnormalities, Hermaphroditism, and Related Adrenal Diseases* (Baltimore: Williams and Wilkins, 1937); on the development of endocrinology as a field, see Chandak Sengoopta, *The Most Secret Quintessence of Life: Sex, Glands, and Hormones, 1850-1950* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006). The Johns Hopkins Hospital Complex, 601 North Broadway, Baltimore, Maryland was added to the NRHP on February 24, 1975.

[26] On Money's role in bridging intersex and transsexual medicine, see John Money and Anke A. Ehrhardt, *Man and Woman, Boy and Girl* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1972).

[27] Peter Boag, *Re-Dressing America's Frontier Past* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011), is an invaluable source for directing researchers to western US newspaper accounts, 1850s-1920s, documenting the lives of scores of individuals who were publicly discovered to be presenting as one gender while having the anatomy usually associated with the other.

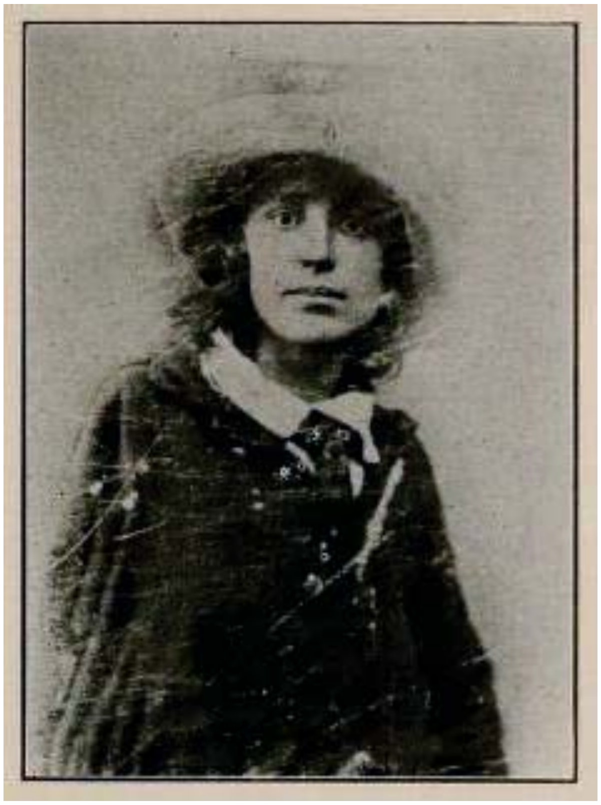


Figure 3: John Colton, aka "Girl Miner," from a daguerreotype taken at Long Wharf, San Francisco, California, 1850. From Lorenzo Dow Stephens, Live Sketches of a Jayhawker of '49 (San Jose: Nolta Brothers, 1916).

Gender variance played a different role in the movements of communities of color into the United States than it did for whites. Asian immigrants to the West Coast faced social conditions that cast them all as gender variant vis-à-vis white gender norms.[30] The skewed sex ratios among Chinese immigrants—the female percentage of the total Chinese population in the United States ranged between three and seven percent in the second half of the nineteenth century—skewed white perceptions of Chinese gender roles and sexuality.[31] White settlers in the West repeatedly commented on their inability to distinguish Chinese men and women, and disparagingly feminized Chinese men for wearing their hair in long queues, and performing labor such as laundering that was considered "women's work" when done by whites.[32] The celebrated Western writer Ambrose Bierce drew on these sociological conditions in his first published short story, "The Haunted Valley," which appeared in *Overland* magazine in 1871. Bierce described an interracial love triangle transpiring in a mining camp between two white men and a Chinese person named Ah Wee, who is initially understood to be a man (thus imparting homoerotic overtones to the story), but is later revealed to be a woman who works as a man.[33]

---

[28] Clare Sears, *Arresting Dress: Cross-Dressing, Law, and Fascination in Nineteenth-Century San Francisco* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2014), 36-37. See also Auer and Graves and Watson (this volume).

[29] Leslie Ferris, ed., *Crossing the Stage: Controversies on Cross-Dressing* (London: Routledge, 1993); Laurence Senelick, *The Changing Room: Sex, Drag, and Theater* (New York: Routledge, 2000); Laura Horak, *Girls Will Be Boys: Crossed-Dressed Women, Lesbians, and American Cinema, 1908-1920* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2015).

Scholars of slavery have noted that enslavement involved a stripping away of many elements of gender—not just of the cultural dimensions of what it meant to be a man or a woman in particular African societies, but a brute reduction of enslaved people to unsexed laboring bodies.[34] Females escaping slavery sometimes disguised themselves as men or boys to evade capture, as was the case with Ann Maria Weems, who posed as a male carriage driver on her flight north from Maryland to Canada in 1855.[35] Blacks often had to assert their belonging in gender categories in ways that whites took for granted, as Sojourner Truth's famous "Ain't I a Woman?" speech to her white abolitionist sisters makes clear.[36]

---

[30] See Sueyoshi (this volume).
[31] Sucheng Chan, *This Bittersweet Soil: The Chinese in California Agriculture, 1860-1910* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989).
[32] Sears, *Arresting Dress*, 34-35, 83-84, 113-114, and passim.
[33] See "Civilizing Violence: 'The Haunted Valley,'" Ambrose Bierce Project, Pennsylvania State University website, http://www.ambrosebierce.org/journal2lee-keller.html.
[34] Hortense Spillers, "Mama's Baby, Papa's Maybe: An American Grammar Book," *Diacritics* 17, no. 2 (Summer 1987): 64-81.
[35] See "Ann Maria Weems," National Park Service website, https://www.nps.gov/subjects/ugrr/discover_history/vignette_details.htm?ID=4073143.

The life of Johanna or John O., which is known only through the account in Magnus Hirschfeld's 1913 casebook *The Transvestites,* exemplifies the relationship between gender variance and white settler migration. Assigned male at birth in the Tyrolean Alps in 1862, Johanna had grown up feeling girl-identified. When it became evident that her family would not support her plans to live as a woman, she did so anyway—running away as a teenager to Switzerland, and later France, before immigrating to the United States in 1882. Often it was the discovery of her biological sex, or on-the-job sexual harassment that compelled Johanna to move and to change jobs. She worked as an embroiderer in a Jersey City clothing factory, as a milkmaid on a dairy farm in upstate New York, and as a camp cook on a cattle trail in Montana. In 1885, she settled in San Francisco, where she supported herself as an itinerant bookseller and kept house for a group of sex-workers in the city's red-light district. Increasingly, her life became confined to those social spaces reserved for activities deemed deviant and illicit that are so often erased from history, memory, and from the physical fabric of our living places. As she aged, Johanna felt it became more difficult to be seen as a woman by others than when she was young and considered herself pretty. Fearing arrest, she reverted to dressing as a man in public, while continuing to dress as she pleased at home, without ever changing her persistent feelings of being a woman.[37]

Johanna's fear of arrest was not unfounded. In the second half of the nineteenth century, a wave of anti-cross-dressing legislation swept the United States, including San Francisco, along with dozens of other urban, suburban, and small-town municipalities.[38] Typically, these laws forbid anyone to appear in public "in a dress not belonging to his or her sex."[39] They had the effect of regulating how the expression of gender variance was geographically spatialized. On the one hand this created the public appearance of greater gender normativity than was actually the case. On the other, this largely confined nonnormative gender expression to the private sphere, or to urban red-light districts set aside (either tacitly or overtly) for various sorts of criminalized activities such as gambling, prostitution, or consuming drugs and alcohol.[40] Given the high degree of employment and housing discrimination faced by people who expressed their gender in nonnormative ways, urban districts that functioned for most people as destinations for late-night vice-tourism functioned for many transgender people as residential ghettos. Most late nineteenth and early-to-mid-twentieth century US cities harbored such districts, with some of the more well-known being the Tenderloin neighborhoods of New York City and San Francisco, New Orleans' Storyville and French Quarter, Seattle's Pioneer Square, Philadelphia's Northern Liberties, Boston's Combat Zone, and the neighborhoods in Los Angeles's historic downtown core around Pershing Square, Bunker Hill, and the old Main Street Theater District.[41]

---

[36] See "Sojourner Truth," National Park Service website, https://www.nps.gov/wori/learn/historyculture/sojourner-truth.htm. Sojourner Truth gave her "Ain't I a Woman" speech at the 1851 Women's Rights Convention held at the Old Stone Church, corner of North High and Perkins Streets, Akron, Ohio. See also Harris (this volume).

[37] Magnus Hirschfeld, *The Transvestites: The Erotic Urge to Cross-Dress,* trans. Michael Lombardi-Nash (Buffalo, NY: Prometheus Books, 1991), 83-94.

[38] See also Stein (this volume).

A number of building types in such red-light and nightlife districts are historically associated with transgender and gender-variant people, including bars, brothels, theaters, dance halls, nightclubs, and single room occupancy (SRO) hotels. Many SRO hotels in red-light districts catered primarily to transgender clientele, such as the El Rosa and Hyland Hotels in San Francisco (Figure 4).[43] Lucy Hicks Anderson, an African American transgender woman from Oxnard, California, was a Prohibition-era bootlegger who ran a boarding house and brothel on the city's waterfront.[44] Many clubs—such as the Garden of Allah in the basement of the Arlington Hotel in Seattle's Pioneer Square, the Club My-O-My in New Orleans, or Finocchio's in San Francisco's North Beach neighborhood—developed long-standing reputations for hosting "drag" entertainment.[45]

---

[39] William N. Eskridge, *Gaylaw: Challenging the Apartheid of the Closet* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2009), see 326-355 for lists of anti-cross-dressing laws.

[40] Clare Sears, "Electric Brilliancy: Cross-Dressing Laws and Freak Show Displays in Nineteenth-Century San Francisco," *WSQ: Women's Studies Quarterly* 36, no. 3-4 (Fall/Winter 2008): 170-187.

[41] For treatments of two paradigmatic "tenderloins," see Randy Shaw, *The Tenderloin: Sex, Crime and Resistance in the Heart of San Francisco* (San Francisco: Urban Reality Press, 2015); and Marilynn S. Johnson, *Street Justice: A History of Police Violence in New York City* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2004). San Francisco's Uptown Tenderloin Historic District was added to the NRHP on February 5, 2009. New Orleans' French Quarter was listed on the NRHP as the Vieux Carre Historic District on October 15, 1966 and designated an NHL on December 21, 1965. Seattle's Pioneer Square-Skid Road Historic District was added to the NRHP on June 22, 1970 with boundary increases on July 7, 1978 and June 16, 1988. Philadelphia's Northern Liberties Historic District was added to the NRHP on October 31, 1985.

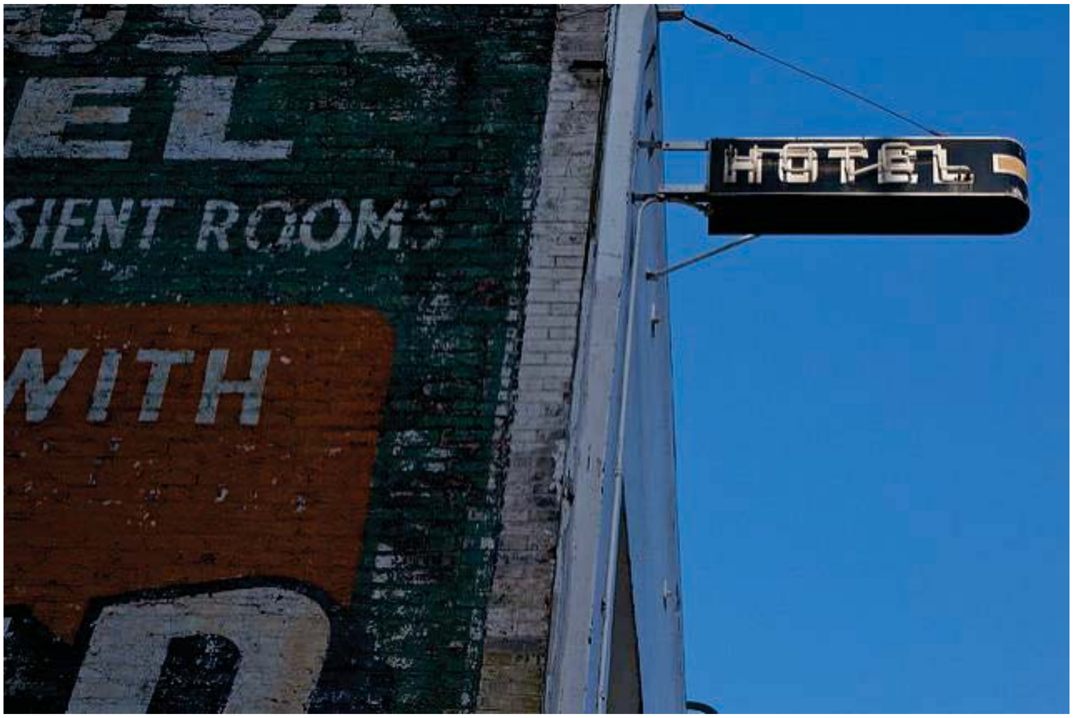


Figure 4: Sign for the El Rosa Hotel, San Francisco, California. Photo by Jeremy Brooks, 2009.[42]

---

[42] License: CC BY-NC 2.0. https://www.flickr.com/photos/jeremybrooks/3384379905

[43] The El Rosa Hotel was located at 166 Turk Street, San Francisco, California, and the Hyland Hotel at 101 Taylor Street, above the Compton's Cafeteria site.

[44] Frank P. Barajas, "Work and Leisure in La Colonia: Class, Generation, and Interethnic Alliances among Mexicanos in Oxnard, California, 189-1945," PhD diss., Claremont Graduate University, 2001.

[45] The Arlington Hotel was on First Avenue between University and Seneca Streets, Seattle, Washington (now demolished). See Don Paulson, *An Evening at the Garden of Allah: A Gay Cabaret in Seattle* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996). Finocchio's, established by Italian American impresario Joseph Finocchio, began as an illegal speakeasy in the basement of 406 Stockton Street in 1929, and moved upstairs in the same building in 1933 with the repeal of Prohibition. After a police raid temporarily closed the club in 1936, it soon reopened (protected by police graft) at its larger and longtime location at 506 Broadway, where it remained until its closing on November 27, 1999. See Susan Stryker, "Finocchio's: A Short Retrospective," http://www.foundsf.org/index.php?title=Finocchio%27s,_a_Short_Retrospective. Perhaps coincidentally, "finochio," Italian for "fennel," is a derogatory slang term for homosexual. Club My-O-My

Drag, distinct from the forms of gender impersonation that enjoyed mainstream acceptance, connoted cross-dressing with a campy or ironic homosexual aesthetic. Urban homosexual *demimonde* clubs featuring risqué forms of drag certainly existed in New York City by the late nineteenth century, and historian George Chauncey suggests that "threads of continuity" might, with care, be traced between such venues and the "molly houses" of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century London. This gay subculture, in which cross-dressing slyly signified homosexual desire through the transposition of gender signifiers, first came to greater public attention during the so-called "Pansy Craze" of the 1920s, through the scandalous publicity given to lesbian masculinity in Mae West's notorious play *The Captive*, and through the popularization of psychological and sexological theories of sexual inversion.[46] In subsequent decades, theatrical cross-gender dressing would become associated primarily with homosexual and transgender subcultures and subcultural venues.

In *Autobiography of an Androgyne* (1919), Ralph Werther, who also used the names Jenny June and Earl Lind, described one such "resort for sex perverts," colloquially known as Paresis Hall, on Fourth Avenue a few blocks south of 14th Street in New York City, that exemplifies an entire genre of such establishments (Figure 5).[47] According to Werther, "In front was a modest bar-room; behind, a small beer-garden. The two floors

---

began as the Wonder Bar just after the end of Prohibition. In 1936, the owner asked for an injunction against police raids on the club, which featured female impersonators. Refused an injunction on the grounds that the club was a menace to morals, the owner moved the bar (renamed the Wonder Club) to pilings extending into Lake Pontchartrain on the Jefferson-Orleans parish line. The goal was to get as far away from the police as possible. In the late 1940s, Club My-O-My took over the business. Rebuilt after a fire in 1948, the club was destroyed by fire in 1972. See John Kelly, "1972: Fire destroys Club My-O-My on Lakefront," *Times-Picayune*, September 5, 2010, http://www.nola.com/living/index.ssf/2010/09/1972_fire_destroys_club_my-o-m.html; see also "Club My-O-My: New Orleans Vintage Drag," YouTube video, posted by NewOrleans Historical, September 13, 2012, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2U_IvJLROdw.

[46] George Chauncey, *Gay New York: Gender, Urban Culture, and the Making of the Gay Male World, 1890-1940* (New York: Basic Books, 1995), see 12 for quote, but passim for detailed discussion of gay cross-gender expression, underground venues for drag performance, "fairies," and the pansy craze. Esther Newton, *Mother Camp: Female Impersonators in America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1972) offers the classic anthropological account of the topic.

[47] Paresis Hall, more formally known as Columbia Hall, was located at 32 Cooper Square (a continuation of Fourth Avenue), New York City, New York.

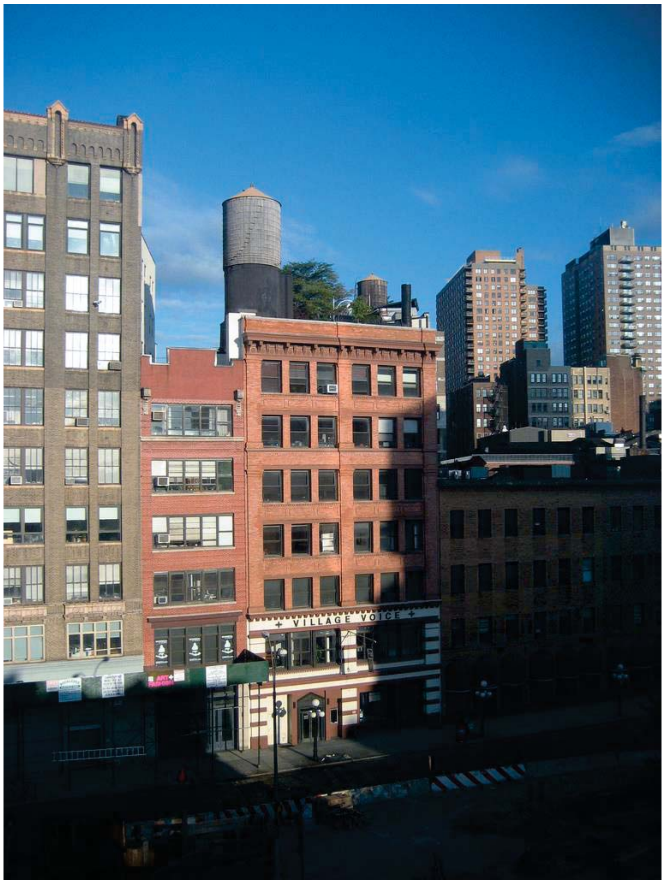


Figure 5: Paresis (Columbia) Hall, New York City, New York (located just left of the former Village Voice building). Photo by Justin van Dyke, 2011.[49]

above were divided into small rooms for rent," and drag performances were frequently staged in the evenings. In 1895, Werther was invited by other patrons of the Hall to join "a little club" called the Cercle Hermaphroditos, which rented one of the upstairs rooms. It admitted "only extreme types-such as like to doll themselves up in feminine finery," and its purpose was "to unite for defense against the world's bitter persecution."[48] The Cercle Hermaphroditos is the first known quasi-formal association of transgender people. Its rationale for existing seems to have drawn not just on a desire for sociability, but also on nascent notions of social justice for gender variant people. The formation of the club at Paresis Hall attests to the importance of such subcultural spaces for members of marginalized communities, where the cultivation of social bonds can plant seeds that may ripen into political activism and social movements.

The second known quasi-political association of transgender people was the short-lived American Society for Equality in Dress, which began publishing the journal *Transvestia* in 1952.[50] It took root across the continent and a world away from the seedy urban environs of Werther's Paresis Hall, amidst the decentralized, semi-suburban sprawl of Los Angeles. Both the society and journal were spearheaded by Virginia Prince, neé Arnold Lowman, one of the most influential and divisive figures in mid-twentieth-century transgender history. Prince, a secret cross-dresser since childhood who gradually started coming out to others in her late thirties, eventually lived full time as a woman but remained adamantly opposed to genital surgery, and helped draw still-current distinctions between transsexuals, heterosexual transvestites, and homosexuals. She went on to found the first long-lasting organizations for cross-dressers, notably Full Personality Expression (1962), which later became the Society for the Second Self (Tri-Ess).[51]

---

[48] Ralph Werther, *Autobiography of an Androgyne,* ed. Scott Herring (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2008), originally published 1918.

[49] License: CC BY-NC 2.0. https://www.flickr.com/photos/justinbvandyke/6132754617

Prince was born in Los Angeles in 1912 and raised on the 100 block of South Hobart Avenue, in a fashionable upper-middle-class neighborhood near Beverly and Western Avenues, until age eight, at which time the family relocated to the 800 block of Victoria Avenue in the even more fashionable Hancock Park neighborhood. Her father was a prominent orthopedic surgeon, and her mother a successful businesswoman with a penchant for real estate. Prince herself went on to earn a PhD in Pharmacology from the University of California, San Francisco (UCSF) by 1939, specializing in the development of new medicines. She later worked for several different pharmaceutical companies, which helped support her unpaid transgender activism in later decades.[52]

---

[50] *Transvestia* published only two issues in 1952, at which time the American Society for Equality in Dress seems to have folded; after a hiatus, publisher Virginia Prince's Chevalier Publications began issuing the journal again, 1960-1979, from a post office box in Tulare, California.

[51] On Prince, see Richard F. Docter, *From Man to Woman: The Transgender Journey of Virginia Prince* (Northridge, CA: Docter Press, 2004); Richard Ekins and David King, eds., *Virginia Prince: Pioneer of Transgendering,* special issue of *International Journal of Transgenderism* 8, no. 4 (2005); and Darell G. Raynor, *A Year Among the Girls* (London: Mayflower-Dell, 1968).

[52] Docter, *From Man to Woman,* 19, 26.

The UCSF campus on Parnassus Heights, particularly the Langley Porter Psychiatric Clinic located there, is an important site in the history of transgender medicalization and community formation.[53] It was there, on a post-doctoral fellowship in the early 1940s, that Prince met Louise Lawrence, a San Francisco resident who, like her, was a life-long cross-dresser born in 1912. Lawrence had started corresponding with other transvestites whom she contacted through personal ads in various magazines as early as 1937, and her contact list of more than fifty individuals became the first subscription list for Prince's *Transvestia* magazine. Unlike the still-closeted Prince, however, Lawrence had started living full time as a woman by 1942, and spoke regularly at Langley Porter to help educate medical professionals about people like herself.[54] Her longtime residence would become an informal way station for transsexual women seeking medical services for gender-transition in the 1950s and 1960s.[55] The clinic was directed by Dr. Karl Bowman, a former president of the American Medical Association who had written extensively on homosexuals as well as individuals we would now call transgender or

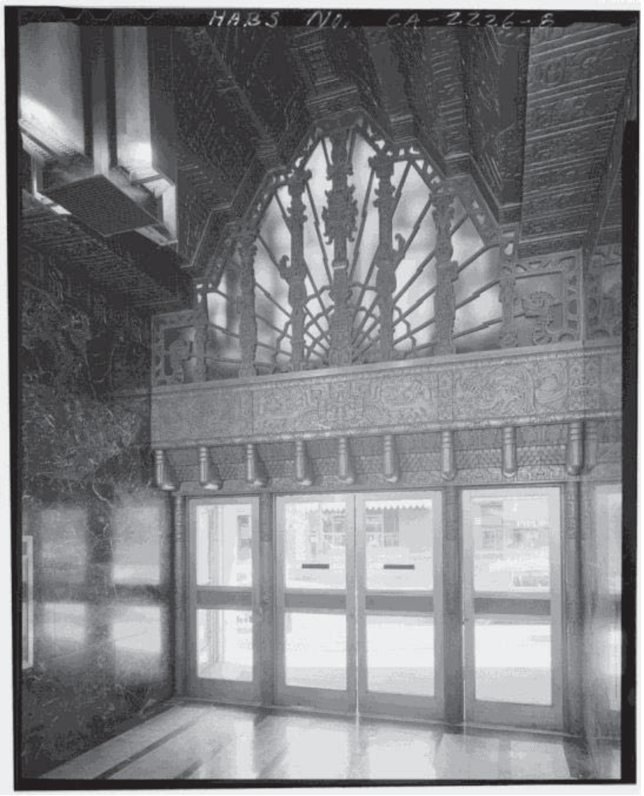


Figure 6: The interior lobby of the Medical-Dental Building, 450 Sutter Street, San Francisco, California. Photo taken by Historic American Buildings Survey (HABS) staff, after 1933 (HABS CAL,38-SANFRA,158-8).

---

[53] Langley Porter Psychiatric Hospital and Clinics are located at 401 Parnassus Avenue, San Francisco, California.

[54] "Journal," Louise Lawrence Collection, Series II D Folder 2, Archives of the Kinsey Institute for Research in Sex, Gender, and Reproduction, Bloomington, Indiana.

[55] Lawrence lived at 11 Buena Vista Terrace, San Francisco, California (now demolished).

transsexual. Through UCSF, people like Prince and Lawrence came in contact with sexuality researchers such as Alfred Kinsey (who ran the famous Institute that bore his name at the University of Indiana in Bloomington) and Harry Benjamin (a German American doctor with private practices in New York and San Francisco), who in turn began to study, treat, and write about people in Prince's and Lawrence's networks (Figure 6).[56]

Transgender topics burst into spectacular mass media visibility in 1952 through the unprecedented coverage given to Christine Jorgensen, the first truly global transgender celebrity. Jorgensen, of Danish-American heritage, had been born in 1926 to working-class parents in the Bronx.[57] She had had transgender feelings since early childhood, and by the late 1940s had educated herself about the possibilities for using hormones and surgery to change her body. The body-shaping effects of the so-called "sex hormones" had been discovered only in the 1910s, synthesized only in the 1920s, and widely commercially available only in the 1930s and 1940s.[58] Genital plastic surgeries had actually been practiced in the United States since the 1840s, but these procedures were carried out on people born with anomalous genitals, and were not available to people with apparently normal genitals who wished them to resemble the genitals usually associated with another social gender. The concept of "transsexualism" (though not the term itself), began to take shape in

---

[56] Virginia "Charles" Prince, *The Transvestite and His Wife* (Tulare, CA: Chevalier Publications, 1967), 5; Joanne Meyerowitz, *How Sex Changed: A History of Transsexuality in the United States* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2002), 181-186. Harry Benjamin's New York Offices were located at 728 Park Avenue; his San Francisco offices were at the Medical-Dental Building, 450 Sutter Street, but he also sometimes saw patients at his suite at the Sir Francis Drake Hotel (450 Powell Street, San Francisco, California), where he made his residence during his annual summer practice. In New York City, Dr. Benjamin lived in the Flatiron District. The 450 Sutter Street building was listed on the NRHP on December 22, 2009.

[57] Jorgensen's father, a carpenter and building contractor, built the family home on Dudley Avenue in the Throgs Neck section of the Bronx, where Jorgensen was born and lived her first twenty-six years. See Christine Jorgensen, *A Personal Autobiography* (San Francisco: Cleis Press, 2000), 4, originally published 1967. In addition to Jorgensen's own autobiography, see Richard Docter, *Becoming A Woman: A Biography of Christine Jorgensen* (New York: Haworth Press, 2008); and Emily Skidmore, "Constructing the 'Good Transsexual': Christine Jorgensen, Whiteness, and Heteronormativity in the Mid-Twentieth-Century Press," *Feminist Studies* 37, no. 2 (Summer 2011): 270-300.

[58] On the history of genital surgeries, see Reis, *Bodies in Doubt*; on the history of endocrinology, see Sengoopta, *The Most Secret Quintessence of Life*; and Nelly Oudshoorn, *Beyond the Natural Body: An Archeology of the Sex Hormones* (New York: Routledge, 1994).

Europe as early as 1906—that is, that by medically operating on individuals to transform their bodies through surgery, and later hormones, such individuals could be granted a new legal and social identity that matched their innate sense of self. Such practices were well established at Magnus Hirschfeld's Institute for Sexual Science by the early 1930s, but these ideas did not take root in the United States until after World War II—largely in response to the Jorgensen story.[59] Although Christine Jorgensen was by no means the first transsexual, she became the person who popularized the concept for mass audiences after she set sail for her ancestral Scandinavia, and news of her surgical and hormonal transformation there leaked to the press.

Jorgensen did not imagine that media coverage of her genital conversion surgeries in Copenhagen would make headlines around the world, but it did. Through her the idea of medical "sex-change" became part of common knowledge for anyone old enough to read a newspaper in the 1950s. Jorgensen, who had aspired to be a photographer and filmmaker before becoming a celebrity, capitalized on her newfound fame by developing a successful night club act and traveling the globe, staying in the media spotlight for more than a decade and earning a comfortable living. She bought a retirement home for her parents, with whom she continued to live until their deaths, in Massapequa, Long Island, New York; she later lived at various locations in Southern California, including the Chateau Marmont Hotel in Los Angeles, the home of friends in Riverside, and various apartments in Hollywood; for many years she owned a home in Laguna Niguel.[60]

---

[59] On the development of a "transsexual discourse," see Meyerowitz, *How Sex Changed*, 16-28; and Reis, *Bodies in Doubt*, 45-54. For the earliest known case of a person requesting medical transformation to support a change in legal and social gender, see the case of Karl (neé Martha) Baer, director of the Berlin B'nai B'rith in Berlin until his emigration from Germany in 1938; Baer wrote a somewhat fictionalized autobiography under a pseudonym which has recently become available in English translation with a scholarly preface: Sander L. Gilman, preface, and Hermann Simon, afterword to *Memoirs of a Man's Maiden Years* by N. O. Body, trans. Deborah Simon (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009).

[60] Jorgensen's father also built the family's home in the 100 block of Pennsylvania Avenue, at the corner of Ocean Avenue, in Massapequa, New York. The Chateau Marmont Hotel is located at 8221 Sunset Boulevard, Los Angeles, California.

The world in which Jorgensen achieved her fame was changing rapidly with regard to transgender issues. For many white people, the 1950s scene was still characterized by places like Casa Susanna, a secretive resort in New York's Catskill Mountains for closeted heterosexual cross-dressers in the mold of Virginia Prince.[61] Other transsexual women, many of them women of color, began to live much more publicly in (and as) what Africana and gender studies scholar C. Riley Snorton has punningly called "Jorgensen's shadows."[62] These women made tabloid headlines of their own, including Delisa Newton, an African American Chicago cabaret singer, and belly dancer Bessie Mukaw, who billed herself as "the first Eskimo sex-change."[63] Of all those who followed in Jorgensen's wake, only Charlotte McLeod, another white transsexual woman who came to public attention within months of Jorgensen's sudden celebrity, initially came close to matching her level of fame, but McLeod's star faded with brutal quickness.[64] Jorgensen' success also brought attention to a longstanding transgender presence in vernacular entertainment venues such as carnival sideshows, circuses, and strip clubs, as well as in traveling song-

---

[61] Casa Susanna, described by the *New York Times* as a "slightly run-down bungalow camp in Hunter, N.Y.," was a retreat for cross-dressers that existed in the late 1950s and early 1960s, see Penelope Green, "A Safe House for the Girl Within," *New York Times*, September 7, 2006, http://www.nytimes.com/2006/09/07/garden/07trann.html?_r=1. A collection of photographs from the resort have been published, Michael Hurst and Robert Swope, eds., *Casa Susanna* (New York: Powerhouse Books, 2006). A play by Harvey Fierstein based on the history of the resort, *Casa Valentina,* premiered on Broadway in 2014. For a firsthand account of a consequential visit to Casa Susanna by noted sex researchers Alfred Kinsey and Wardell Pomeroy, see Katherine Cummings, *Katherine's Diary: The Story of a Transsexual* (Sydney: William Heinemann Australia, 1992).

[62] Snorton has delivered many public lectures, circa 2014-2016, under the title "Jorgensen's Shadows," related to his forthcoming book on black transgender history in the United States; for a synopsis of this larger project, see H. Roger Segelken, "Examining Black Transness Through Contemporary Media," *Cornell Chronicle*, June 8, 2015, http://www.news.cornell.edu/stories/2015/06/examining-black-transness-through-contemporary-media.

[63] On Newton and Mukaw, see Meyerowitz, *How Sex Changed*, 86.

[64] After her moment in the media spotlight, McLeod married, adopted her husband's two children, and retreated from public life. A native of Dyersburg, Tennessee, she returned home to care for her aging and infirm mother in the mid-1960s, and remained to run a convalescent home until her own retirement. She died in 2007. As the child of a prominent local family, a headstone bearing her given name, Charles, had been erected in the family plot in Fairview Cemetery, at the time of her birth. McLeod took great satisfaction, after all her older relatives had died, in purchasing a plot in the same cemetery under her chosen name, and leaving the grave set aside for "Charles" permanently empty. See oral history interview by the author with Aleshia Brevard Crenshaw, GLBT Historical Society, OHC Number 97-040, recorded August 2, 1997. The author visited McLeod in May 2002, and was shown both grave sites.

and-dance revues.[65] Comic entertainer Rae (or Ray) Bourbon moved for decades in such milieus. A person of apparently mixed Anglo-Latino heritage from south Texas, sometimes claiming Rámon Ícarez as a birth name, Bourbon had a fascinating career in cross-dressed silent film acting, vaudeville, and nightclub performance that spanned the Pansy Craze of the 1920s, as well as the post-Jorgensen fascination with transgender representation in the 1950s. Bourbon claimed (probably spuriously) to have had genital conversion surgery, and humorously recounted these supposed experiences on comedy albums such as *Let Me Tell You About My Operation.*[66]

Urban inner-city neighborhoods that had long provided homes for more marginalized, racially and ethnically mixed transgender communities began showing signs of social unrest by the later 1950s. In 1959, patrons at Cooper Do-Nut, a late-night hangout in downtown Los Angeles popular with street queens, gays, and hustlers, resisted arrest *en masse* when police made a "street sweep" to round up people accused of loitering, vagrancy, or public lewdness.[67] In Philadelphia in 1964, patrons of Dewey's lunch counter conducted a successful informational picket and sit-in protest, resulting in three arrests that challenged the management's discrimination against "youth in unconventional attire."[68] And in 1966, patrons at Compton's Cafeteria, in San Francisco's Tenderloin, rioted against a police raid aimed at arresting the transgender women and street queens who frequented that establishment (Figure 7). They smashed windows, demolished a police car, set the corner newsstand on fire, and fought with police up and down the surrounding streets.[69] The disturbance there preceded by three years the much larger and better-known resistance to police oppression of gay and transgender people that took place at New York's Stonewall Inn in 1969.[70]

---

[65] On transgender carnival, circus, sideshow, and strip club performers, see Minette (as told to Steve Watson), *Minette: Recollections of a Part-Time Lady* (Chicago: Novel Books, 1965); Hedy Jo Star, *I Changed My Sex!* (Chicago: Allied Books, 1955); Tamara Rees, *Reborn: A Factual Life Story of a Transition from Male to Female.* (Los Angeles: Irene Lipman, 1955); and the film *Forever's Gonna Start Tonight,* about the entertainer Vicki Marlane, directed by Michelle Lawler (Los Angeles: Aggressively Enthusiastic Films, 2009.) Of the traveling revues, the best known was Doc Brenner and Danny Brown's Jewel Box Revue, founded in Miami in 1939, and touring until 1969; see Zagria, "The Jewel Box Revue," *A Gender Variance Who's Who* (blog), August 15, 2010, http://zagria.blogspot.it/2010/08/jewel-box-revue.html#.V2shFWN1Hwx. The troupe was notable for being racially integrated, featuring African American transmasculine emcee Stormé DeLarverie, as well as Miss Major Griffin-Gracy, who became a leading transgender prisoner's rights activist in the 1990s and subject of the documentary film *Major!* directed by Annalise Ophelian (San Francisco: Floating Ophelia Productions, 2015).

[66] Don Romesburg, "Longevity and Limits in Rae Bourbon's Life in Motion," in *The Transgender Studies Reader 2*, eds. Susan Stryker and Aren Z. Aizura (New York: Routledge, 2013), 479-491. An extensive and well-researched website constructed by Randy Riddle, containing many digital media versions of Bourbon's written and performed works, can be found at http://www.coolcatdaddy.com/bourbon.html. See also Auer (this volume).

[67] Cooper Do-Nut, sometimes remembered as Cooper's Donuts, was located at either 553 or 557 W. Main in Los Angeles, between two of the city's oldest gay bars, the Waldorf and Harold's; see Lillian Faderman and Stuart Timmons, *Gay L.A.: A History of Sexual Outlaws, Power Politics and Lipstick Lesbians* (New York: Basic Books, 2006), 1.

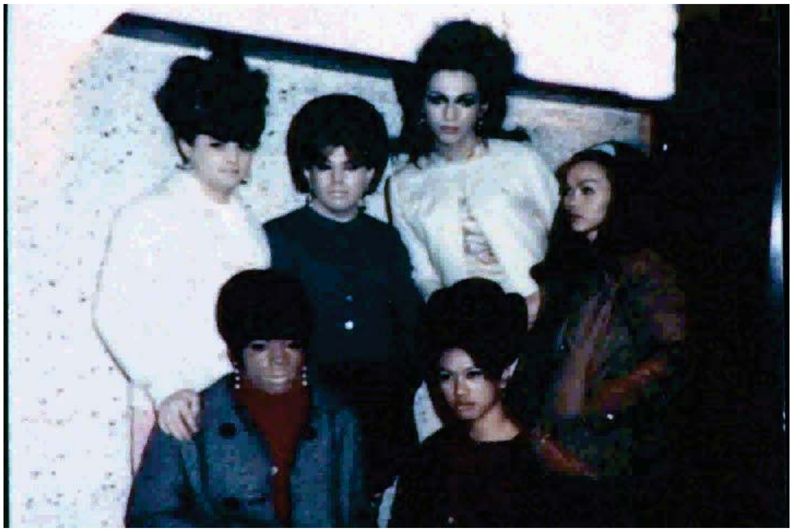


Figure 7: Amanda St. Jaymes, then known as Mandy Taylor (in the center, with the up-do) and other transgender women standing outside Compton's Cafeteria, San Francisco, California, circa 1965. Screen grab from Silverman and Stryker, Screaming Queens. The original, a personal possession of Amanda St. Jaymes and filmed with permission of the owner for the film, is no longer extant (lost/destroyed at the time of Amanda's death).

In the aftermath of the Compton's riot, San Francisco's Tenderloin became a national hub for early transgender activism and social services. Its many SRO hotels were home to hundreds of transgender people. Glide Memorial Methodist Church, a neighborhood institution, hosted the first gay and transgender street youth organization, Vanguard, starting in 1966, as well as the first transsexual support group, Conversion Our Goal, starting in 1967 (Figure 8).[71] The Tenderloin is adjacent to the Polk Street neighborhood, where a unit of the San Francisco Department of Public Health, called the Center for Special Problems, offered some of the nation's first social services for transgender people, as well as to fashionable Union Square, where Harry Benjamin sometimes saw transsexual patients in the suite of rooms at the Sir Francis Drake Hotel where he lived during his annual summer visits. The Tenderloin was also home to the National Transsexual Counseling Unit (NTCU), one of many efforts funded by the wealthy female-to-male transsexual Reed Erickson.[72] The Erickson Educational Foundation (EEF), based in Baton Rouge, Louisiana, provided crucial support not only for the NTCU, but for publication of *The Transsexual Phenomenon*, Harry Benjamin's paradigm-defining book on medical treatment protocols for transgender people. The EEF also supported the first wave of clinical "sex-change" programs at Johns Hopkins, Stanford, UCLA, University of Minnesota, and elsewhere.[73]

---

[68] Marc Stein, *City of Sisterly and Brotherly Loves: Lesbian and Gay Philadelphia, 1945-1972* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000), 245-246. There was more than one Dewey's location; the sit-in and arrests took place at the location near Seventeenth Street and Locust.

[69] There were several Compton's locations; the riot took place at the Compton's Cafeteria located at 101 Taylor Street, at the corner of Turk and Taylor. See Raymond Broshears, "History of Christopher Street West—San Francisco," *Gay Pride Quarterly* 1 (San Francisco, 1972), n.p. for the best firsthand account; for fuller contextualization see Susan Stryker, *Transgender History* (Emeryville, CA: Seal Press, 2008), 63-75; and *Screaming Queens: The Riot at Compton's Cafeteria,* directed by Victor Silverman and Susan Stryker (San Francisco: Frameline, 2005), a documentary film that includes first-person interviews.

[70] Stonewall, the site of the Stonewall Riots at 51-53 Christopher Street and the surrounding streets and Christopher Park, New York City, New York was listed on the NRHP on June 28, 1999, designated an NHL on February 16, 2000, and designated the Stonewall National Monument on June 24, 2016.

---

[71] Glide Memorial Church, 330 Ellis Street, San Francisco, California is a contributing element to the Uptown Tenderloin Historic District, added to the NRHP on February 5, 2009.

[72] The Center for Special Problems was located at 1700 Jackson Street; the NTCU was in the 200 block of Turk Street; the Sir Francis Drake Hotel is at 450 Powell Street, all in San Francisco, California.

[73] The Erickson Education Foundation office in Baton Rouge was located in what is now a private residence on Moreland Drive. Locations of early "sex change" programs include: Johns Hopkins University, Hopkins Hospital, 1800 Orleans Street, Baltimore, Maryland (from 1965 to 1979); Stanford University, Stanford Medical Center Gender Identity Clinic, 300 Pasteur Drive, Stanford, California (from 1968 to 1980, when the Clinic became a non-profit foundation not associated with the University); Northwestern University, Feinberg School of Medicine, 303 East Chicago Avenue, Chicago, Illinois; University of Texas Galveston, UT Galveston Medical Branch, 301 University Boulevard, Galveston, Texas (1966-1980); University of Michigan, Transgender Services, 2025 Traverwood Drive, Ann Arbor, Michigan; University of Minnesota Hospital, 505 East Harvard Street, Minneapolis, Minnesota; Oregon Health and Science University Hospital, 3181 SW Sam Jackson Park Road, Portland, Oregon; Case Western Reserve University School of Medicine, 2109 Adelbert Road, Cleveland, Ohio; and Integris Baptist Medical Center, Gender Identity Foundation, 3300 NW Expressway, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma (1973 to 1977). Rachel Witkin, "Hopkins Hospital: A History of Sex Reassignment," *The Johns Hopkins News-Letter,* May 1, 2014, http://www.jhunewsletter.com/2014/05/01/hopkins-hospital-a-history-of-sex-reassignment-76004/; Dawn Levy, "Transsexuals Talk About Stanford's Role in their Complex Lives," Stanford News Service website, May 2, 2000, http://news.stanford.edu/pr/00/sexchange53.html; Brandon Wolf, "Galveston's Invisible LGBT History," *Out Smart Magazine,* July 1, 2016, http://www.outsmartmagazine.com/2016/07/galvestons-invisible-lgbt-history/; Vern L. Bullough and Bonnie Bullough, *Cross Dressing, Sex, and Gender* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1993), 259; Meyerowitz, *How Sex Changed.* Johns Hopkins Hospital Complex was added to the NRHP on February 24, 1975. The Ashbel Smith Building, part of the UT Galveston Medical Branch, was added to the NRHP on October 28, 1969.

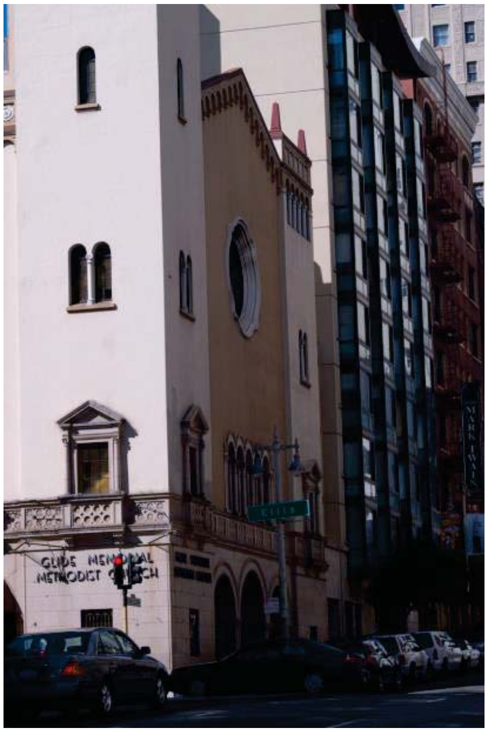


Figure 8: Glide Memorial Church, San Francisco, California. Photo by Andrew Turner, 2008.[74]

The pace of transgender social change activism quickened in the later 1960s. In Los Angeles, Sir Lady Java, an African American trans-feminine performer at the Redd Foxx nightclub, helped overturn police rules that criminalized cross-dressing, and Angela Douglas founded TAO, the Transexual Activist Organization.[75] In New York City, the support groups Transsexuals and Transvestites (TAT) and Labyrinth, the first group dedicated to transsexual men, formed along with STAR, the Street Transvestite Action Revolutionaries. STAR House, founded by Sylvia Rivera and Marsha P. Johnson, provided free shelter, food, and peer support for marginalized transgender street youth of color (Figure 9).[76] Another New York group, the Queens Liberation Front, published *Drag* magazine, which reported on political happenings all across the country.[77] In Philadelphia, the Radical Queens collective worked to integrate transgender concerns into multi-issue social change activism, often in collaboration with the radical lesbian collective DYKETACTICS. Fantasia Fair, an annual gathering on Cape Cod that catered to the sort of people who once would have attended Casa Susanna, began in 1975, and is now the longest-running transgender event in the world.[78] It was organized by Ari Kane and Betty Lind, both of Boston's Cherrystone Club, a transgender social club.

---

[74] License: CC BY 2.0. https://www.flickr.com/photos/ajturner/2380763433

[75] Redd Foxx's nightclub, often referred to simply as "Redd's," was located on La Cienega Boulevard, opening in 1959. Joe X. Price, *Redd Foxx, B.S. (Before Sanford)* (Chicago: Contemporary Books, 1979), 1. For numerous locations for the peripatetic Angela Douglas, who was living in a trailer in Sneads, Florida at the time of her death, see her self-published 1982 autobiography, *Triple Jeopardy*; a copy is held at the GLBT Historical Society in San Francisco, California.

[76] STAR House was located at 640 East 12th Street, Apartment C, New York City, New York (now demolished).

[77] The Queens Liberation Front, founded in 1969, was closely associated with Lee Brewster; it, and *Drag Magazine,* were largely run out of Lee's Mardi Gras Boutique, a transgender emporium located in the Meatpacking District at 400 West 14th Street, New York City, New York. The Meatpacking District, as the Gansevoort Market Historic District, was added to the NRHP on May 30, 2007.

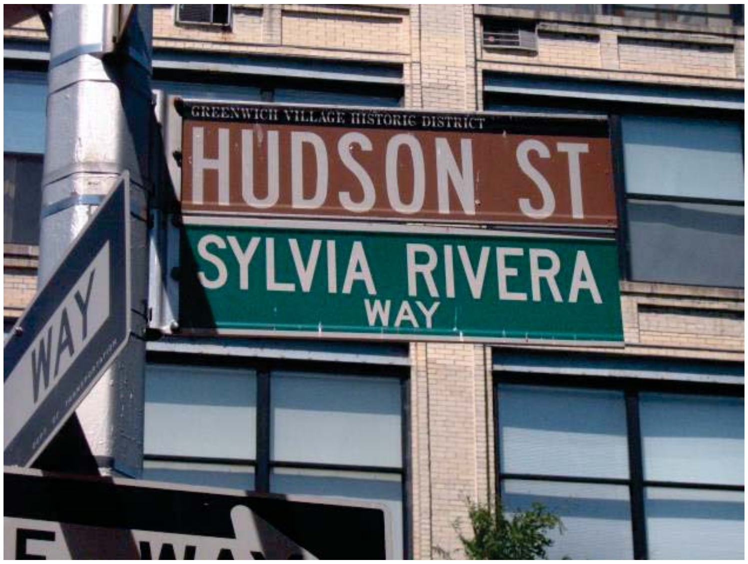


Figure 9: Sylvia Rivera Way, New York City, New York. Photo by Gotty, 2007.[79]

By the end of the 1970s however, many of the advances of recent years had been undone. Setbacks included federal cutbacks to social service funding as well as new ideas in gay and feminist communities that began to characterize transgender people as less liberated than themselves, or even as dangerous or mentally ill people trying to infiltrate progressive movements. The 1980s were an especially difficult decade for transgender people, who were largely excluded from other social justice activism, even as they faced new levels of pathologization. In 1980, "Gender Identity Disorder" appeared for the first time in the DSM-IV, the fourth revised version of the *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders,* published by the American Psychiatric Association. That same year a new organization was formed for medical and psychotherapeutic service providers who worked with transgender populations, the Harry Benjamin International Gender Dysphoria Association (later renamed the World Professional Association for Transgender Health). Perversely, this official pathologization did not make medical treatment more accessible for transgender people who needed it. Health insurance providers classified sex-reassignment procedures as "experimental" or "cosmetic" and thus ineligible for coverage. Most counseling for transgender people seeking medical services was provided from within the community itself, notably the organization J2PC, named for its founders Jude Patton and Joanna Clark (now Sister Mary Elizabeth), in San Juan Capistrano, California.

---

[78] Fantasia Fair is held in multiple locations in Provincetown, Massachusetts, usually during the third week in October. The Provincetown Historic District was listed on the NRHP on August 30, 1989.

[79] License: Public Domain. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:SylviaRiveraWay.jpg

One of the most significant developments of the 1980s was the formation of a national network of female-to-male transsexuals, primarily through the efforts of Louis G. Sullivan. Born and raised in the Milwaukee suburb of Wauwatosa, Wisconsin, Sullivan had transgender feelings from a very early age, which confused him because he was also attracted to men. Sullivan eventually realized that he was a gay transsexual man—that is, attracted to men as a man, in spite of starting life with a female anatomy. He not only helped medical professionals understand that people like him existed, but worked to educate and bring together all sorts of masculine-identified female-bodied people through publications such as *Information for the Female-to-Male Cross-Dresser and Transsexual* and *The FTM Newsletter*. Sullivan, who moved to San Francisco in the later 1970s, was sexually active there in the gay men's community at a time when HIV was already circulating but before the AIDS epidemic had become visible. Like many other gay men of his generation, Sullivan became infected, and eventually died of HIV-related illnesses in 1991.[80]

The AIDS epidemic transformed transgender politics in the 1990s. Transgender women of color who shared needles for hormones and engaged in survival sex-work were among the most vulnerable to, and at risk for, infection.[81] Transgender people became involved in AIDS-activist organizations such as ACT UP (AIDS Coalition to Unleash Power) in New

---

[80] Brice Smith, "'Yours in Liberation': Lou Sullivan and the Construction of FTM Identity," PhD diss., History Department, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, 2010.

[81] David Valentine, *Imagining Transgender: An Ethnography of a Category* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2007) describes, in part, how the introduction of the term "transgender" itself in HIV/AIDS prevention activism remapped the relationship between particular kinds of gender variant people, new forms of public health surveillance and service provision, and the geographical territory in which gender nonconforming sex-work and black and Latino/a street socializing took place in lower Manhattan in the first half of the 1990s.

York and Queer Nation in San Francisco, and with other militant protest groups like the Lesbian Avengers.[83] The word "transgender" itself (rather than some other term for gender variance) was popularized around this time through the publication of Leslie Feinberg's 1992 pamphlet *Transgender Liberation: A Movement Whose Time Has Come.*[84] Groups such as Transgender Nation in San Francisco and Transexual Menace in New York brought a new style of confrontational, in-your-face activism to transgender politics that drew on queer militancy's punk sensibility. The Women's Building in San Francisco hosted many transgender-related events in the 1990s, including, ironically, the first-ever International FTM

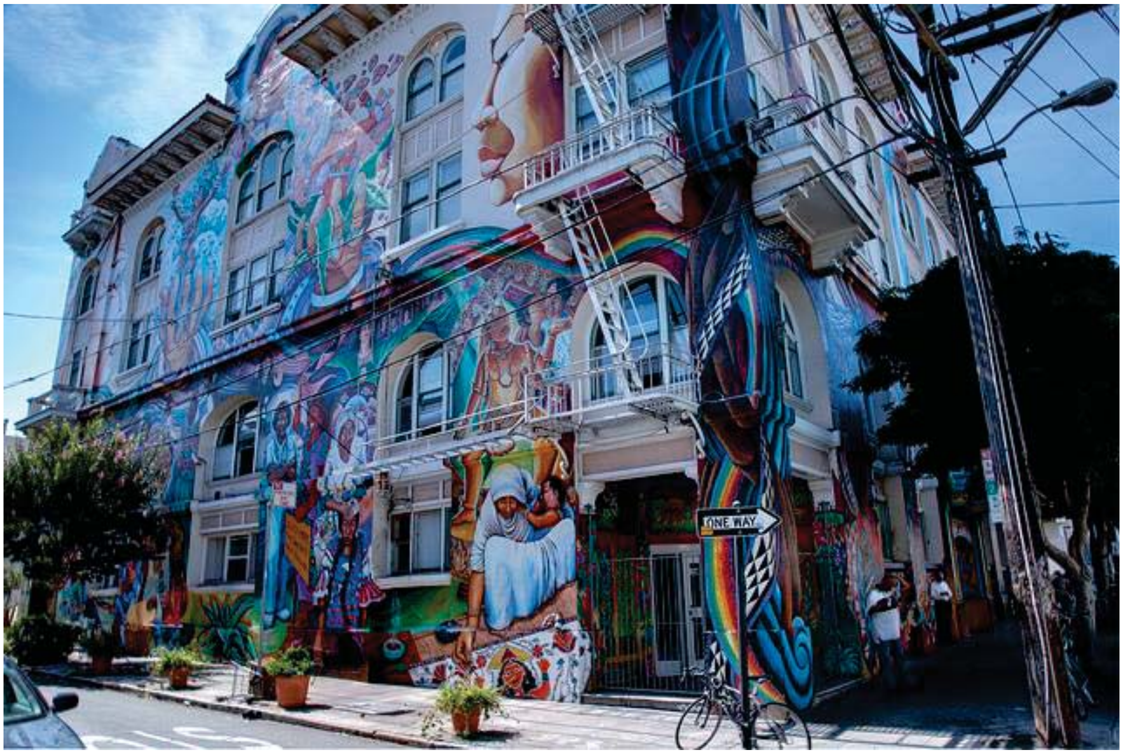


Figure 10: The Women's Building, San Francisco, California. Photo by Jeremy Weate, 2011.[82]

---

[82] License: CC BY 2.0. https://www.flickr.com/photos/73542590@N00/6200289674
[83] ACT UP and Queer Nation were both founded at the Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender Community Center, 208 West 13th Street, New York City, New York. Lesbian Avengers also met at the center, following their founding meeting held at the home of Ana Maria Simo in New York City's East Village neighborhood. ACT UP and Queer Nation had chapters across the country. In San Francisco, both groups met at the Women's Building at 3543 Eighteenth Street. In New York, transgender activist Riki Wilchins was an active member of Lesbian Avengers; in San Francisco, the first activist organization to use the term "transgender" in its name, Transgender Nation, began as a special-interest focus group of Queer Nation in 1992.
[84] At the time of Feinberg's death in 2014, Feinberg, who used gender-neutral pronouns, was living with long-term partner and spouse, Minnie Bruce Pratt, in Syracuse, New York.

(Female-to-Male) Conference in 1995 (Figure 10).[85] It was also during this time that the Tom Waddell Health Center, a branch of the San Francisco Department of Public Health, began offering "Tranny Tuesday," the first low-cost health clinic run specifically for transgender clients. It adopted a harm-reduction rather than trans-pathologization model of health care provision, providing services that transgender people needed to live self-directed lives rather than diagnosing them with Gender Identity Disorder and medically managing their transitions.[86]

Two flashpoints brought heightened awareness of transgender activism during these years. In 1991, organizers of the Michigan Womyn's Music Festival expelled transsexual attendee Nancy Burkholder from the lesbian-run women-only event because they did not consider transsexuals to be women. Burkholder's expulsion inspired the creation of Camp Trans, which gathered each year across the road from the music festival to engage in dialog with attendees and help change transphobic attitudes in some quarters of the lesbian and feminist communities.[87] In 1993, the murder of Brandon Teena, a transgender youth who lived and died in rural Nebraska, inspired vigils outside the courthouse where his killers were eventually convicted.[88] In Houston, the country's first openly transgender elected judge, Phyllis Randolph Frye, hosted the International Conference on Transgender Law and Employment Policy for several years beginning in

---

[85] FTM Conference of the Americas, San Francisco, California, August 18-20, 1995.
[86] The Tom Waddell Health Center, opened in 1993, was at 50 Lech Walesa (Ivy) Street, San Francisco, California. On the clinic, see *Transgender Tuesdays: A Clinic in the Tenderloin*, directed by Mark Freeman and Nathaniel Walters-Koh (San Francisco: Healing Tales Productions, 2012). Freeman, a medical service provider, was instrumental in establishing the Tranny Tuesday clinic; note that the original name of the clinic used a slang term then considered to evoke a familiar, welcoming, insider, community-oriented sensibility, which has sense fallen into disfavor by a younger generation of transgender people; the title of Freeman's film bows to these newer sensibilities.
[87] Hart Township, Oceana County, Michigan, adjacent to privately held festival property known as "The Land."
[88] Brandon Teena's murder inspired the Academy Award-winning film *Boys Don't Cry,* directed by Kimberly Peirce (Beverly Hills, CA: Twentieth Century Fox Home Entertainment, 2000) for which Hilary Swank won best actress for playing Brandon; the house in which Brandon and others were murdered is located on the outskirts of Humboldt, Nebraska. Transexual Menace organized vigils outside the Richardson County Courthouse in nearby Falls City, Nebraska, 1700 Stone Street, during the murder trial. The Richardson County Courthouse was listed on the NRHP on July 5, 1990. For an account of this activism, see Riki Wilchins, *Read My Lips: Sexual Subversion and the End of Gender* (New York: Riverdale, 2013). For more information on Brandon's life, see J. Jack Halberstam, *In a Queer Time and Place: Transgender Bodies, Subcultural Lives* (New York: NYU Press, 2005).

1992, which laid the foundation for a new generation of legal activism in the decades ahead.[89] Houston's Transgender Foundation of America, founded in 1998, hosted the Transgender Archive, the only publicly-oriented, walk-in, research collection in the United States dedicated to transgender history, until losing its lease in the rapidly gentrifying Montrose neighborhood in 2015.[90]

By the later 1990s, several US cities had passed ordinances protecting transgender people from discrimination, which influenced where transgender people might choose to live and work. Fledgling transgender lobbying groups like GenderPAC were finally beginning to draw funding from major philanthropic foundations. In the wake of the 9/11 attacks in 2001, issues that had long concerned transgender people took on a new sense of urgency, particularly those that involved obtaining state-issued identification documents that accurately reflected a person's current gender. Heightened levels of security and surveillance, tightened border controls, and fears of terrorism deepened existing difficulties for transgender people who could have difficulty proving to others that they really were who they said they were. Civil liberty concerns about the expansion of the national security apparatus after 9/11 led military intelligence analyst Chelsea (neé Bradley) Manning to divulge classified documents detailing US spying—the so-called "Wiki-Leaks" case—resulting in the most high-profile legal proceedings against a transgender person in

---

[89] The first conference was held at the Hilton Hotel, 6780 Southwest Freeway, Houston, Texas, on August 28, 1992. For more information, see Phyllis Randolph Frye, "History of the International Conference on Transgender Law and Employment Policy, Inc.," Transgender Legal website, 2001, http://www.transgenderlegal.com/ictlephis1.htm.

[90] The Transgender Foundation of America, including the Transgender Archive, has occupied several locations in Houston's Montrose and Heights neighborhoods; most recently it was located at 604 Pacific Street, until its 2015 closure. Though not legally incorporated until 1998, the TFA it is an outgrowth of Gulf Coast Transgender Community (GCTC), which traces its roots to 1965.

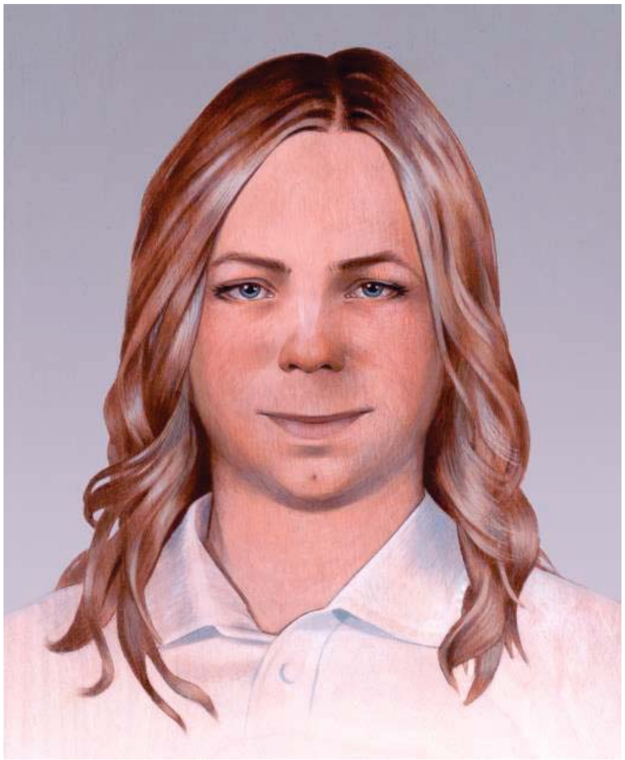


Figure 11: How Chelsea Manning Sees Herself. Image by Alicia Neal, in cooperation with Chelsea Manning, commissioned by the Chelsea Manning Support Network, 2014.[93]

US history, and in Manning's eventual conviction and incarceration at Fort Leavenworth, Kansas (Figure 11).[91] The first professionally staffed transgender advocacy organizations took shape during these tense early years of the War on Terror and the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq, including the Transgender Law Center in San Francisco and the Sylvia Rivera Law Project in New York (both founded in 2002), the National Center for Transgender Equality in Washington, DC (founded in 2003), the TGI (Transgender, Gender-Variant, and Intersex) Justice Project in San Francisco (founded in 2004), and, Global Action for Trans* Equality (GATE) in New York in 2009.[92]

In 2007, openly gay Democratic Congressman Barney Frank landed on the wrong side of history when he cut transgender protections from the federal Employment Non-Discrimination Act in an ultimately futile attempt to enact that landmark piece of legislation. That was the last time, as of this writing, that transgender issues were sacrificed to a larger gay and lesbian liberal agenda. Under the Obama administration, the transgender movement is becoming thoroughly mainstreamed, and has made advances unthinkable only a few short years ago. Particularly since the Supreme Court ruled conclusively on the constitutionality of same-sex marriage in 2015, transgender issues have come to be considered a cutting edge of the civil rights agenda, and seem unlikely to retreat in the foreseeable future. These gains remain unevenly distributed, with transgender women of color still facing extreme levels of violence, poverty, and incarceration not usually experienced by their white counterparts.

---

[91] Manning is incarcerated at the United States Disciplinary Barracks, Fort Leavenworth, Kansas. Transgender populations in the United State experience incarceration rates more than twice that of the cisgender population. Most of those incarcerated are trans women of color who are incarcerated in men's facilities; see Eric A. Stanley and Nat Smith, eds., *Captive Genders: Trans Embodiment and the Prison Industrial Complex* (Oakland, CA: AK Press, 2011).

[92] Long located in the historic Flood Building, 870 Market Street in San Francisco, the Transgender Law Center was, like many nonprofits, priced out of the city's real estate market by the high-tech boom. It is currently located at 1629 Telegraph Avenue, Oakland, California. The Sylvia Rivera Law Project is located at 147 West 24th Street, New York City, New York, in the Miss Major-Jay Toole Building for Social Justice, which also houses four other LGBTQ social justice organizations; the National Center for Transgender Equality is located at 1400 Sixteenth Street NW, Washington, DC; TGI Justice is located at 1372 Mission Street, San Francisco; GATE, a virtual international organization, operates online, with no physical office space.

[93] License: Public Domain. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:C_Manning_Finish-1.jpg

In the second decade of the twenty-first century, transgender people and topics have become ubiquitous in the mass media as well as on social media. The appearance of transgender actress Laverne Cox on the cover of *Time* magazine in 2014, and the wall-to-wall tabloid and reality-television coverage of Caitlyn Jenner in 2015, were breakthrough moments comparable in scale to Christine Jorgensen's celebrity in the 1950s. The critically acclaimed show *Orange Is the New Black* features positive representation of transgender people, while *Transparent* employs numerous transgender people as writers, directors, producers, crew members, and on-camera talent. *Sense8*, directed by the transgender siblings Lana and Lilly Wachowski, achieves an unprecedented level of creative control for a big-budget project that expresses transgender sensibilities, but it is only one of many recent media productions that allow for greater transgender self-representation; other notable works include *Tangerine*, about two trans women in Los Angeles, and *Drunktown's Finest*, the debut feature of Sydney Freeland, the first Native American transgender film director to gain a mainstream movie distribution deal. Perhaps even more significant than transgender representation in commercial media is the explosion of transgender content in user-generated social media, much of it produced and circulated by transgender youth such as Leelah Alcorn, a transgender teen who committed suicide in 2014 after posting her suicide note on Tumblr. Such nonprofessional media production can play an important role in providing emotional support and creative outlets, as well as "how to" information for individuals seeking gender transition.

Although the most conservative estimates of transgender adults in the United States place their numbers around one and a half million people, those same techniques now place the number of transgender-identified youth somewhere between four and ten million.[94] Clearly, we are in the midst of a sea change in how our culture understands gender, and accepts gender variance. This unprecedented wave of change is provoking a political backlash, particularly obvious in the wave of "bathroom bills" that have swept the country since the defeat of the Houston Equal Rights Ordinance in 2015, and the passage of HB2 in North Carolina in 2016. Public toilets, locker rooms, and other sex-segregated built environments, particularly when they are located in public schools that receive federal funds, have become the latest architectural sites of importance in the transgender history of the United States. That this history is unfolding all across the country, in the most banal and intimate structures imaginable, attests to the truly fundamental level of change our society is undergoing. It's not just that the long-standing presence of transgender people in our national life is finally becoming more visible; it's that gender itself is changing radically in ways we can now scarcely comprehend.

---

[94] Andrew Flores, Jody Herman, Gary Gates, and Taylor Brown, "How Many Adults Identify as Transgender in the United States," Williams Institute, UCLA Law School, June 2016; http://williamsinstitute.law.ucla.edu/wp-content/uploads/How-Many-Adults-Identify-as-Transgender-in-the-United-States.pdf. On transgender youth population estimates, see Jody Herman, Christy Mallory, and Bianca Wilson, "Estimates of transgender populations in states with legislation impacting transgender people," Williams Institute, UCLA Law School, June 2016. In this report, the authors cite other scholars who, based on a review of multiple local probability samples and national convenience samples, found that between 1.3 and 3.2% of all youth are transgender; in other words between four and ten million youth.

11

BREATHING FIRE: REMEMBERING ASIAN PACIFIC AMERICAN ACTIVISM IN QUEER HISTORY

Amy Sueyoshi

On July 1, 2015 the Respect After Death Act (California Assembly Bill 1577) took effect in California enabling transgender people to record their chosen gender on their death certificates. At least three Asian queers stood at the center of the passage of this bill. When Chinese and Polish American Christopher Lee who identified as a transgender man killed himself in 2012, the coroner listed him as female on his death certificate. Troubled by their friend's misgendering, Chinese Mexican Chino Scott-Chung, also a transgender man, brought the death certificate to the attention of the Transgender Law Center, which initiated and lobbied for the passage of AB 1577. Three years later, Japanese American Kris Hayashi stood at the helm of the Transgender Law Center as its executive director when the organization celebrated the passage of the bill.[1] Yet when CBS reported on the victory, they lauded Masen Davis as the organization's executive director. A statement from Davis, rather than Hayashi, evocatively defined the historic moment, "It brings us one significant step closer to making sure that all transgender people are able to live – and die – authentically in accordance with who they really are."[2]

Notably, Asian Pacific Americans have also played central roles in what many political scientists mark as the two most important issues in gay politics of the twenty-first century—the repeal of "Don't Ask Don't Tell" and the fight for marriage equality.[3] Korean American Dan Choi embodied the movement to repeal "Don't Ask Don't Tell"[4] when he came out on the Rachel Maddow Show in 2009 and a year later handcuffed himself to the White House fence in protest of the law that disallowed gays and lesbians from serving openly in the military (Figure 1).[5] Stuart Gaffney, whose mother is Chinese American, was one of

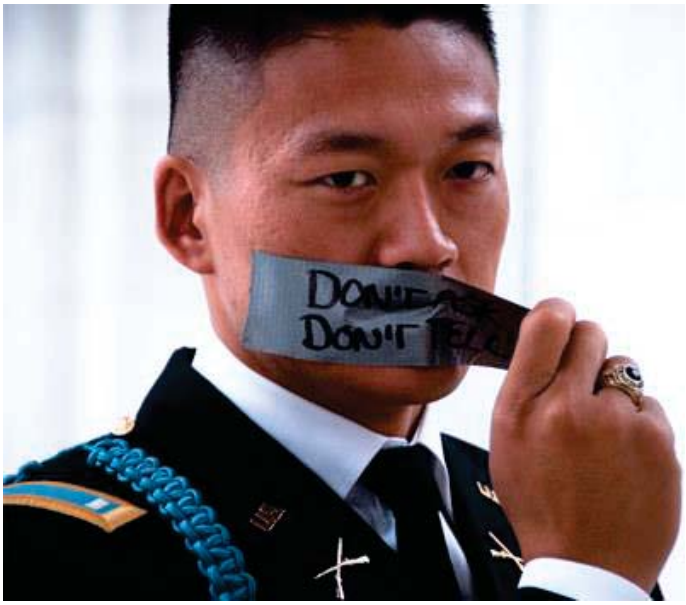


Figure 1: Lt. Dan Choi, 2014. Photo courtesy of Dan Choi.

---

[1] "Remembering Christopher Lee as Respect After Death Act Takes Effect," Transgender Law Center website, July 7, 2015, accessed July 30, 2015, http://transgenderlawcenter.org/archives/11746. The Transgender Law Center is located at 1629 Telegraph Avenue, Oakland, California.

[2] Jan Mabry, "'Respect After Death' Act Takes Effect Giving Transgenders Right to Have Chosen Gender on Death Certificates," *CBS San Francisco*, July 1, 2015, accessed July 30, 2015, http://sanfrancisco.cbslocal.com/2015/07/01/respect-after-death-act-takes-effect-giving-transgenders-right-to-have-chosen-gender-on-death-certificates. Masen Davis had in fact been the previous executive director whom Hayashi succeeded.

[3] Stephen M. Engel, "Development Perspectives on Lesbian and Gay Politics: Fragmented Citizenship in a Fragmented State," *Perspectives on Politics* 13, no. 2 (May 31, 2015): 287-311.

[4] "Don't Ask Don't Tell" is formally known as Department of Defense Directive 1304.26. It was issued on December 21, 1993 and was in effect from February 28, 1994 through September 20, 2011.

[5] A West Point graduate, an Arabic linguist, and an Iraq war veteran, Choi remains dishonorably discharged from the military even though "Don't Ask Don't Tell" has been repealed. He handcuffed

several plaintiffs in the 2008 lawsuit that held that California's ban on same-sex marriage was unconstitutional. Gaffney would invoke the legal ban on interracial marriage and how it affected his own parents' white and Asian union in advocating for marriage equality.[6] Despite these and many more instances of queer Asian Pacific American (APA) activism and engagement, their existence remains largely invisible.[7]

Structural operations of homophobia and racism have diminished if not erased the significance of queer APA genders and sexualities. Foundational writings in Asian American studies explicitly derided same-sex sexuality in the 1970s establishing a less than queer friendly beginning to the movement and the field.[8] Whiteness in queer studies too, has stunted the growth of publications on the queer APA experience.[9] In fact, the professional field of history for nearly a century perceived sexuality broadly as a private matter and not worthy of intellectual inquiry.[10] In the midst of forces that deny the existence of LGBTQ Asians and Pacific Islanders in history however, queer intimacies most certainly existed in even the earliest APA communities in the United States. And, since the 1980s queer Asian Pacific Americans have become increasingly "out and proud," engaging in activism at the intersection of race, gender,

---

himself to the White House fence on April 20, 2010. The White House is located at 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue NW, Washington, DC. It was designated an NHL on December 19, 1960. Maria Streshinsky, "Dan Choi," *Atlantic Monthly* 306, no. 4 (November 2010): 88; Gabriel Arana, "The Passion of Dan Choi," *The American Prospect: Longform*, February 9, 2014, accessed July 23, 2015, http://prospect.org/article/passion-dan-choi.

[6] "Stuart Gaffney," *Huffington Post*, accessed July 29, 2015, http://www.huffingtonpost.com/stuart-gaffney.

[7] I use the term Asian Pacific Americans to signal people who are in the United States who come from or have ancestors from Asia or the Pacific Islands. Because of the history of APA migration, the queers documented here before 1965 are largely Chinese and Japanese. I include in a more abbreviated form Koreans, Filipinos, Indonesians, Vietnamese, Native Hawaiian, Okinawan, Samoan, and Indian activism mostly after 1965.

[8] Frank Chin and Jeffery Paul Chan, "Racist Love," in *Seeing Through Shuck,* ed., Richard Kostelanetz (New York: Ballantine Books, 1972), 65-79; Amy Sueyoshi, "Queer Asian American Historiography," in *The Oxford Handbook of Asian American History*, eds. David K. Yoo and Eiichiro Azuma (New York: Oxford University Press, 2016), 267-278.

[9] David Eng speaks to the dearth of scholarship on queers of color generally in queer studies, which includes APAs. David Eng, Judith Halberstam, and José Esteban Muñoz, "Introduction: What's Queer about Queer Studies Now," *Social Text* 23, nos. 3-4 (2005): 2.

[10] Susan Lee Johnson, "'My Own Private Life': Toward a History of Desire in Gold Rush California," *California History* 79, no. 2 (July 1, 2000): 316-346.

and sexuality. APA queers have often occupied the leading wave of social transformation within the Asian Pacific American community.

Early Queer APA History

Likely, countless queers came to America during the first wave of Asian migration in the nineteenth century. Historians though have rendered their stories invisible through a heteronormative recounting of history. Chinese men languished painfully in “bachelor societies” in cities such as San Francisco and New York. The miniscule number of women immigrants existed only as prostitutes to serve these men deprived of “normal” heterosexual contact.[11] In nearly all of the existing literature, “queer” Chinese in America existed only as a discursive device in public health records and leisure culture that painted them as morally deviant in the 1860s and 1870s.[12] Same-sex intimacies and sex acts themselves seemed completely absent in early Asian American history.

Yet, same-affairs did exist among Asians and Pacific Islanders in America or in territories later to be become part of the United States even as those engaged in these intimacies may not have had a gay, lesbian, or bisexual identity. White missionaries and imperial zealots wrote often of the prevalence of same-sex intimacies in the Pacific, as they sought refuge from the stigma of their own same-sex proclivities at home. In a letter to Walt Whitman, writer Charles Warren Stoddard who had become famous for his travel logs from the 1870s described the Pacific Islands as a sexual utopia that not even “California where men are tolerably bold” could provide.[13] Stoddard became disappointed when one of his young lovers from Hawai`i named Kahele came to San Francisco for a visit and immediately began to “sow his heterosexual oats.” Days after his arrival, Kahele deserted Stoddard to move to Los Angeles with his new Mexican wife.[14] Pacific Islander men rendered faceless by authors who merely penned them as “savages” crucially informed how white men came to understand their sexuality through widely popular travel publications on the “South Seas.” According to literary critic Lee Wallace, Pacific Islander same-sex sexualities so powerfully informed nineteenth-century western imaginings of masculinity that “male homosexuality as we have come to understood it… was constituted in no small part through the collision with Polynesian culture.”[15]

---

[11] Mary Roberts Coolidge, *Chinese Immigration* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1909); Yong Chen, *Chinese San Francisco, 1850-1943: A Trans-Pacific Community* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2000); Yuji Ichioka, *Issei; The World of the First Generation Japanese Immigrants, 1885-1924* (New York: Free Press, 1988); Yuji Ichioka, “Ameyuki-san: Japanese Prostitutes in Nineteenth-Century America,” *Amerasia Journal* 4, no. 1 (1977): 1-22; Lucie Cheng Hirata, “Free, Indentured, Enslaved: Chinese Prostitutes in Nineteenth Century America,” *Signs* 5, no. 1 (1979): 3-29; George Anthony Peffer, *If They Don't Bring Their Women Here: Chinese Female Immigration Before Exclusion* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1999).

[12] Robert G. Lee, *Orientals: Asian Americans in Popular Culture* (Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 1999); Nayan Shah, *Contagious Divides: Epidemics and Race in San Francisco’s Chinatown* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001).

For the unlucky ones, the criminal court system etched their illicit activities into historical record. In the 1890s, authorities in San Francisco arrested a number of Chinese men impersonating women to attract fellow countrymen for sex work.[16] Across the bay in Oakland, Chin Ling in 1908 dressed as a “handsome Chinese maiden of the better class” in hopes of obtaining his husband.[17] Ten years later in downtown Sacramento, California, two South Asian men, Jamil Singh and Tara Singh, separately sought out male intimacy from two men in their late teens, one white and the other Native American.[18] So threateningly did reports of South Asian men sexually pursuing young white men loom in the American imagination that criminal courts in the 1910s and 1920s began to blame “Oriental depravity” for promoting degeneracy among America’s transient white youth.[19] Alaskan canneries at which Japanese and Chinese immigrants labored also became productive sites of business for male sex workers, most often Chinese, African American, or Portuguese in the 1920s and 1930s. Sex workers divided their earnings equally with cannery foremen who occasionally "pimped" for them.[20] These early immigrant men and their pursuit of frequently interracial same-sex affairs sheds a different light upon existing historical narratives that presume compulsory heterosexuality and little racial mixing between Asian immigrant men.

---

[13] Amy Sueyoshi, *Queer Compulsions: Race, Nation, and Sexuality in the Affairs of Yone Noguchi* (Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 2012), 16. See also Gregory Tomso, “The Queer History of Leprosy and Same-Sex Love,” *American Literary History* 14, no. 2 (2002): 747-775. For more on Stoddard, see Roger Austen, *Genteel Pagan: The Double Life of Charles Warren Stoddard,* ed. John W. Crowley (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1991).

[14] Austen, *Genteel Pagan*, 92.

[15] Lee Wallace, *Sexual Encounters: Pacific Texts, Modern Sexualities* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2003).

[16] See “*Emporia Daily Gazette,* 25 July 1893, 1,” in Peter Boag, *Re-dressing the America’s Frontier Past* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011), 149.

[17] See “*Oakland Tribune,* 22 July 1908, 3” in Boag, *Re-dressing the America’s Frontier Past*, 148.

[18] Nayan Shah, *Stranger Intimacy: Contesting Race, Sexuality, and the Law in the North American West* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011), 75-76.

Chinese immigrants accustomed to homosocial spaces in their homeland may have actively enjoyed all-male spaces and forged meaningful same-sex relationships as they gathered for mahjong or benevolent association events as "bachelors" in America. Without the imposition of a western lens that assumes heterosociality as the ideal, men from China, steeped in a tradition of same-sex social interaction, may not have been as deprived as more insistently heteronormative histories have declared.[22] In fact, male gold seekers during the

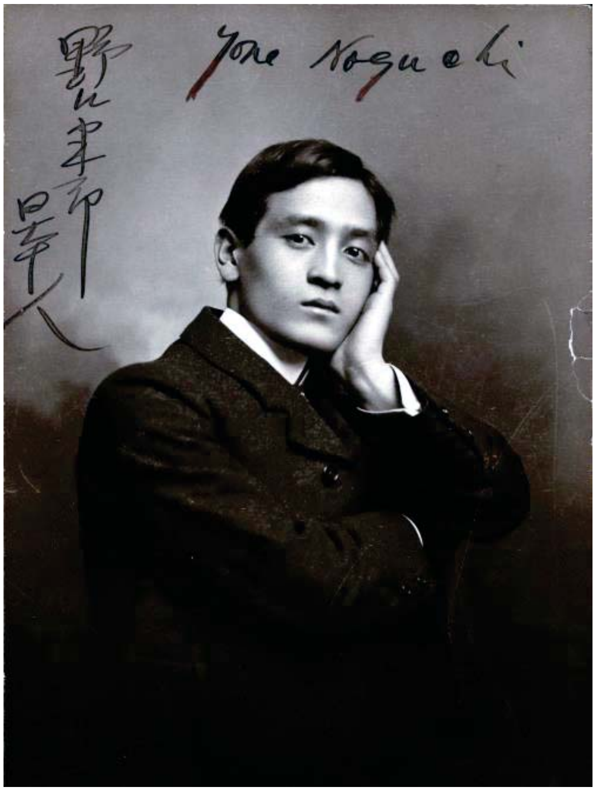


Figure 2: Yone Noguchi, 1903. Photo by Charles W. Hearn. Miscellaneous photographs collection, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.[21]

---

[19] Nayan Shah, "Between 'Oriental Depravity' and 'Natural Degenerates': Spatial Borderlands and the Making of Ordinary Americans," *American Quarterly* 57, no. 3 (September 2005): 703-725.

[20] Jack Mason and Donald Guimary, "Asian Labor Contractors in Alaska Canned Salmon Industry, 1880-1937," *Labor History* 22, no. 3 (1981): 391; Lauren Casady, "Labor Unrest and the Labor Movement in the Salmon Industry of the Pacific Coast," PhD diss., University of California Berkeley, 1938, 79, 201, 240. Chris Friday summarized the content of the above two citations and added his own analysis of "homosexuality" in the canneries in his book *Organizing Asian American Labor: The Pacific Coast Canned-Salmon Industry, 1870-1942* (Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 1994), 45-55, 114.

[21] License: Public Domain. http://www.aaa.si.edu/collections/items/detail/yone-noguchi-2851

[22] Madeline Y. Hsu, "Unwrapping Orientalist Constraints: Restoring Homosocial Normativity to Chinese American History," *Amerasia Journal* 29, no. 2 (2003): 230-253.

1850s in the Southern Mines of California—including Chinese—created multiracial families of cooperation and consent as they forged new forms of cross-ethnic male intimacy. The influx of white women in the 1860s and its accompanying valorization of "civilized" families—code for white heterosexuality—would later fuel the formation of rigid racial hierarchies.[23]

In some cases, individuals did identify themselves as explicitly queer. In 1899, Kosen Takahashi, an illustrator for *Shin Sekai* [24] one of San Francisco's earliest Japanese American newspapers, declared himself an "utmost queer Nipponese" to journalist Blanche Partington.[25] Takahashi who had earlier shared kisses with fellow *issei* Yone Noguchi missed him sorely when Noguchi went tramping from San Francisco to Los Angeles (Figure 2).[26] Noguchi, a poet in his own right who would later become better known as the father of acclaimed Asian American artist Isamu Noguchi, had struck up an affair with the aforementioned writer and one-time lover of Kahele, Charles Warren Stoddard.[27] At the turn of the century, Noguchi would collect bouquets of wild flowers in California's Oakland Hills and blow kisses to Stoddard's "bungalow" on M Street in Washington, DC.[28] When Noguchi heard that Stoddard took walks atop Telegraph Hill in

---

[23] Susan Johnson, *Roaring Camp: The Social World of the California Gold Rush* (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 2000).

[24] The *Shin Sekai*, founded in 1894, functioned as the house organ for the San Francisco Japanese YMCA until 1897. The San Francisco YMCA was located at 121 Haight Street. See Brian Niiya, "Shin Sekai (newspaper)," *Densho Encyclopedia,* accessed October 4, 2015, http://encyclopedia.densho.org/Shin_Sekai_%28newspaper%29; *Langley's San Francisco Directory, 1895* (San Francisco, CA: J. B. Painter Co., 1895). In 1906, at the height of the newspaper's circulation, *Shin Sekai's* San Francisco office was located at 948 Geary Street. Japanese American History Archive, Japanese American Cultural and Community Center of Northern California, San Francisco, California.

[25] Sueyoshi, *Queer Compulsions*, 83.

[26] Sueyoshi, *Queer Compulsions*, 83. "Issei," which means first generation in Japanese, refers to the first wave of immigrants from Japan who arrived in the United States before the 1924 passage of the Johnson-Reed Immigration Act. See "Issei," *Densho Encyclopedia*, accessed May 7, 2016, http://encyclopedia.densho.org/Issei.

[27] Yone Noguchi was the father of Asian American artist Isamu Noguchi. He carved his name in Japanese into the wall of the Carmel Mission during his tramp to Los Angeles. Sueyoshi, *Queer Compulsions*, 54. The Carmel Mission, also known as Mission San Carlos Borromeo de Carmelo, is located at 3080 Rio Road, Carmel-by-the-Sea, California. It was listed on the NRHP on October 15, 1966 and designated an NHL on October 9, 1960.

[28] Stoddard lived at 300 M Street at the corner of Third and M Streets in a two-story red brick house with six rooms and one bath. Ethel Armes, "Aloha, Wela, Wela!" *National Magazine* 21, no. 3 (December 1904): 308; Austen, *Genteel Pagan*, 134.

San Francisco, he raced there to look for his footprints. Charles Warren Stoddard, touted as San Francisco's first gay writer, cofounded the Bohemian Club, an elite fraternal order that former President Richard Nixon later declared in 1971 as, "the most faggy goddamned thing you could imagine with that San Francisco crowd."[29] At the same time that Noguchi was writing letters of love to Stoddard, he impregnated editor Léonie Gilmour and became engaged to journalist Ethel Armes who herself preferred relationships with women rather than men.[30]

Noguchi would not be the only Asian in America hobnobbing with well-known whites in queer circles long before the 1970s. Western writer Joaquin Miller particularly favored hosting Japanese "boys" whom he referred to as "brownies" as live-in domestics in his home in California's Oakland Hills.[31] Miller attracted such a following that, shortly after his death in 1913, Yone Noguchi—who had since returned to Japan—sailed back to the United States and organized a group of Japanese men to pay their respects at his home. Miller, also an active member of the San Francisco Bohemian Club, frequently declared his love of men, even as he remained married to a woman.[32]

---

[29] Austen, *Genteel Pagan*. The Bohemian Club Clubhouse was located at the northeast corner of Post Street and Grant Avenue. Bohemian Club, *Certificate of Incorporation, Constitution, By-Laws and Rules, Officers, Committees, and Members* (San Francisco: H. S. Crocker Company, 1904). For Richard Nixon's quotation see Sueyoshi, *Queer Compulsions,* 149.

[30] Yone Noguchi's more famous son Isamu Noguchi was born in Pasadena, California on November 17, 1904. Ethel Armes would become famous as Alabama's first historian. Amy Sueyoshi, *Queer Compulsions: Race, Nation, and Sexuality in the Affairs of Yone Noguchi* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2012). For more on Isamu Noguchi, see Masayo Duus, *The Life of Isamu Noguchi: Journey Without Borders* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2007).

[31] Miller's residence address is listed as "Upper Fruitvale" in the 1899 Oakland Directory. His home is located within Joaquin Miller Park at 3590 Sanborn Drive, Oakland, California. It was listed on the NRHP on October 15, 1966 and designated an NHL on December 29, 1962.

[32] When Miller first met Noguchi he called him a "beautiful Japanese flower," see Sueyoshi, *Queer Compulsions.*

In 1899, the same year Kosen Takahashi pined away over Yone Noguchi's absence as he tramped to Los Angeles, Ah Yane gave birth to her first child, Margaret Chung, in Santa Barbara, California. By the 1920s, Chung would become a successful physician, the first American surgeon of Chinese descent (Figure 3).[33] Chung, known for wearing mannish attire, drove a sleek blue sports car around San Francisco and led many of her contemporaries, including lesbian poet Elsa Gidlow, to speculate that she might be a lesbian.[34] Gidlow actively courted Chung, drinking bootleg liquor at a local speakeasy of Chung's choosing in San Francisco's North Beach, an Italian community neighboring Chinatown. Later in the 1940s, Chung may have had an intimate relationship with actor Sophie Tucker as Chung hosted grand parties in her home for soldiers traveling through San Francisco during World War II.[35] Chung served as "Mom Chung" to American soldiers by inviting them into her home while they were on leave in San Francisco. She also raised funds for the war and

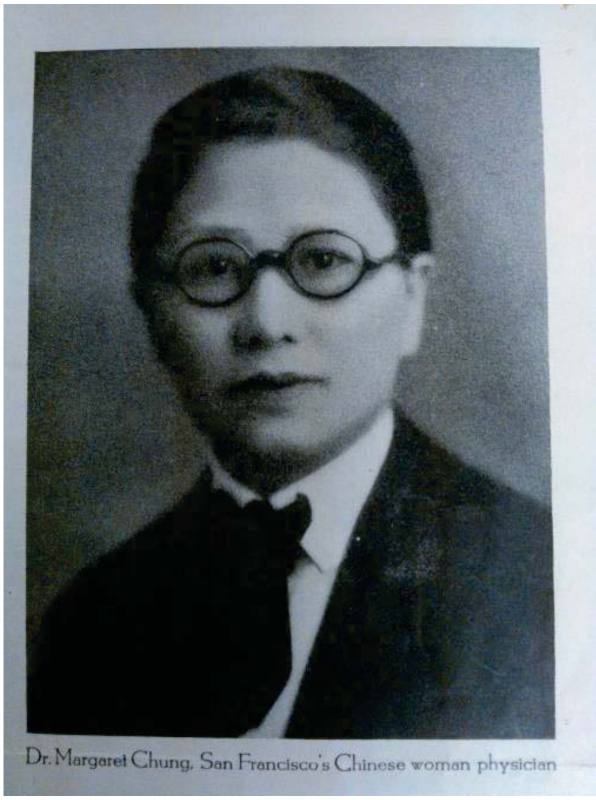

Dr. Margaret Chung, San Francisco's Chinese woman physician

Figure 3: Portrait of Margaret Chung. Courtesy of the Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender Historical Society (Lisa Gidlow Collection 91-16).

---

[33] Judy Tzu-Chun Wu, *Doctor Mom Chung of the Fair-Haired Bastards: The Life of a Wartime Celebrity* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2005). The 1929 San Francisco city directory lists Chung as living at 340 Stockton Place (now demolished). See *Crocker-Langley San Francisco City Directory, 1929* (San Francisco, CA: R. L. Polk and Co., 1928).

[34] Wu, *Doctor Mom Chung of the Fair-Haired Bastards*.

[35] In 1942 Chung's home was in the Telegraph Hill neighborhood of San Francisco; from 1943 to 1945 she is listed as living in what is now the Lone Mountain neighborhood, according to the city directory. Her medical practice was located at 752 Sacramento Street, in San Francisco's Chinatown. See *Polk's Crocker-Langley San Francisco City Directory, 1942, 1943, 1944, 1945* (San Francisco, CA: R. L. Polk and Co.).

supported the formation of the Women's Army Corps (WAC). In order to join the US Navy herself, Chung initiated and lobbied congressional legislation to establish the Women Accepted for Volunteer Emergency Services (WAVES). Ironically, after the establishment of WAVES, government officials would never accept Chung's application to join due to her race as well as rumors about her lesbianism unearthed by the Naval Intelligence Service. In 1943 the Professional Women's Club of San Francisco asked Chung to resign from their membership under suspicions around her sexuality.[36]

Meanwhile, more than seven hundred miles away in the Utah desert, the United States government had incarcerated *issei* Jiro Onuma in the Topaz War Relocation Center—not for the crime of being a homosexual, but for being an "enemy alien."[37] Authorities forcibly removed Onuma and 120,000 other Japanese Americans who had made homes along the Pacific coast to desolate camps in the nation's interior during the 1940s. Government officials claimed that Japanese living along the West Coast posed a threat to national security as the nation embarked on a war with Japan.[38] Throughout his life, Onuma had collected homoerotic kitsch. And, while Japanese Americans could only bring what they could carry into the incarceration camps, Onuma made it a point to pack the patriotic 1942 "Victory Issue" of male physique magazine *Strength and Health* and a medal of completion awarded by Earle Liederman, a professional muscle man who ran a popular twelve-week mail-order bodybuilding school throughout the 1920s and 1930s.[39] While incarcerated at Topaz, evidence suggests that Onuma had a lover named Ronald.[40]

---

[36] Wu, *Doctor Mom Chung of the Fair-Haired Bastards*.

[37] The Topaz War Relocation Center, also known as the Central Utah Relocation Center (Topaz), was built in 1942 in Millard County, Utah. It was listed on the NRHP on January 2, 1974 and designated an NHL on March 29, 2007.

[38] Roger Daniels, *Concentration Camps USA: Japanese Americans and World War II* (Hinsdale, IL: Dryden Press, 1971); Greg Robinson, *A Tragedy of Democracy: Japanese Confinement in North America* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2009); Greg Robinson, *By Order of the President: FDR and the Internment of Japanese Americans* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2001).

Clearly queers among Asian Americans existed in early Asian American history. As they sought out same-sex intimacies, they too contributed to the changing face and social dynamic of America. A number of them more specifically shaped American modernism, the US military, and Hollywood. Nearly all interacted with whites in unexpectedly intimate ways. They have also only recently appeared as queer or possibly queer due to the work of largely LGBTQ scholars attuned to forging a history relevant to their own lives. While many may perceive Asians in America as "closeted" in this earlier part of APA history, historians who privilege heterosexuality and whiteness more likely rendered them irrelevant and therefore invisible in America's past.

Literary critic Andrew Leong has proposed an "epistemology of the pocket" as opposed to queer theorist Eve Sedgwick's "epistemology of the closet" for those in America unable to afford their own room with a closet. Leong describes the pocket as a smaller space that "due to its proximity to the body, ought to be more 'private,' but because of its placement on the body, is subject to public view." It accommodates only partial concealment, since "you can hide a body in a closet but not in a pocket." Leong added, "For propertied, Anglo-American men with rooms of their own, the closet might be an appropriate figure for the possession of a hidden identity. The pocket might be more fitting for the countless others with more precarious relationships to individual property and identity: colonized peoples who have had their property taken from them; people who have been treated as property; aliens ineligible for citizenship; migrant workers...."[41] For queer Asians who sought to keep their desires private particularly before the rise of a nationally visible LGBTQ movement, Leong's pocket serves as a useful metaphor for their all-too-small shelter which more likely exposed rather than concealed their indiscretions from their contemporaries.

---

[39] Tina Takemoto, "Looking for Jiro Onuma: A Queer Meditation on the Incarceration of Japanese Americans during WWII," *GLQ: A Journal of Lesbian and Gay Studies* 20, no. 3 (November 2013): 241-275.

[40] John Howard, *Concentration Camps on the Homefront: Japanese Americans in the House of Jim Crow* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008); Takemoto, "Looking for Jiro Onuma."

[41] Andrew Leong, "The Pocket and the Watch: A Collective Individualist Reading of Japanese American Literature," *Verge: Studies in Global Asias* 1, no. 2 (2015): 76-114.

Being "out" would always be complicated for APA as for other queers of color. Political scientist Cathy Cohen has detailed how, in the late twentieth century, gay African Americans have also been out in less public ways to not risk losing their ethnic communities in racist America.[42] APAs too would not have felt at liberty to be out in a society that already villainized and marginalized them for their race. Ironically, even when obviously queer Asians such as Yone Noguchi and Margaret Chung initiated significant action alongside history-making whites, their activities still remain barely visible in history.

Radicalism on the Rise

In the mid-1950s when Daughters of Bilitis (DOB), the first lesbian civil and political rights group in the United States formed, Filipina Rose Bamberger played a crucial role in gathering a handful of women including Del Martin and Phyllis Lyon who would later become known as the founders. Bamberger invited a group of six women including Martin and Lyon to join her and her partner Rosemary Sliepen for drinks and dinner at their home in San Francisco on Friday, September 21, 1955. A second planning meeting took place on October 5 again at Bamberger's home, at which time the group decided that she along with her partner Sliepen would bring fried chicken to the first official DOB meeting to be held two weeks later.[43] Yet, the purpose of DOB— a secret group of women gathered for private events versus a public organization pushing for political reform—divided the group. Bamberger left DOB in early 1956, refusing to be a part of an organization that hoped to welcome men and heterosexual women working publicly towards legislative changes. No doubt, an outward facing DOB would increase the possibility that her own lesbianism would become more public.[44]

---

[42] Cathy Cohen, *Boundaries of Blackness: AIDS and the Breakdown of Black Politics* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1999).

[43] In 1955, Rose Bamberger or "Rosalie Bamberger" appears in the city directory as living in San Francisco's Silver Terrace neighborhood. See Marcia M. Gallo, *Different Daughters: A History of the Daughters of Bilitis and the Rise of the Lesbian Rights Movement* (Emeryville, CA: Seal Press, 2007), 4, 5.

Bamberger had reason to protect herself from instability that public knowledge of her sexuality might bring. During the 1950s she had a different job nearly every year as a machine operator, brush maker, or factory worker and additionally changed residences at least five times. Without job security and little residential stability, the consequences of coming out for Bamberger would have likely been unfathomable to bear.[45] Ironically, as DOB grew during the 1950s, a number of the officers including Phyllis Lyon, one of the original founders who pushed for the group to be more public, in fact used pseudonyms in their newsletter called *The Ladder* to protect their identities.[46]

Ten years after Bamberger left the group, Chinese American Crystal Jang attended a few San Francisco DOB meetings in search of other lesbians and still found the group, as well as the lesbian bars she frequented, to be “all white.” When she turned to leftist groups working for Third World liberation, the broader Asian American movement seemed “very male.”[47] Jang would not be alone in her sense of alienation. Activist Gil Mangaoang described himself as being in state of “schizophrenia” during the 1970s, trapped between his involvement in a homophobic Asian American political community and his intimate life in a racist LGBTQ community.[48] He matriculated into the City College of San Francisco in 1970 after being discharged from the US Airforce. On campus Mangaoang joined the Filipino Club, became an officer on the student council, and worked with other student groups of color to establish an ethnic studies program. He and other student activists negotiated with the administration to ensure that courses in Filipino history and Tagalog be included in the curricula.[49] Mangaoang, impatient for change within the college, soon after began doing volunteer work at the International Hotel (I-Hotel), a low-income residence hotel at the corner of Jackson and Kearny Streets in San Francisco, which housed many *manong* or elderly Filipino men.[50] It stood as the last bastion of the San Francisco's Manilatown before the city tore it down in 1979 as part of urban renewal.[51]

---

[44] Gallo, *Different Daughters*, 8.

[45] *Polk's San Francisco City Directories, 1950-1959* (San Francisco, CA: R. L. Polk and Co.)

[46] Gallo, *Different Daughters*, 31.

[47] Interview with Crystal Jang, conducted by author, January 31, 2012, San Francisco, California. For more on the Asian American movement see Daryl J. Maeda, *Rethinking the Asian American Movement* (New York: Routledge, 2012).

[48] Eric C. Wat, *The Making of a Gay Asian Community: An Oral History of Pre-AIDS Los Angeles* (New York: Rowman and Littlefield, 2002), 102.

Countless other Asian gay and lesbian activists and writers such as Daniel Tseng, Kitty Tsui, and Helen Zia have reported on how people of color and queer progressive spaces remained unable to accommodate queer people of color in the 1970s.[52] In 1974, at the Third World People's Solidarity Conference in Ann Arbor, Tseng vividly remembers a group of largely African Americans growing angry over antigay sentiments expressed at the podium by "otherwise radical leaders." The most incendiary comments ironically came from Angela Davis who mocked founding father George Washington for his "sissy shoes" decades before she would come out.[53] The rise of the Asian American movement as well, owed much of its ideological origins to Marxist-Leninist-Maoist beliefs that devalued same-sex sexuality as a product of bourgeois decadence and believed homosexuality would be eliminated with the eventual demise of capitalism.[54]

---

[49] Gil Mangaoang, "From the 1970s to the 1990s: Perspective of a Gay Filipino American Activist," in *Asian American Sexualities: Dimensions of the Gay and Lesbian Experience,* ed. Russell Leong (New York: Routledge, 1996), 102-103.

[50] The International Hotel was home to thousands of seasonal Asian laborers in the 1920s and 1930s, particularly Filipinos. It was added to the NRHP on June 15, 1977.

[51] The demolition took place despite a fight that began in 1968 and continued for more than a decade between the residents of the hotel and the city. See Estella Habal, *San Francisco's International Hotel: Mobilizing the Filipino American Community in the Anti-Eviction Movement* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2007).

[52] Daniel Tseng, "Slicing Silence: Asian Progressives Come Out," in *Asian Americans: The Movement and the Moment,* eds. Steve Louie and Glenn K. Omatsu (Los Angeles: UCLA Asian American Studies Center Press, 2001); Kitty Tsui, *The Words of a Woman who Breathes Fire* (Argyle, NY: Spinsters Ink, 1983); Helen Zia, *Asian American Dreams: The Emergence of an American People* (New York: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux, 2000).

[53] Tseng, "Slicing Silence," 228.

Still, APA queers remained committed to social justice and forged their own paths for community engagement. In the 1960s, Crystal Jang and her women friends began a petition at the City College of San Francisco calling for women students on campus to be allowed to wear pants and successfully changed the dress code. On their way to and from City College and their homes in Chinatown, they also defiantly rode cable cars hanging off the side when the law still mandated women to sit safely inside.[55] In 1978, Jang publicly spoke against the Briggs Initiative to a news reporter who interviewed her at her workplace, the schoolyard of Benjamin Franklin Middle School.[56] The Briggs Initiative would have legalized the firing of all LGBTQ teachers and those who supported them.[57] When she appeared in the local newspapers as a result, she became one the faces of the anti-Briggs Initiative movement, participating in a rally with the United Educators of San Francisco even as she feared losing her job.[58] For Jang, self-acceptance of her same-sex desires came through her investigations in the stacks at the public library. In 1960 at the North Beach branch, Jang, still an eighth grader, read about the Kinsey Scale just seven years after sexologist Alfred Kinsey published *Sexual Behavior in the Human Female*.[59]

---

[54] Wat, *The Making of a Gay Asian Community*, 93.

[55] Interview with Crystal Jang, conducted by author, January 31, 2012, San Francisco, California. Ocean Campus, the main campus of the City College of San Francisco, is located at 50 Phelan Avenue, San Francisco, California. In May 1965, Mona Hutchin, a student at the University of California, Berkeley, more formally challenged the unofficial ban against women standing on the "outside step" of cable cars. Associated Press, "Women Start Riding 'Outside Step' of Frisco's Old Dinky Cable Cars," *Ocala Star Banner*, May 13, 1965, 8.

[56] Benjamin Franklin Middle School is located at 1430 Scott Street, San Francisco, California.

[57] Karen Graves, "Political Pawns in and Educational Endgame: Reflections on Bryant, Briggs, and Some Twentieth Century School Questions," *History of Education Quarterly* 53, no. 1 (February 2013): 1-20.

[58] Interview with Crystal Jang, conducted by author, January 31, 2012, San Francisco, California; Crystal Jang, e-mail message to author, October 17, 2015.

[59] Alfred C. Kinsey and the Institute for Sex Research, *Sexual Behavior in the Human Female* (Philadelphia, PA: Saunders, 1953). The North Beach branch of the San Francisco public library

Gil Mangaoang too forged a space where he could be both queer and Asian in his activism for social change. Through his work at the I-Hotel, Mangaoang became a member of the Kalayaan Collective, and would become one of the early members of Katipunan ng mga Demokratikong Pilipino (KDP), memorialized as the first revolutionary Filipino nationalist group in the United States. Headquartered in Oakland, California, KDP appeared to be the only organization within the Asian American movement that accepted queer members. At least ten lesbians and two gay men comprised the membership and leadership of the organization.[60]

On the East Coast, bar patrons at New York City's Stonewall Inn in 1969 fought back against police harassment, marking what many historians cite as the beginning of the gay rights movement. Yet, three years earlier in 1966 in San Francisco's Tenderloin District, sex worker and activist Tamara Ching of Native Hawaiian, Chinese, and German descent fought back against police harassment with other street queens at Compton's Cafeteria. The twenty-four hour restaurant on the corner of Turk and Taylor streets had attracted a regular late-night crowd of drag queens, hustlers, and runaway teens. One weekend night in August, the management called the police to expel a particularly noisy crowd of queens lingering too long at one table while spending little money. When a police officer grabbed the arm of one of the queens to drag her away, an insurrection ensued. Dishware and silverware flew through the air, tables and chairs were upended, and patrons pushed the police out into the street. The Compton's Cafeteria revolt in which Ching and other queens participated, initiated new transgender advocacy programs within the San Francisco Police Department and the city's Department of Public Health.[61]

---

recently re-opened at 850 Columbus Avenue, San Francisco, California. This new construction replaces the previous building, constructed in 1959 on an adjacent lot.

[60] Gil Mangaoang, "From the 1970s to the 1990s,"103-109; Trinity Ann Ordona, "Coming Out Together: An Ethnohistory of the Asian and Pacific Islander Queer Women's and Transgendered People's Movement of San Francisco," PhD diss., University of California, Santa Cruz, 2000. The KDP National Headquarters was located at 4704 Shattuck Avenue in Oakland in the 1970s and moved to 526 Thirty-Second Street in Oakland in the late 1970s. In the 1980s, the office moved to 3600 Lincoln Way in Oakland. Trinity Ordona, e-mail message to author, December 16, 2015.

[61] Susan Stryker, *Transgender History* (Berkeley, CA: Seal Press, 2008), 63-66, 74, 75. The uprising at Compton's Cafeteria, 101 Taylor Street, San Francisco was the first known militant action by LGBTQ

In the wake of Stonewall too, queers in New York and soon after across the nation organized to form the Gay Liberation Front (GLF) to demand sexual liberation for all people. As GLF branches popped up across the country, Japanese American Kiyoshi Kuromiya cofounded the Gay Liberation Front–Philadelphia on May 29, 1970 when a group of approximately fifty people met at Gazoo, a gay collective at 230 South Street.[62]

In the arts as well, Asian lesbians took to the stage in the form of a feminist Asian women's performance group in 1979 called Unbound Feet. Kitty Tsui, Merle Woo, and Canyon Sam formed three of the six women. Their very presence as performers proved radical due to the fact that few, if any, Asian American women appeared on stage at the time.[63] Tsui and Sam had previously met at Asian American Feminists, an Asian women's rap group initiated two years earlier by Doreena Wong and Canyon Sam.[64]

Unbound Feet's first show took place at the James Moore Oakland Museum Theater and proved to be immediately successful. As the group continued to perform over the next two years, audiences of up to six hundred flocked to their shows. While the performances of Tsui, Sam, and Woo did not address lesbianism, the program explicitly stated their sexuality. Unbound Feet thus exposed prominently and without shame the

---

people against police harassment. The building is a contributing resource to the Uptown Tenderloin Historic District, added to the NRHP on February 5, 2009.

[62] Interview with Kiyoshi Kuromiya, conducted by Marc Stein, see Marc Stein, "Kiyoshi Kuromiya, June 17, 1997," *Outhistory.org*, 2009, accessed July 14, 2014, http://outhistory.org/exhibits/show/philadelphia-lgbt-interviews/interviews/kiyoshi-kuromiya. Marc Stein, *City of Sisterly and Brotherly Loves: Lesbian and Gay Philadelphia, 1945-1972* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2004).

[63] Trinity Ordona, "Asian Lesbians in San Francisco: Struggles to Create a Safe Space, 1970s–1980s," in *Asian/Pacific Islander Women: A Historical Anthology,* eds. Shirley Hune and Gail Nomura (New York: New York University Press, 2003), 327. Merle Woo is of both Chinese and Korean ancestry.

[64] Members of Asian American Feminists would share food and talk about racism and sexism in a group of nearly all queer Asian women. The first session of Asian American Feminists took place in Sam's Castro neighborhood San Francisco apartment, see Ordona, "Coming Out Together," 128-132; Canyon Sam, e-mail message to author, November 24, 2015.

real existence of lesbians within the Asian American community and drew a significant Asian lesbian following.[65]

After performances, women crowded into the home of Zee Wong which became a popular gathering place and for meeting lesbians of color generally. Wong, a master of party planning with a wide network, later initiated a series of Asian lesbian potlucks in which large groups of women would gather to share food and build community for the first time. Wong simultaneously began organizing multiracial BBQs. While the potlucks took place in Wong's home, the BBQs ironically convened at Joaquin Miller Park, a public space upon which Joaquin Miller, the lover of "brownies," had hosted countless young Japanese men in his home. By 1982 Wong had over seventy women on her list of people to invite. A year later, Lisa Chun who had earlier in 1978 cofounded Asian Women, an Oakland-based nonpolitical support group for Asian lesbians, combined her list of contacts with Wong's and the number of APIs grew to 112.[66]

In 1981, Unbound Feet would disband over one member Merle Woo's grievance against University of California, Berkeley's refusal to renew her contract as a lecturer in Asian American Studies. Woo hoped Unbound Feet would publicly support her position when she

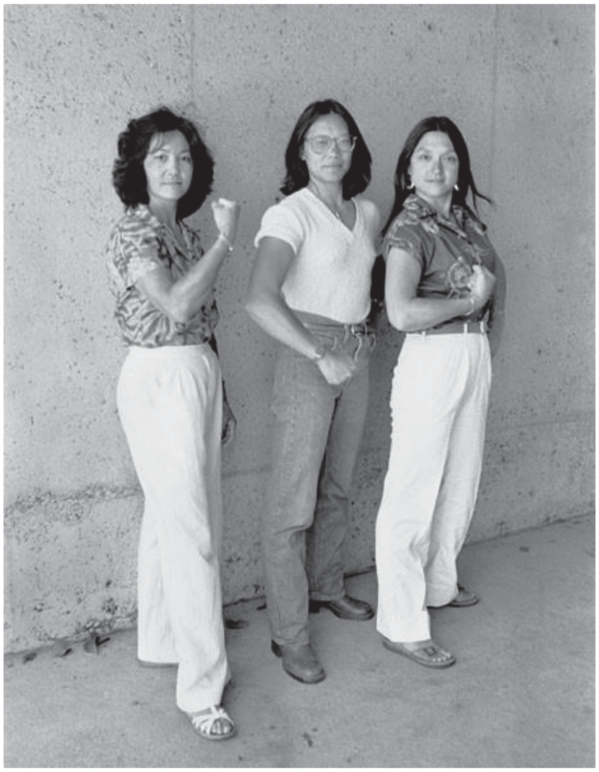


Figure 4: Unbound Feet Three, 1981. Left to right: Nellie Wong, Kitty Tsui, Merle Woo. Photo by Cathy Cade, courtesy of the Bancroft Library, University of California Berkeley.

---

[65] Ordona, "Coming Out Together," 134-135.

[66] Ordona, "Coming Out Together," 142; Stephen Stewart, *Positive Image: A Portrait of Gay America* (New York: William Morrow and Company, 1985), 181.

charged that the university had discriminated against her as a lesbian and for her radical political ideology.[67] The group, unable to come to an agreement on whether they should make a public statement, splintered. Half of the members stood opposed to using Unbound Feet as a platform for workplace grievances that would put them in direct conflict with the Asian American community. Four years later in 1985 when three of the original members regrouped as Unbound Feet Three, they more actively brought lesbian content to the stage (Figure 4).[68]

In the same year that Unbound Feet, in its original grouping, drew audiences to their radical performances, queer Asians from across the nation gathered in Washington, DC, at the first National Third World Lesbian and Gay Conference. The conference, organized by the National Coalition of Black Gays, took place at Howard University in October 1979.[69] According to poet Michiyo Cornell, the meeting was "the first time in the history of the American hemisphere that Asian American gay men and lesbians joined to form a network of support."[70] Cornell, who would later change her last name to Fukaya, would go on to organize Vermont's first queer pride celebration called "Lesbian and Gay Pride" in 1983.[71]

Asian lesbian and bisexual women organized the first West Coast Asian Pacific Lesbian Retreat in Sonoma, California in 1987 drawing eighty people, mostly from the San Francisco Bay Area. Five months later in October, fifty Asian lesbian and gay men from across the nation gathered to form the first Asian contingent at the 1987 March on Washington for

---

[67] After a two-year legal battle, in 1984, the University of California, Berkeley reached a settlement with Woo of $73,584 and two years' reinstatement. See Stewart, *Positive Image*, 115.

[68] Ordona, "Coming Out Together," 136-137. Unbound Feet Three comprised of Kitty Tsui, Nellie Wong, and Merle Woo performed on Friday, October 16 at La Peña Cultural Center. Margaret Krouskoff, "Unbound Feet Three," *Off Our Backs* 11, no. 11 (December 31, 1985): 25. La Peña Cultural Center is located at 3105 Shattuck Avenue, Berkeley, California.

[69] Tseng, "Slicing Silence," 231. Howard University is located at 2400 Sixth Street NW, Washington, DC.

[70] Michiyo Cornell, "Living in Asian America," in Leong, *Asian American Sexualities*, 83. See also Gwendolyn Shervington, ed., *A Fire is Burning, It is in Me: The Life and Writings of Michiyo Fukaya* (Norwich, VT: New Victoria Publishers, 1996).

[71] Shervington, *A Fire is Burning, It is in Me,* 145; Chuck Stewart, ed., *Proud Heritage: People, Issues, and Documents of the LGBT Experience* (Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO, LLC, 2015), 1208.

Gay Rights on the National Mall. As a national network of Asian lesbians solidified, the Asian/Pacific Lesbian Network (APLN) sponsored their first national retreat titled “Coming Together, Moving Forward” in Santa Cruz, California September 1-4, 1989. The event drew over 140 API lesbians from the United States, Canada, and the United Kingdom.[72] For Asian lesbians, the 1980s marked a time of momentous community building. A burgeoning network of individuals created newsletters, held potlucks, and formed softball teams, coalescing into what sociologist Karin Aguilar-San Juan characterized as a “movement.”[73]

What might be the first Asian American lesbian newsletter, *Phoenix Rising,* began in the mid-1980s, its title referring to these women’s resilience and beauty, rising out of the ashes that racism, sexism, and homophobia might otherwise leave behind.[74] Their mailing list at one point counted eighty-seven women.[75] For Helen Zia, who as a community organizer hid her lesbianism, *Phoenix Rising* served as a lifeline while she lived in New Jersey, a vibrant symbol of how her all her identities as a woman, Asian, and lesbian could coexist.[76]

Unbound Feet also laid the groundwork for Kitty Tsui to publish her poetry four years later in 1983.[77] Her book, *The Words of a Woman Who Breathes Fire,* has inspired countless queer Asian women across two decades.[78] Tsui's work offered, in the words of Aguilar-San Juan, "an image of a 'proud, defiant, no bullshit woman, the dyke we all wanted to be.'"[79] While Kitty Tsui was the first Chinese American lesbian to come out with a book, Korean American Willyce Kim broke significant ground as the first published Asian American lesbian with *Eating Artichokes,* printed by the Woman's Press Collective nine years earlier in 1972.[80] In the 1980s, however, more than a handful of poets and writers including Merle Woo and Chea Villanueva began publishing their own single-authored books—a trend that continued into the 1990s.[81] In addition to publishing with established feminist publishers like Firebrand Books, the Women's Press Collective, and Spinsters Ink, queer writers of color also initiated their own printing houses, including Kitchen Table: Women of Color Press, founded in 1980 by Black lesbians Barbara Smith and Audre Lorde.[82]

---

[72] Christy Chung, Aly Kim, Zoon Nguyen, and Trinity Ordona with Arlene Stein, “In Our Own Way,” in Leong, *Asian American Sexualities*, 91; Alice Hom, “Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders,” in *Encyclopedia of Lesbian and Gay Histories and Cultures,* eds., George Haggerty and Bonnie Zimmerman (New York: Taylor and Francis, 2000), 72-75. Likely bisexual and transgender people also participated, though firsthand accounts only mention gays and lesbians.

[73] Karin Aguilar-San Juan, “Landmarks in Literature by Asian American Lesbians,” *Signs* 18, no. 4 (Summer 1993): 37.

[74] For additional details on community discussions on the naming of the newsletter see Ordona, “Coming Out Together,” 151-153. *Phoenix Rising* maintained a post office box in Oakland for correspondence and met in people’s homes.

[75] *Phoenix Rising* mailing list, Private Collection of Crystal Jang.

[76] Helen Zia, *Asian American Dreams*; Interview with Helen Zia, conducted by the author, November 16, 2013, San Francisco, California. In New Jersey, Helen Zia lived in an apartment in downtown Jersey City. Helen Zia, e-mail message to author, December 7, 2015. Zia currently resides in Oakland, California.

[77] Interview with Kitty Tsui, conducted by author, December 21, 2014, Long Beach, California; Ordona, “Coming Out Together,” 134-135.

Tsui, known not just for her poetry, additionally took up bodybuilding and won bronze in 1986 and gold in 1990 at Gay Games I and II, held respectively in San Francisco and Vancouver. Her muscled body also prominently appeared in the renegade lesbian erotica magazine *On Our*

---

[78] Kitty Tsui, *The Words of a Woman who Breathes Fire* (San Francisco, CA: Spinsters Ink, 1983). In 1981, Sherry Thomas, editor of Spinsters Ink, worked out of her San Francisco apartment. The press moved to a warehouse location in 1985 until it moved to Duluth, Minnesota in 1993. From 1985 to 1986 Spinsters Ink was located at 803 DeHaro Street. From 1986 to 1992 the publishing company was located at 223 Mississippi. Spinsters Ink, Fall Catalogue 1993, GLC 105, Box 13, San Francisco Public Library, San Francisco, California; *San Francisco Telephone Directory,* 1981-1992.

[79] Aguilar-San Juan, "Landmarks in Literature by Asian American Lesbians," 936.

[80] Willyce Kim, *Eating Artichokes* (Oakland, CA: Women's Press Collective, 1972). The Women's Press Collective was located at 5251 Broadway, Oakland, California. Kim additionally published *Dancer Dawkins and the California Kid* (Boston: Alyson Publications, 1985); Tseng, "Slicing Silence," 236; Interview with Kitty Tsui, conducted by author, December 22, 2014, Long Beach, California. Kim self-published an earlier book of poetry in 1971 titled *Curtains of Light.* See "Kim, Willyce," Encyclopedia.com website, accessed June 1, 2016, http://www.encyclopedia.com/article-1G2-3403600274/kim-willyce.html.

[81] Tsui, *Woman Who Breathes Fire*; Tsui, *Breathless*; Merle Woo, *Yellow Woman Speaks: Selected Poems* (Seattle: Radical Women Publications, 1986); Chea Villanueva, *Jessie's Song and Other Stories* (New York: Masquerade Books, 1995); Chea Villanueva, *Bulletproof Butches* (New York: Hard Candy Books, 1997). Queer Asian women writers also contributed individual essays, poetry, and prose to anthologies dedicated to women of color in hopes of changing the heteronormative discourse around race, inequality, and gender. See Cherrie Moraga and Gloria Anzaldúa, eds., *This Bridge Called My Back: Writings by Radical Women of Color* (Watertown, MA: Persephone Press, 1981); Asian Women United of California, eds., *Making Waves: An Anthology of Writings by and about Asian American Women* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1989).

[82] Barbara Smith, "A Press of Our Own Kitchen Table: Women of Color Press," *Frontiers: A Journal of Women Studies* 10, no. 3 (1989): 11-13.

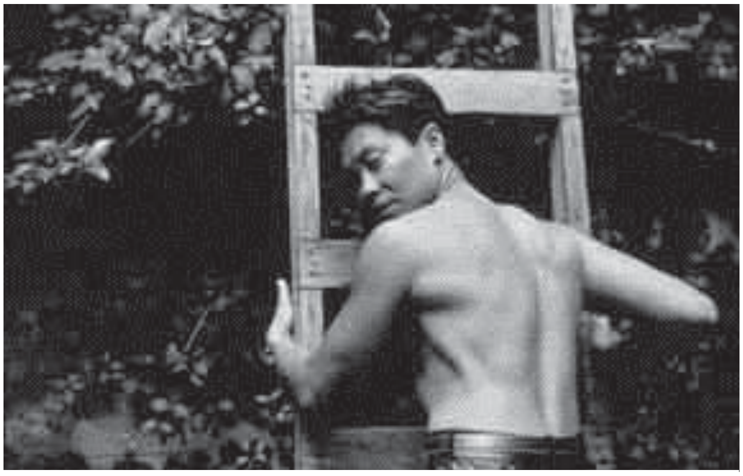


Figure 5: Kitty Tsui on the cover of On Our Backs 5 no. 1 (Summer 1988). Photo by Jill Posener, courtesy of Kitty Tsui.

Backs in 1988 and 1990, as well as in New York City's *Village Voice* (Figure 5).[83] Tsui may have been the first Asian lesbian to appear on the cover of both publications. In 1995, she published *Breathless*, a book of SM erotica in which sex mingled with fermented bean curd, beef tendons, and bitter melon. Tsui created intense scenes of pleasure, pain, and Chinese food, and won the Firecracker Alternative Book (FAB) Award for *Breathless* in 1996. [84] The fact that Tsui wrote of explicitly desiring Asian lesbians became content worth noting to a white lesbian community.[85]

During the 1980s, many queer Asians sought to find each other. In New York City, two mixed heritage Asians, Katherine Hall and Chea Villanueva, formed Asian Lesbians of the East Coast in 1983.[86] In Los Angeles, queer Asian American activists formed Asian Pacific Lesbians and Gays (A/PLG) in 1980, the first organization of its kind in Southern California (Figure 6).[87] The group would later become over run with "rice queens"—a term used to describe white men interested in relationships with Asians based largely on their ethnicity.[88] Four years later in 1984, Steve Lew and Prescott Chow formed the Gay Asian Rap Group (GARP) in Long Beach, California. Though GARP did not initially form in direct response to the A/PLGs internal divisions—debates around whether it should be a space that nurtures gay Asian leadership or serve primarily as a social network for white men to meet Asian men, early members of GARP organized the group to avoid what they perceived as mistakes in A/PLG. As more gay API men within A/PLG defected to GARP, the two organizations became distinctly different. GARP would later become the Gay Asian Pacific Support Network (GAPSN) in 1989 to create a space specifically for API men.[89] David Hong hosted many of the meetings in his home in West Hollywood. Monthly rap sessions took place at the Chinatown Service Center Annex in Los Angeles.[90]

---

[83] *On Our Backs* was located at 526 Castro Street in San Francisco. See *On Our Backs* 5, no. 1 (Summer 1988); *On Our Backs* 7, no. 2 (November-December 1990).

[84] Interview with Kitty Tsui, conducted by author, December 22, 2014, Long Beach, California. Kitty Tsui, *Breathless* (Ithaca, NY: Firebrand Books, 1996). Firebrand Books was located in offices at 141 The Commons, Ithaca, New York.

[85] Writer Judith Stelboum, who reviewed Tsui's book for *The Lesbian Review of Books,* commented with surprise, "the narrator is especially attracted to Asian lesbians." See Judith Stelboum, "Catching Your Breath," *The Lesbian Review of Books* 3, no. 1 (October 31, 1996): 24.

[86] Ordona, "Coming Out Together," 219; Emi Minemura, "Asian Pacific Islander Lesbian and Bisexual Women in North America: Activism and Politics," master's thesis, Michigan State University, 1996, 10.

[87] A/PLG was established in the home of Morris Kight in Los Angeles. An early gay rights activist, Kight cofounded the Los Angeles branch of the Gay Liberation Front, the Stonewall Democratic Club, and the Gay and Lesbian Community Service Center of L.A., now known as the Los Angeles LGBT Center. Well known for his "love" of Asians, Kight initiated the formation of A/PLG due to concern that his Asian partner Roy Z. would not have Asian friends and would not have community after the older Kight passed. Karen Ocamb, "Morris Kight, 1919-2003," *The Advocate* 884 (March 2003): 16; Wat, *The*

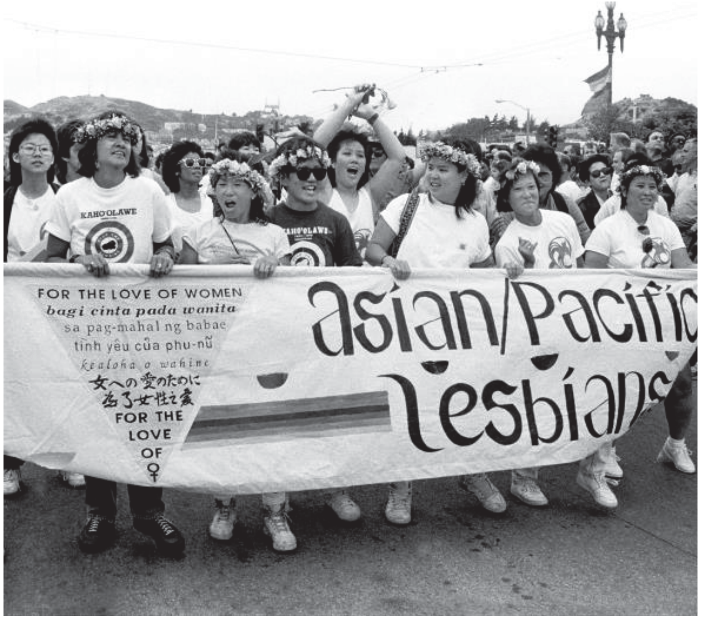


Figure 6: Asian/Pacific Lesbians marching in the 1989 San Francisco LGBT Pride parade. Photo by Cathy Cade, courtesy of the Bancroft Library, University of California Berkeley.

Queer South Asians contributed significantly to the explosion of queer API community groups in the 1980s. In 1985 and 1986, queer South Asians first in Brooklyn, New York, and then second in the San Francisco

---

Making of a Gay Asian Community, 110, 115. Morris Kight lived in the Westlake neighborhood of Los Angeles, California. See "Morris Kight Residence," Los Angeles Conservancy website, accessed December 6, 2015, https://www.laconservancy.org/locations/morris-kight-residence.

[88] Wat, *The Making of a Gay Asian Community*.

[89] Wat, *The Making of a Gay Asian Community*, 166-167. Chow and Lew later moved back to the San Francisco Bay area, where they helped to form important Asian Pacific Islander groups for gay men, including Gay Asian Pacific Islanders (GAPA) and the GAPA Community HIV Project (GCHP).

[90] David Hong's home was located just off Santa Monica Boulevard in West Hollywood, California. The Chinatown Service Center Annex was located at 300 West Cesar E. Chavez Boulevard, Los Angeles, California. Alex Fukui, e-mail message to author, January 7, 2016.

Bay Area formed two different groups, Anamika and Trikone respectively, to address the specific needs of LGBTQ people of South Asian descent from countries such as Afghanistan, Bangladesh, India, Sri Lanka, Pakistan, Bhutan, Nepal, Myanmar (Burma), and Tibet. The two organizations would be part of a half dozen groups that emerged in the following years across North America, the United Kingdom, and India.[91]

Other queer Asian Pacific Americans played key roles in community organizations not specifically queer as well as queer groups not exclusively APA. Mini Liu who worked extensively in the New York-based Organization of Asian Women (OAW) and the Committee Against Anti-Asian Violence (CAAAV) pushed hard to include sexuality in the organizations' mission and priorities. She sought to bring a more intersectional approach to existing racial justice activism.[92] In San Francisco, Donna Keiko Ozawa cofounded the first and still largest queer youth organization called the Lavender Youth Recreation & Information Center (LYRIC). A dance at the Women's Building celebrated their formation in 1988.[93] In 1991, the group transitioned from an autonomous collective to a service provider with financial support from the San Francisco Mayor's Office, and two years later purchased their permanent home at 127 Collingwood Street in the Castro District of San Francisco.[94] Lia Shigemura of Okinawan and Japanese heritage too played a foundational role in establishing the Asian Women's Shelter (AWS) in 1988 to provide services for limited and non-

---

[91] Trikone's current address is 60 Twenty-Ninth Street, #614, San Francisco, California, see "Contact Us," Trikone website, accessed December 29, 2015, http://www.trikone.org/index.php/about-us/contact-us. The other four organizations that formed in the 1980s are Khush Kayal in Canada, Shakti Khabar in the United Kingdom, Freedom in India, and Bombay Dost in India as well. Nayan Shah, "Sexuality, Identity, and the Uses of History," in *Q&A: Queer in Asian America,* eds. David L. Eng and Alice Y. Hom (Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 1998), 141.

[92] Liu was a member of both organizations from 1984 to 1997. Alice Y. Hom, "Unifiying Differences: Lesbian of Color Community Building in Los Angeles and New York, 1970s-1980s," PhD diss., Claremont Graduate University, 2011, 114-115. CAAAV is located at 55 Hester Street, New York City, New York.

[93] The Women's Building is located at 3543 Eighteenth Street, San Francisco, California. The Women's Building was the first women-owned community center established in 1979 in the Mission District of San Francisco that advocates self-determination, gender equality, and social justice. See "History & Mission," The Women's Building website, accessed October 31, 2015, http://womensbuilding.org/about/mission-history; Sushawn Robb, *Mothering the Movement: The Story of the San Francisco Women's Building* (Denver: Outskirts Press, 2011).

[94] Ozawa cofounded LYRIC with Beth Kivel, see "History," LYRIC website, accessed August 1, 2015, http://lyric.org/history.

English speaking refugee and immigrant survivors of domestic violence in the San Francisco Bay Area. Two years later in 1990, AWS implemented its Lesbian Services Program to increase accessibility.[95] From 1989 to 1992, South Asian American LGBTQ activist and attorney Urvashi Vaid served as the executive director of the National Gay and Lesbian Task Force (NGLTF) now known as the LGBTQ Task Force. Filipina American activist Melinda Paras, former founder and national leader of the KDP, also served as the organization's executive director from 1994 to 1996.[96]

The 1980s simultaneously marked mass devastation for the gay male community due to the US government's non-response to the AIDS epidemic.[97] Populations of color found themselves in a particular public health crisis due to disparate funding for services and education as well as presumptions within their own communities that HIV/AIDS was only a "white disease."[98] Queer activists of color across the nation quickly organized to provide support. On the West Coast, Asian American Recovery Services (AARS) in San Francisco established the Asian AIDS Project (AAP) in 1987, the first organization to target APIs for HIV/AIDS prevention.[99] In the same year, AARRS would call Asian American city leaders to initiate the Asian AIDS Taskforce (AAT), a group committed to mobilizing community-wide resources in the fight against AIDS. The Japanese American Cultural and Community Center of Northern California hosted these early meetings in Japan Town.[100] The following year, the Gay

---

[95] Interview with Lia Shigemura, conducted by author, July 31, 2015, Oakland, California. "Timeline – Achievements and Milestones," Asian Women's Shelter website, accessed June 4, 2016, http://www.sfaws.org/about-us/history/timeline-%E2%80%93-achievements-and-milestones.aspx.

[96] Website of Urvashi Vaid, accessed August 1, 2015, http://urvashivaid.net/wp/?page_id=578; "NGLTF's Paras to Leave; Lobel Appointed ED," National Gay and Lesbian Task Force press release, September 30, 1996, http://www.qrd.org/qrd/orgs/NGLTF/1996/paras.to.leave-09.30.96.

[97] Deborah Gould, *Moving Politics: Emotion and ACT UP's Fight Against AIDS* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009).

[98] Nancy E. Stoller, *Lessons from the Damned: Queers, Whores, and Junkies Respond to AIDS* (New York: Routledge, 1998), 63-79.

[99] The Asian American Residential and Recovery Services (AARRS) project housed the Asian AIDS Project when it first began in 1987. AARRS' office was at 2041 Hayes Street, San Francisco, California.

[100] The Japanese American Cultural and Community Center of Northern California was located at 1840 Sutter Street in San Francisco. Letter from Davis Y. Ja, July 14, 1987, Folder Meeting Minutes:

Asian Pacific Alliance (GAPA) implemented an informal support group for HIV-positive gay Asians later called GCHP.[101] Chinese American Steve Lew, served a critical role in these early efforts as a key organizer, educator, and role model for other HIV-positive men.[102] In 1990 when Vince Crisostomo left New York and traveled across the country with his Jewish boyfriend to live in San Francisco, he found community and family with GAPA, the Asian AIDS Project, and particularly Steve Lew. Crisostomo's boyfriend who had AIDS could also access the organization's services and AAP offered Crisostomo a job in their theater program after he had applied for seven other jobs without success.[103]

Asian Pacific Americans also took formative roles in AIDS activism in other parts of the United States as well as the world. In 1989, just two years after the formation of the Asian AIDS Project in San Francisco, Kiyoshi Kuromiya who earlier formed the Philadelphia branch of Gay Liberation Front, founded Critical Path, one of the earliest and most comprehensive resources available to the public for treating

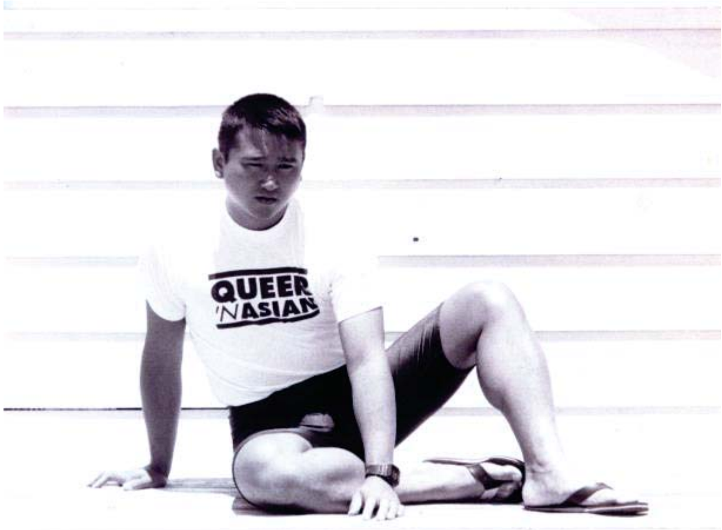


Figure 7: George Choy. Photo courtesy of the Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender Historical Society (George Choy Papers 94-35).

General, 1987, Carton 1, Asian/ Pacific AIDS Coalition 96-14, GLBT Historical Society, San Francisco, California.

[101] The support group often met at the Metropolitan Community Church located at the time at 150 Eureka Street in San Francisco or people's private homes. M. J. Talbot, e-mail message to author, November 23, 2015. The group would later grow to include women and youth and grow into what is today the Asian & Pacific Islander Wellness Center (A&PI Wellness Center). The center is located at 730 Polk Street, San Francisco, California. "History," A&PI Wellness Center website, accessed August 1, 2015, http://apiwellness.org/site/history.

[102] Stoller, *Lessons from the Damned*, 64.

[103] Crisostomo had already been volunteering for AAP as a peer counselor before he was hired. Interview with Vince Crisostomo conducted by Toby Wu, November 13, 2013, San Francisco, California.

HIV.[104] Crisostomo, who was Chamorro, would also become the first publicly out HIV-positive Pacific Islander at World AIDS Day in 1991 and become directly involved in bringing increased HIV/AIDS awareness and education to Guam. In 2000, Crisostomo would return to Guam to become the executive director for the first funded community-based organization to do AIDS work in the Pacific.[105] GAPA board member George Choy would collaborate with OCCUR, Japan's first gay rights group that would successfully bring a discrimination suit against the Tokyo city government in 1990 (Figure 7).[106] In the same year, Chinese American Choy had also persuaded the San Francisco Board of Supervisors to pass Project 10, a teen youth counseling program within the San Francisco Unified School District.[107]

AIDS organizing in the 1980s and 1990s both gathered and nurtured countless community-minded APA activists committed to promoting Asian Pacific American health and well-being in the queer and transgender communities as well as eradicating broad-based fear based on gender, sexuality, or HIV status. Tamara Ching from the Compton's Cafeteria revolt worked as an AIDS education outreach worker for the AAP and oversaw a support group for the API transgender community for GCHP as the "God Mother of Polk [Street]" (Figure 8).[108] Transwoman Nikki Calma, better

---

[104] The current address for Critical Path is 1233 Locust Street, Fifth Floor, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. At its founding Critical Path was located in Kuromiya's home in Philadelphia's Fitler Square neighborhood. See Interview with Kiyoshi Kuromiya, conducted by Marc Stein, http://outhistory.org/exhibits/show/philadelphia-lgbt-interviews/interviews/kiyoshi-kuromiya; "History," Critical Path Project website, accessed October 5, 2015, http://www.critpath.org/about-us/history; Alyssa Richman, e-mail message to author, October 7, 2015.

[105] Interview with Vince Crisostomo, conducted by Toby Wu, November 13, 2013, San Francisco, California.

[106] George Choy Papers, GLBT Historical Society, San Francisco, California. For more on the discrimination suit in Tokyo see Wim Lunsing, "LGBT Rights in Japan," *Peace Review* 17, no. 2 (2005): 143-148.

[107] Choy was also a member of ACT UP and organizer for GCHP. Just two years later, in 1993, Choy died of AIDS. George Choy Papers, GLBT Historical Society, San Francisco, California. The three most important prevention and service organizations for APAs at the time in Northern California were the GAPA Community HIV Project, Asian AIDS Project, and Filipino Task Force on AIDS, all run by gay or bisexual men. See Stoller, *Lessons from the Damned*, 66.

[108] Tamara Ching, "Piece of Mind: Stranger in Paradise," *A. Magazine* 3, no. 1 (March 31, 1994): 85.

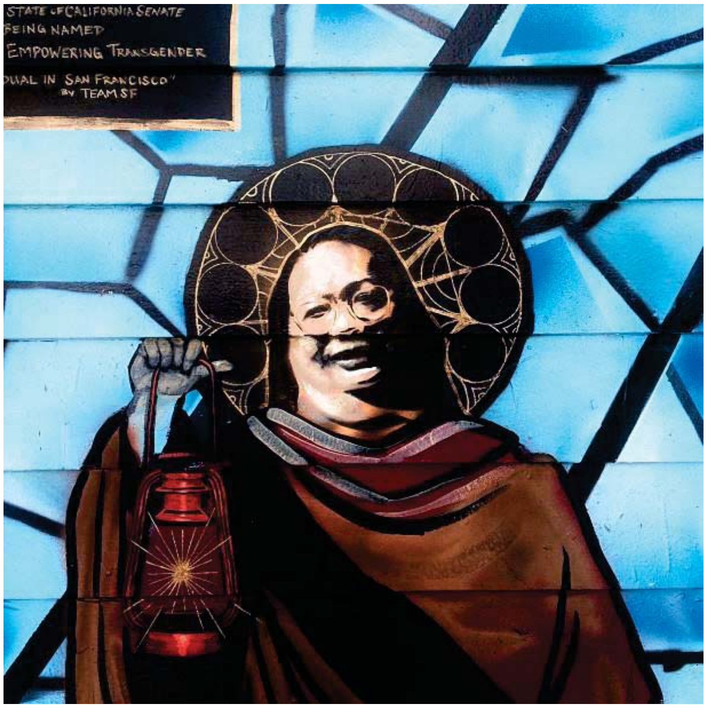


Figure 8: "God Mother of Polk" Tamara Ching, by Tanya Wischerath in San Francisco's Clarion Alley. Photo by Aaron Muszalski, 2013.[112]

known as "Tita Aida,"[109] who also worked at the Asian AIDS Project in 1990s became a community icon through her advocacy work, a host to countless fundraisers, as well as one of three women to be featured in the first API transgender public service announcement in 2008.[110] Transman Willy Wilkinson who was active in HIV work with Inner City Community Health Outreach and served as a founding board member of GCHP would go on to become a leading transgender public health advocate in San Francisco.[111]

Historian Marc Stein has characterized the outpouring of community engagement in response to the conservatism of the 1980s as a "renaissance." Queer cultural productions and community activism flourished in the fight against AIDS and moral condemnation of LGBTQ people. The 1980s, however, was also a time of mounting anti-Asian sentiment and violence as the US automobile industry crumbled in the face of Japanese car manufacturers. The Vincent Chin case became a flashpoint for organizing against Asian American violence, regardless of gender and sexual identities. On June 19, 1982 in Highland Park, Michigan, two white autoworkers with a baseball bat bludgeoned to death twenty-seven-year-old engineer Vincent Chin after hurling racial epithets at him and accusing him of taking away their jobs.[113] Chinese American lesbian Helen Zia, who was a community organizer at the time and would later become an award-winning journalist and editor of *Ms. Magazine*, cofounded and led the fight for justice for Vincent Chin as the president of American Citizens for Justice (ACJ), the first explicitly Asian American grassroots community advocacy effort with a national scope.[114] Indeed, an explosion of the Asian literary and arts culture as well as community groups in the 1980s becomes particularly notable as queer Asian Pacific Americans came together during a time of extreme socioeconomic repression, moral conservatism, and anti-Asian sentiment.

---

[109] "Tita Aida," translated as Auntie AIDS in Tagalog, is a fantastical transmogrification of AIDS from a deadly disease into a familiar feminine figure. For more on the sociopolitical use of "Tita Aida," see Martin Manalansan, *Global Divas: Filipino Gay Men in the Diaspora* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2003).

[110] Anonymous, "PSA Targeting API Transgender Communities for World AIDS Day," *AsianWeek,* December 5, 2008, 17; Celeste Chan, "Tita Aida – A Community Icon," *Hyphen Magazine*, July 26, 2014, accessed June 5, 2016, http://hyphenmagazine.com/blog/2014/7/26/tita-aida-community-icon.

[111] Steve Lew, e-mail message to author, June 5, 2016; Willy Wilkinson, *Born on the Edge of Race and Gender: A Voice of Cultural Competency* (Oakland, CA: Hapa Papa Press, 2015).

[112] License: CC BY 2.0. https://www.flickr.com/photos/sfslim/8734532068

On April 6, 1991 on Broadway in New York City, queers of color, leftist Asian Americans regardless of sexual orientation of gender diversity, antiracist white gays, bisexuals, and lesbians, and the Actors' Equity Association joined hands with Asian Lesbians of the East Coast (ALOEC) and Gay Asian and Pacific Islander Men of New York (GAPIMNY) to protest two LGBTQ institutions' use of Cameron Mackintosh's musical *Miss Saigon* as their annual fundraiser extravaganza. ALOEC and GAPIMNY had long been in conversation with the two hosts— Lambda Legal Defense and Education Fund and New York City's Lesbian and Gay Community Services Center—to cancel their fundraiser at this musical that promoted damaging images of submissive "Orientals" and the use of yellow face in the casting of one of the actors.[115] While the fundraiser took place as scheduled, the protest marked the formation of an incredible coalition of various communities publicly denouncing racism, misogyny, and Orientalism. Organizer Yoko Yoshikawa remembers, "James Lee taped a neon pink triangle to his leather jacket, emblazoned with the words: 'San Francisco-born Gay Man of Korean Descent.' On any other night, he could have been bashed for that. But that night, his back was covered. Gray-haired Japanese American wives and mothers and brash young white men from Queer Nation marched side by side. Dykes in dreads, campy queens, leftists of all persuasions: we owned Broadway."[116]

---

[113] While prosecutors charged the murderers Ronald Ebens and Michael Nitz with second-degree murder, the father and stepson pair pleaded to manslaughter. The judge, Charles Kauffman in March 1983, sentenced the two men to a three-year probation and a fine of $3,780. A federal trial the following year determined that the murder had been a hate crime, convicting only Ebens of violating Chin's civil rights. However, a retrial in 1987 acquitted Ebens and both men would never spend a day in jail for their crime. Robert S. Chang, *Disoriented: Asian Americans, Law, and the Nation State* (New York: New York University Press, 1999). See also Henry Yu and Mai Ngai eds., "The Politics of Remembering," special issue, *Amerasia Journal* 28, no. 3 (2002).

[114] The first community meeting that would later formally become American Citizens for Justice (ACJ) took place on March 20, 1983 at Golden Star Restaurant at 22828 Woodward Avenue in Ferndale, Michigan. The founding ACJ meeting took place on March 31, 1983 at the Detroit Chinese Welfare Council building at 3153 Cass Avenue in Detroit, Michigan. See Zia, *Asian American Dreams,* 64-66.

Queer API publications too flourished through the 1990s. Asian Pacific Islander lesbians and bisexual women produced *The Very Inside,* an anthology of over one hundred pieces edited by Sharon Lim-Hing in 1994.[117] Lim-Hing began thinking about producing the book in the summer of 1990 as she walked home in Somerville, Massachusetts in defiant anticipation of the local teenagers calling her "Chink."[118] At the time, except for *Between the Lines,* a short anthology of Asian American lesbian writing that was out of print and hard to obtain, Asian women's writings had only appeared in small numbers as part of women of color anthologies or as tokens towards diversity in white anthologies.[119] Lim-Hing sought to create something as large as Gloria Anzaldúa's and Cherrie Moraga's *This Bridge Called My Back* to speak to Asian Pacific bisexual and lesbian women's strength, beauty, creativity, and rage so that these women would be more than just “a blip on the graph at the intersection of ‘race’ and sexual preference, nor… the hub of triple oppressions.”[120]

---

[115] Yoko Yoshikawa, "The Heat is on Miss Saigon Coalition: Organizing Across Race and Sexuality," in *Q&A: Queer in Asian America*, 41-56; Alex Witchel, "Actor's Equity Attacks Casting of 'Miss Saigon,'" *New York Times*, July 26, 1990, accessed June 5, 2016, http://www.nytimes.com/1990/07/26/theater/actors-equity-attacks-casting-of-miss-saigon.html.

[116] Yoshikawa, "The Heat is on Miss Saigon Coalition," 55.

[117] Sharon Lim-Hing, *The Very Inside: An Anthology of Writing by Asian and Pacific Islander Lesbian and Bisexual Women* (Toronto, Ontario: Sister Vision Press, 1994).

[118] After arriving home, in the heat of her apartment and with the neighbor's dog barking incessantly, Lim-Hing in her discomfort decided that Asian and Pacific Islander lesbians should have a book of their own.

[119] C. Chung, A. Kim, and A. K. Lemeshewsky, *Between the Lines: An Anthology by Pacific/Asian Lesbians of Santa Cruz, California* (Santa Cruz, CA: Dancing Bird Press, 1987).

Six years later, Quang Bao and Hanya Yanagihara published *Take Out,* an anthology produced with the support of the Asian American Writer’s Workshop in New York that brought gay Asian men into a growing number of works that largely featured queer women.[121] More artistry and less activism motivated their publication, which the editors hoped would force readers “to reevaluate [their] conceptions of gay Asian America.” The collection comprised mostly of men since the editors decided to not “worry too much about gender equity” since it was “far better to sacrifice quantity for quality.”[122] With the editors’ less than feminist impulse, *Take Out* might serve as the cap to a literary movement started by radical Asian lesbians thirty years earlier.

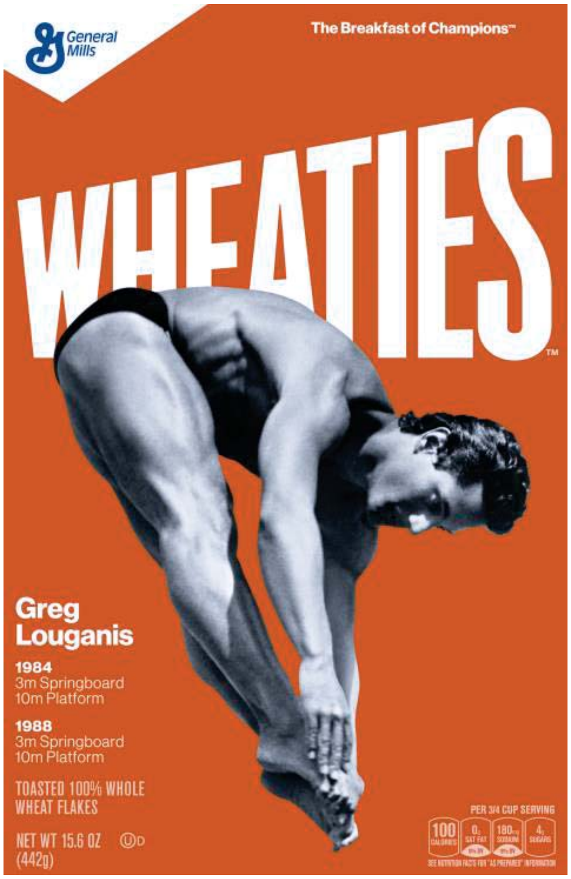


Figure 9: Greg Louganis was the first openly gay athlete to appear on a Wheaties box, part of the Wheaties Legends series, announced April 5, 2016. Image courtesy of General Mills[123]

The most widely read queer API writing of the 1990s, however, was Olympic medalist Greg Louganis’ autobiography titled *Breaking the Surface* in which he publicly came out as HIV positive after nearly a decade of rumors in professional sports that he was gay*.* Louganis, who is of mixed Samoan and white ancestry, endured a childhood of racial and homophobic persecution and name-calling. He went on to win four gold medals in diving—the three-meter springboard and the ten-meter platform in 1984 and 1988 (Figure 9). *Breaking the Surface* became a New York Times #1 Best Seller in 1995, initiating his public persona as a gay rights activist. As the first prominent athlete to come out as gay, Louganis faced tremendous challenges in professional sports that impacted him emotionally and lost him millions of dollars in endorsements.[124]

---

[120] Lim-Hing, *The Very Inside*, Introduction.

[121] The Asian American Writer’s Workshop was located at 16 West 32nd Street, Suite 10A, New York City, New York. See Quang Bao and Hanya Yanagihara, *Take Out: Queer Writing from Asian Pacific America* (New York: Asian American Writer’s Workshop, 2000).

[122] Bao and Yanagihara, *Take Out*.

[123] LicenseL CC BY-NC-ND 2.0 https://www.flickr.com/photos/generalmills/26161871682

Other activists published landmark texts on not exclusively queer APAs. In 1991, mixed heritage Lani Ka`ahumanu co-edited *Bi Any Other Name* with Loraine Hutchins and the anthology has become recognized as the "Bi-ble" of the bisexual movement.[125] When Ka`ahumanu and Hutchins could only submit their book in the "lesbian anthology" category of the Lambda Literary Awards, BiNet, an umbrella organization for a network of bisexual communities, protested and initiated the creation of a "bisexual" category in the book awards.[126] Ka`ahumanu had long been recognized as the mother of the bisexual movement with her role in the founding of BiPOL in 1983, the first and oldest bisexual political organization.

The 1990s further marked an expansion of queer Asian American activism with the development of the Internet. A swell of South Asian queer groups formed outside of California such as SALGA in New York City, Khush in Washington, DC, Trikone in Atlanta, MASALA in Boston, as well as internationally. Online forums such as KhushList, SAGrrls, DesiDykes,

---

[124] Greg Louganis, *Breaking the Surface* (New York: Random House, 1994); Larry Reibstein and Gregory Beals, "Public Glory, Secret Agony," *Newsweek* 125, no. 10 (March 6, 1995): 48. See also Richard Sandomir, "Movement Builds to Honor Greg Louganis on a Wheaties Box," *New York Times*, August 22, 2015, accessed June 1, 2016, http://www.nytimes.com/2015/08/23/sports/olympics/movement-builds-to-honor-greg-louganis-on-a-wheaties-box.html?_r=0. See also Schweighofer (this volume).

[125] Ka`ahumanu was born Lani Farrell and took the last name Ka`ahumanu in 1979 at the suggestion of her mother. Trinity Ordona details Ka`ahumanu's heritage as the following, "[her] maternal grandmother was part Native Hawaiian, her maternal grandfather was Eurasian. Her mother Minerva Helani, was born in Japan and raised in Japan and later Hawaii. Her father, a man of Irish and Polish ancestry, married her mother in Hawaii where they met." Ordona, "Coming Out Together," 292. See also Hutchins (this volume).

[126] "BiNet USA," GLBTQ Encyclopedia Project website, accessed June 4, 2016, http://www.glbtqarchive.com/ssh/binet_usa_S.pdf.

GayBombay, and Khushnet.com multiplied as the web become more accessible.[127] A queer Vietnamese American support group in Southern California called Ô-Môi also took advantage of the Internet to grow significantly from its initial six members in 1995 to fifty-four members by 2000.[128]

Organizations within the ethnic mainstream also increasingly recognized LGBTQ members within their communities. In 1990, when much of the nation feared to even breath the same air as gay men because of the AIDS epidemic, the San Fernando, California chapter of the Japanese American Citizens' League (JACL) elected Takenori "Tak" Yamamoto as president. Yamamoto became the first openly gay president in any chapter of the JACL and played a critical role in the organization's endorsement of gay marriages at their national convention four years later in Salt Lake City.[129] In 1994, as AIDS became the leading cause of death for Americans between the ages of twenty-five and forty-four, Pine United Methodist Church in San Francisco, one of America's earliest Japanese American churches, became the first reconciling or queer-friendly Asian American church in America.[130] In the same year Cherry Blossom Festival organizers in San Francisco invited more than one hundred LGBTQ women and men to march in the April parade, after hearing that a similar contingent had just marched in San Francisco's Chinese New Year's parade in February. Vice President at Union Bank and community leader June Sugihara led the Cherry Blossom contingent declaring, "It is so very important to recognize and support the lesbian and gay people in our Japanese American community."[131]

---

[127] Mala Nagarajan, "Queer South Asian Organizing in the United States," *Trikone Magazine* 28, no. 1 (Summer 2014): 4-7.

[128] Gina Masequesmay, "Becoming Queer and Vietnamese American: Negotiating Multiple Identities in an Ethnic Support Group of Lesbians, Bisexual Women, and Female-to-Male Transgenders," PhD diss., University of California, Los Angeles, 2001.

[129] Harold Kameya, "Asian American LGBT Pioneers Recognized," San Fernando Valley JACL website, July 27, 2012, accessed July 14, 2014, http://sfvjacl.weebly.com/1/post/2012/07/apa-lgbt-pioneers-recognized.html; "Tak Yamamoto, Pioneer Nikkei Gay Activist, Dies at 74," *The Rafu Shimpo,* November 19, 2012, accessed July 14, 2014, http://www.rafu.com/2012/11/tak-yamamoto-pioneer-nikkei-gay-activist-dies-at-74.

[130] "A Timeline of HIV/AIDS," AIDS.gov website, accessed July 14, 2014, http://www.aids.gov/hiv-aids-basics/hiv-aids-101/aids-timeline; "Pine is Proud to be a Reconciling Church," Pine United Methodist Church website, accessed July 14, 2014, http://www.pineumc.org/reconciling.htm. Pine United Methodist Church is located at 426 Thirty-Third Avenue, San Francisco, California.

The 1990s also marked a period when more API parents publicly vocalized support of their gay, lesbian, and bisexual children. In 1990, two years after their daughter came out to them as gay, Okinawan American Harold and Ellen Kameya became actively involved in Parents and Friends of Lesbians and Gays (PFLAG) as the first known Asian parents in America to publicly advocate for their gay children. They first began attending PFLAG meetings at the Westwood United Methodist Church and the two informally functioned as an API PFLAG for more than a decade as the only Asian parents they knew in PFLAG. In 2012, the Kameyas along with other API parents would more formally cofound the first API PFLAG chapter in the San Gabriel Valley.[132] In Northern California, the API-PFLAG Family Project, later known as API Family Pride, formed in 1996. Filipina lesbian Trinity Ordona played a central role in collaboration with the API-PFLAG Family Project to produce the first documentary film of Asian parents discussing their queer children titled *Coming Out, Coming Home*.[133] In 1997, Al and Jane Nakatani in collaboration with writer Molly Fumia, published *Honor Thy Children,* a memoir of the loss of their three sons, two of whom were gay. The oldest and youngest of the Nakatani sons died from AIDS-related illnesses and the middle son died from a gunshot wound in an altercation. The father, Al Nakatani, later attributed his middle son's inability to walk away from the fight to his own mandate to maintain an inflexible prideful masculinity in raising him. Though the father had pushed his oldest son out of their house at the age of fifteen when he found out he was gay, after the death of his second son, he and his wife came to actively support their youngest son in his final struggle against AIDS.[134] These early works laid the groundwork for a flurry of publications and memoirs by queer APIs or their parents in the decades that followed.[135]

---

[131] Linh H. Pham, "Another First: Lesbian and Gay Asian Americans to March in Cherry Blossom Parade," Gay Asian Pacific Alliance, Asian/Pacific Sisters, and Older Asian Sisters in Solidarity press release, Google Groups website, April 13, 1994, accessed July 14, 2014, https://groups.google.com/forum/#!topic/bit.listserv.gaynet/0n2kPOFp7_s; Elisa Lee, "Lavender Godzilla," *Third Force* 2, no. 2 (June 30, 1994): 7.

[132] The Kameyas live in the Granada Hills neighborhood of Los Angeles. The Westwood Methodist Church is located at 10947 Wilshire Boulevard, Los Angeles, California. The San Gabriel Valley API PFLAG meets at Sage Granada Methodist Church in Alhambra at 1850 West Hellman Avenue. Harold Kameya, e-mail message to author, October 2, 2015. Harold Kameya, "A Sansei Family's Unexpected Journey," *Pacific Citizen*, December 2001.

[133] "First Person: Trinity Ordona recently helped make a video aimed at opening discussion between Asian parents and their gay children," *San Francisco Examiner*, June 26, 1996, A-8.

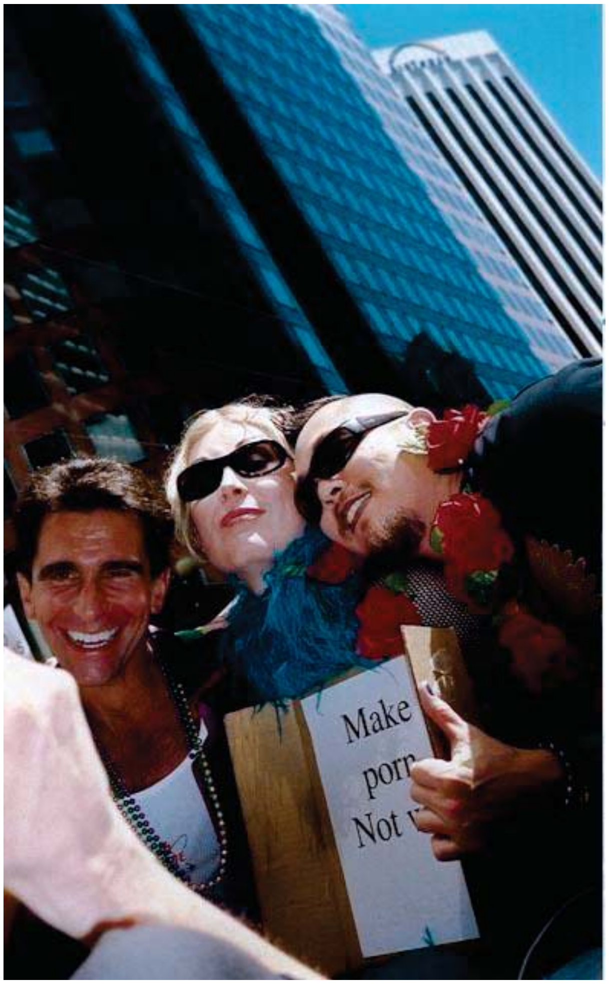


Figure 10: Christopher Lee (right) with Shawna Virago and Senator Mark Leno. Christopher and Shawna were the first transgender Grand Marshals in the San Francisco Pride parade, 2002. Photo courtesy of Alex Austin.

Queer Asian America continues to grow tremendously in the twenty first century. Countless blogs from queer Asians fill the Internet expounding upon the importance of community engagement and queer empowerment. Artists and community organizations have initiated the recognition of queer and transgender APAs for their historic activism, further shedding light on their previously hidden presence. Christopher Lee, the Asian American FTM whose death certificate motivated the Respect After Death Act was also cofounder of the San Francisco Transgender Film Festival in 1997 and was elected as the first openly transgender man to be Grand Marshal in the 2002 San Francisco Pride Parade (Figure 10).[136] The aforementioned Tamara Ching, who revolted against police at Compton's Cafeteria in 1966, won a number of honors including the Community Service Award from the Harvey Milk LGBT Democratic Club in 2006.[137] In 2012, artist Tanya Wischerath recognized her and other transwomen activists of color in a mural along Clarion Alley in San Francisco (Figure 8).[138] In 2013, San Francisco Pride honored retired school teacher Crystal Jang as Grand Marshal in recognition of her contributions to the LGBTQ community as the first openly gay Asian lesbian teacher within the San Francisco Unified School District. Not only had Jang first spoken out publicly against the Briggs Initiative, decades later in the early 1990s officials appointed her the middle school coordinator for the Office of Support Services for Sexual Minority Youth and Families, the first office of its kind in the nation. For the following ten years, she assisted in creating K-12 curriculum for district wide staff trainings to address issues of bullying, antigay discrimination, safe schools, and sensitivity to alternative families.[139] More recently in 2014, San Francisco AIDS activist George Choy was honored with a sidewalk plaque in the Castro District's Rainbow Honor Walk, memorializing twenty "heroes and heroines of LGBT history."[140] Countless other activists such as Native Hawaiian Kumu

---

[134] Molly Fumia, *Honor Thy Children: One Family's Journey to Wholeness* (Berkeley, CA: Conari Press, 1997); Harold Kameya, "Our Journey," Network on Religion and Justice website, accessed July 19, 2014, see archived web page at https://web.archive.org/web/20150530060824/http://www.netrj.org/?p=library&id=2; *In God's House: Asian American Lesbian and Gay Families in the Church,* directed by Lina Hoshino (Berkeley, CA: PANA Institute, 2007).

[135] For examples of memoirs by Asian Americans see Kenji Yoshino, *Covering: The Hidden Assault on our Civil Rights* (New York: Random House, 2006); Thomas Beatie, *Labor of Love: The Story of One Man's Extraordinary Pregnancy* (Berkeley, CA: Seal Press, 2008); and Marsha Aizumi, *Two Spirits, One Heart: A Mother, Her Transgender Son and Their Journey to Love and Acceptance* (Bronx, NY: Magnus Books, 2012).

---

[136] "Remembering Christopher Lee as Respect After Death Act Takes Effect."

[137] The Harvey Milk Democratic Club honored Ching at their annual dinner on May 25, 2006 at the Ramada Plaza Hotel on 1231 Market Street at Eighth Street in San Francisco, California. See Cynthia Laird, "News in Brief: Milk Club dinner tonight," *Bay Area Reporter,* May 25, 2006, accessed November 2, 2015, http://www.ebar.com/news/article.php?article=868&sec=news.

[138] Caitlin Donohue, "Trans activists honored in Clarion Alley mural," *San Francisco Bay Guardian Online,* October 24, 2012, accessed November 2, 2015, http://www.sfbg.com/pixel_vision/2012/10/24/trans-activists-honored-clarion-alley-mural (web page no longer online, see archived link at https://web.archive.org/web/20150911001552/http://www.sfbg.com/pixel_vision/2012/10/24/trans-activists-honored-clarion-alley-mural).

[139] Interview with Crystal Jang, conducted by author, January 31, 2012, San Francisco, California; Crystal Jang, e-mail message to author, October 17, 2015.

[140] The plaque is located in front of 468 Castro Street. Bill Lipsky, "Rainbow Honor Walk: Passionate Activist George Choy," *San Francisco Bay Times,* accessed August 1, 2015, http://sfbaytimes.com/rainbow-honor-walk-passionate-activist-george-choy; Rainbow Honor Walk website, accessed August 1, 2015, http://rainbowhonorwalk.org; Queerty Editor, "San Francisco's New 'Rainbow Honor Walk' Littered with Offensive Typos and Misinformation," *Queerty*, September 3,

Hinaleimoana Wong-Kalu have been transforming people's lives daily without formal recognition by teaching love, honor, and respect for indigeneity and gender diversity in classrooms, workshops, and public spaces.[141]

In universities across the nation, queer and Asian student groups are cropping up. In the San Francisco Bay Area alone, four institutions of higher education—University of California at Berkeley, San Francisco State University, San Jose State University, and Stanford—all have student-run organizations by and for LGBTQ Asian Pacific Americans.[142] More recently in 2014, the University of Pennsylvania formed its first queer and Asian student group called Penn Q&A.[143] Larger numbers of APAs in California as well as perhaps a more open attitude to diverse sexualities set the stage for more robust queer APA organizing in the West than other parts of the United States.[144] Most notably, a younger generation of queer APIs are taking interest in the histories of their LGBTQ predecessors. In the past three years, chapters of the queer advocacy organization API Equality in both Northern and Southern California have initiated oral history projects (the "Pioneers Project" in Los Angeles and "Dragon Fruit Project" in San Francisco) and have sponsored educational workshops on API queer

---

2014, accessed August 1, 2015, http://www.queerty.com/san-franciscos-new-rainbow-honor-walk-littered-with-offensive-typos-and-misinformation-20140903.

[141] *Kumu Hina: The True Meaning of Aloha*, directed by Dean Hamer and Joe Wilson (Qwaves, 2014).

[142] Cal Q&A at UC Berkeley originally called CAL B GAY and Q&A at Stanford formed in the 1990s. AQUA at San Francisco State University and Q&A at San Jose State University began later in the 2000s. See Cal Q&A web page, accessed October 2, 2015, http://calqanda.tumblr.com; Q&A at San Jose State Tumblr page, accessed October 2, 2015, http://qnasjsu.tumblr.com; See Queer and Asian at Stanford web page, accessed October 2, 2015, http://web.stanford.edu/group/queerasians/index.html; Asians and Queers United for Awareness Twitter page, accessed October 2, 2015, https://twitter.com/AQUASFSU; Tiffany Chen, e-mail message to author, October 2, 2015; Joseph Lee, e-mail message to author, October 2, 2015.

[143] Victoria, "Queer, Asian, and Proud," *South Asian Americans Leading Together* (blog), October 6, 2014, http://saalt.org/queer-asian-and-proud.

[144] For history of Asian Americans settling dominantly in the Western United States see Chan, *Asian Americans.* For the West and specifically San Francisco as a place of sexual freedom see Kath Weston, "Get Thee to a Big City: Sexual Imaginary and the Great Gay Migration," *GLQ: A Journal of Lesbian and Gay Studies* 2, no. 3 (1995): 253-277; Nan Alamilla Boyd, *Wide Open Town: A History of Queer San Francisco to 1965* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003).

history as well as Wikipedia Hackathons.[145] At the GLBT History Museum in San Francisco as well, the first of its kind in the nation, curators have mounted four exclusively queer APA exhibits since its opening in 2011.[146] Queer APA organizing and community engagement has consistently occurred at the intersection of race and sexuality even as much of the mainstream LGBTQ movement attempts to erase the significance of their race and ethnicity in what many Americans believe to be a post-racial America.[147] For these APA activists, sexual freedom, economic justice, and gender and racial equity are inextricably intertwined in their fight for a more compassionate and inclusive world.

---

[145] API Equality-LA website, accessed August 1, 2015, http://apiequalityla.org; API Equality-Northern California website, accessed August 1, 2015, http://www.apiequalitync.org. API Equality-LA is located at 1137 Wilshire Boulevard, Los Angeles, California. API Equality-Northern California is located at 17 Walter U. Lum Place, San Francisco, California.

[146] Jessica Kwong, "SF Gay History Museum Finds Home, Identity," *SFGate,* January 12, 2011, http://www.sfgate.com/news/article/SF-gay-history-museum-finds-home-identity-2478991.php; Win Mixter, "All About the Castro's GLBT Historical Society and Museum," *Hoodline,* February 9, 2015, http://hoodline.com/2015/02/all-about-the-castro-s-glbt-historical-society-and-museum.

[147] For more on post-racial America see David Eng, *The Feeling of Kinship: Queer Liberalism and the Racialization of Intimacy* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2010); Michelle Alexander, *The New Jim Crow: Mass Incarceration in the Age of Colorblindness* (New York: New Press, 2010), 1-57.

12

LATINA/O GENDER AND SEXUALITY

Deena J. González and
Ellie D. Hernández

Introduction

Gender and sexuality among US Latina/o populations encompass a continuum of experiences, historical, cultural, religious, and lived. Gender and sexuality varied by culture or ethnicity and by era across the many different Latino populations descended from Latin Americans. Latino national histories, born inside the thirty-three different Latin American countries in existence today, are united in one irrefutable link to the conquest, by Spain. The Spanish and Portuguese warred against many indigenous empires, towns, and communities encountered in 1519, and the wars continued subsequently into the 1800s, during the colonization of the Americas by other countries, including the United States.

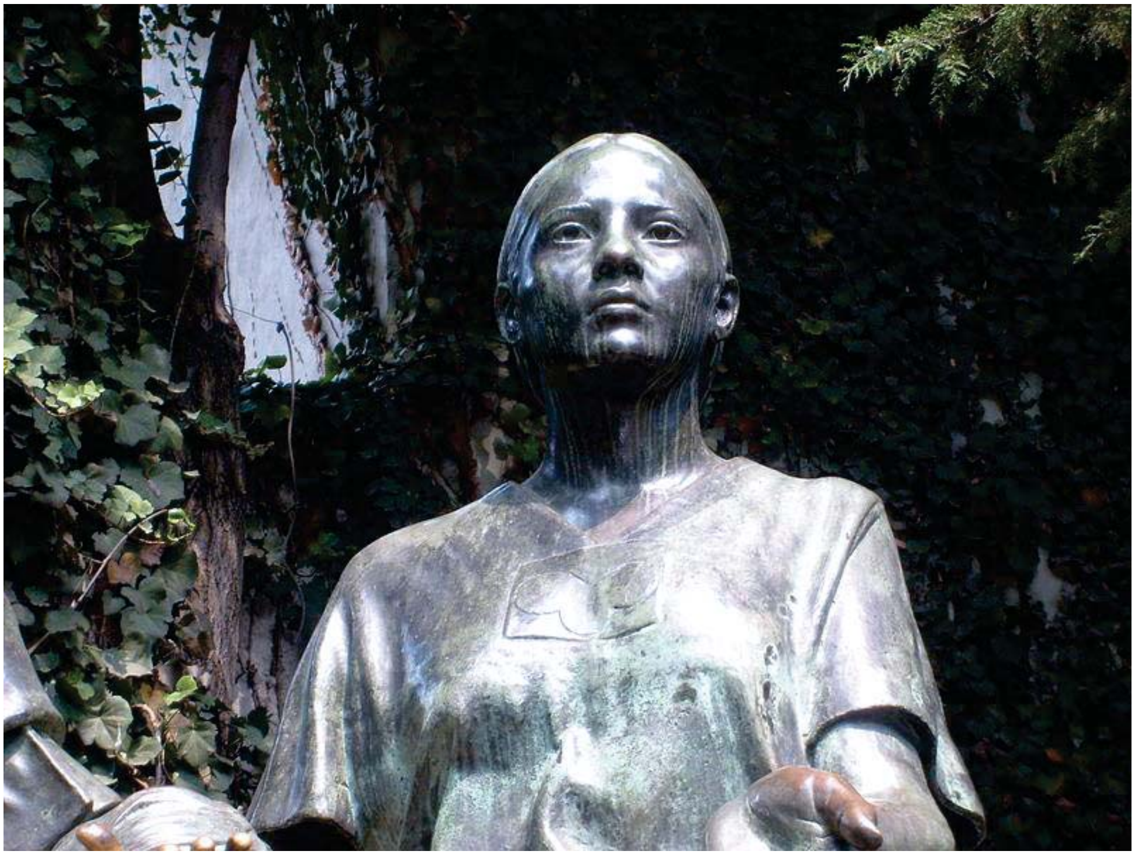


Figure 1: La Malinche, detail from the Monumento al Mestizaje by Julian Martinez and M. Maldonado (1982). The monument is of Hernan Cortes, La Malinche, and their son, Martin Cortes. The monument was originally located in the Center of Coyoacan, Mexico City but was moved to Jardin Xicotencatl, Barrio de San Diego Churubusco, Mexico City (a lesser known park) due to public protests. Photo by Javier Delgado Rosas, 2009.[1]

When in 1519 the Spaniards landed on the Veracruz shore and made their way into what was the most populated city in the Americas, Tenochtitlan, and in the two years it took for them to lay claim to what would become México City and its environs, gender and sexuality played a key role among people who survived the conquest and those who as conquerors remained in México as well as in Central and South America to create nations across three centuries of time (from 1521 to 1898). A primary example is Malintzin Tenepal (Malinche or Doña Marina as the Spanish called her), the mistress and lover of the conqueror, Hernán Cortés, who had two children with him (Figure 1). From the outset this racial and ethnic mixing of people known as mestizaje shaped gender and sexuality, because it imbued the outcomes of these unions, many of them violent, with legal, economic, and sexual consequences. Gender and sexuality were foundational in the story of Malinche and Cortés because the woman was memorialized as the mother of the first mestizo children of the Americas, which was not the case, but also as the supreme betrayer of the Mexicans. Malinche's sexuality in the form of her relationship to the Spanish conqueror subsequently became a metaphor for loss, by women, against the more powerful Europeans, or men. Many contemporary theorists argue that the relationship was also a metaphor for rape, immortalized in Mexican lexicons by use of the term for someone who suffers rape, "la chingada."[2] These constant and persistent references in Mexican essays, movies, and folklore indeed suggest the considerable strength a metaphor based on someone as prominent as Malinche carries across time; few hail her interpretive abilities, her diplomatic status, her multilingual facility. Instead, she—a woman—became equated with treachery and a loss of trust. In this reflection of a less-than-glorious Mexican past, men are never blamed for the loss to the Spaniards: Cuauhtémoc, the underprepared nephew of the deceased ruler, Moctezuma, actually surrendered the city, but is rarely assigned blame or shame. Malinche escapes no such special treatment.

---

[1] License: Public Domain. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:La_Malinche_statue.jpg

Race and ethnicity, like gender and sexuality, complicated the story of women's centrality in the conquest, much of it similarly assigned for the wrong reasons. That is, women generally were not considered central as powerful agents in the conquest, but rather as its by-product, or their mixed-race children were. In some regions of Latin America, over seventeen different terms classified race or ethnic status, from mestizo to mulatto to lobo and coyote.[3] These were not simple obsessions of a race-conscious state, but derived from Catholic and European legal codes seeking control over labor and most certainly over women and children.

---

[2] For the most cited example, see Octavio Paz, "Labyrinth of Solitude" (New York: Grove Press, 1961).

[3] See, for example, Barbara L. Voss, *The Archaeology of Ethnogenesis: Race and Sexuality in Colonial San Francisco* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008).

The institutional apparatuses of the empire, including the Catholic Church, and later, the nation-state, conspired to sustain a hierarchy driven by fear and terror. Women could not venture far from home, or out on their own, even in urban areas. In the rural areas where the majority lived, working for bare subsistence dictated dependencies on men, children, and if possible, on fathers and families of origin. From the powerful Catholic and hierarchical traditions imposing God, disciples, and the Pope or priests over parishioners, men, and households, with women and children at the bottom, and far below only African descent peoples and Native peoples, the controlling effects of such persistent views and legal codes provided the basis upon which an empire was created. Church and state helped craft laws that ordered life in relationship to economies of production, work, and an occasional celebration around the sacraments of baptism, confirmation, or marriage. There were few opportunities for women's autonomy in a social or legal sense, and only activities hidden from public scrutiny or juridical sight allowed women to act in their own defense or protection. Native people similarly endured harsh treatment, subject to their employer's whims, forced to work on ranches, in mines, and later, in factories simply because they were thought not to possess the talent, skills, or values to do more. Labor's link to gender and sexuality existed in the interplay between those with economic power (European men), and those without it (women, children, Native Peoples, mixed-race people, and Latinos of African descent).

Against this past, gender and sexuality today have achieved a different status in a lived Latino/a reality, that is, they pose new and exciting challenges for historic and cultural traditions, but based on modern ideas about the utter necessity of women's equality to men and access to opportunity for all. They also require new conceptualizations of what we mean by gender and what we mean when we define sexuality, including a re-reading of the past.

While many imagine that the world is divided into male and female, masculine and feminine, or men and women, research in the past half century undermines the supposition that there are only two genders, only two sexes, or that what is normal in one community is normal across all others. Sexual fluidity is very much a characteristic of the historical record as it is contemporarily. In the nineteenth-century United States, pink was considered a masculine color and boys as well as girls wore dresses and kept their hair long until they reached age seven.[4] The historical record provides an exceptional vantage point for looking at the dynamics of a multiplicity of experiences among Latina/o people. Many Native traditions across the Americas recognized (and continue to recognize) multiple combinations of gender and sexuality that intersected in different ways with social roles and responsibilities. Each of these groups had different categories and roles, as well as words to name them; from 1990, many Natives have adopted the umbrella term, two spirit.[5] Spanish chroniclers described two spirit people using their own ideas of sexuality and gender, for example as men "feminized" into women's roles. Women in war were known to have passed their lives as men and/or soldiers, in the conquest era and late into the twentieth century during the Mexican Revolution.[6] These examples are not necessarily given to prove that homosexuality or bisexuality have existed in the Americas for many centuries, which evidently they did, but rather to illustrate that what we think of as modern concepts of sexuality might have a longer history than is accorded traditionally.

As varied and diverse as the histories of the Latino people, so are their expressions of gender and sexuality. Most obvious is the understanding that gender and sexuality share some similarities with the larger experience of being human, in other words, we all have and express our gender and our sexuality, but at the same time, not all genders are the same, and not all expressions of sexuality and sexual identity share the same qualities. Gender and sexuality are also influenced largely by the specific parameters established by religion, culture, ethnicity, nationality, and race or class distinctions. This chapter discusses Latina/o gender and sexual experiences within a broad historical context to focus as well on a contemporary Latina/o context because present understandings, like historical ones, enrich our analysis of how men and women defined one another and lived their lives as the gender codes organizing their behaviors changed over time.[7]

---

[4] See Ruth Padawer, "BoyGirl," *New York Times Magazine*, August 12, 2012, 19-36.

[5] For a detailed treatment, see Roscoe (this volume).

[6] On the soldaderas of the Mexican Revolution, see Elizabeth Salas, *Soldaderas in the Mexican Military: Myth and History* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1990).

Conquest and Colonialism

From the nascent beginnings of the Americas, the period known as the Conquest followed by the colonial period is normally considered as the origin that led to the formation of Latina/o people. The blending of races through mestizaje and miscegenation created regional and national distinctions. Within that landscape, the indigenous and Spanish advanced new bi- and multiracial configurations. In the areas we identify as the US Southwest and the Caribbean, various indigenous and native groups blended racially with European conquistadors. Concomitant to the era of conquest and colonization (1492-1800) the period was distinguished by the force and domination of a new cultural, European system distinct from the indigenous, with the eventual rule of Spanish and Catholic dominance in the three continents—North American, Central American, and South American—known as Latin America today. In this vast geographic terrain, a dynamic people and dynamic societies developed.

Given the large territories, countries, and continents that comprise Latin America, it is impossible to trace a true chronological sequence or periodization of Chicana or Latina history or of a singular role gender and sexuality played in that past or geography. This is because chronology and periods are the purview of tidily organized, written historiographical studies, of which Latina/o history remains defiant. Much resistance, for example, to domination or conquest was erased because few written or recorded documents detailed successful efforts to overcome the conquerors. Although court records and church records attest to many efforts against Spanish control, the truth is that those who collected the written record had a vested interest in securing one side of the story, despite the findings in recent decades of historians who are working to cast the wars and political picture in ways that account for both sides of the story. Archeologists have worked for centuries to assist the written record and are making progress in detailing how native communities and Spanish-Catholic ones shaped their pasts.

---

[7] For an overview, see Luz Calvo and Catriona Esquibel, “Latina Lesbians, BiMujeres, and Trans Identitites: Charting Courses in the Social Sciences,” in *Latino/a Sexualities: Probing Powers, Passions, Practices, and Policies*, ed. Marysol Ascencio (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2010), 217-229.

The best way to illustrate an important element related to where our story should begin is to ask when Latina/o or Chicano/a history began. There is no agreeable answer. Was it 1519 when the Spaniards arrived on the coast of México? Was there even a geographic identification that could be called México? We know that the country named Spain existed because the Pope and a king and queen authorized it to set off to new lands. México, on the other hand, was a constellation of over two hundred different indigenous communities, federations, and cities or towns that did not identify as a country, nation, or nation-state. Mexico City (Tenochtitlan) was the oldest city in the Americas, was its largest city up until the middle of the seventeenth century, and boasted a multiethnic, multi-caste, and multi-class society. Out of this varied history or past, it is impossible to trace effectively the meaning of gender and sexuality across time for any one group, and less so for as multiethnic and racial a group as Mexicans, Latinos, or Chicano/as of today. Some general understanding of the events and cultural artifacts, however, provide clues about the significance or meaning of gender and sexuality across time.

Inherent to the Spanish Empire's domination of the regions of the United States and Caribbean, the experiences of sexuality were less determined by the pleasures of sexuality we normally ascribe in today's modern world; rather sexuality was determined by need and survival, as this was foreign terrain for the Spanish and a new experience for the indigenous people native to the land. For the indigenous groups who endured the wrath of conquest and occupation, sexuality became a means of domination over their various indigenous traditions, especially the women and children. Many of the early inhabitants of the "New World" lived in tribal cultures that relied on nature and their surroundings for survival, and this organized their understandings of sexuality and of sexual expressiveness. The Spanish thought differently and codified as heretical or criminal many native understandings of the human body; some native groups were bare breasted or exposed chests and legs as the climate allowed. The Spanish were draped in cloth from neck to their feet, if not in armor or leather, and considered native dress codes promiscuous or offensive.

Native sophistication and what today would be labeled a modern way of life (nudity or frequent sexual partners, for example), were considered anti-Catholic and illegal. The anxiety of the Spaniards extended beyond the body. Many cities in Native America had developed sophisticated agricultural techniques, relied on scientific knowledge to feed and organize their cosmopolitan way of life (Mexico City especially), and organized their life according to an understanding of the cosmos, including mathematics and theology. The early conquistadores were mostly military men removed from the homeland and if in families came to the New World to conquer the land and to force indigenous populations to submit to the twin goals of installing religious and state imperatives, Catholicism, and loyalty to the king.

The post-structuralist theoretician, Tzvetan Todorov, notes that the Mexican conquest is distinct from all other forms of empire building. He asked how a vast number of inhabitants could have fallen supposedly so easily. The singular direction of the Spanish to seek gold and valuables along with advanced weaponry made it possible to win battles, but the truth also lies in the rapid spread of diseases that within twenty-five years of the arrival of the Spanish witnessed the demise of more than 90 percent of the native populations. Smallpox, measles, influenzas, and infections assisted the Spanish more than brilliant maneuvers on the battlefield. An ill population could not resist an onslaught. On the day Cortés finally laid claim to the ancient city of Tenochtitlan, those suffering from diseases or dead in their beds because they could not reach their water supply created a visible reminder of weakness and surrender. Had the Aztecs or Mexicanos not been so badly infected, their struggle to fortify and evacuate the city would have provided a different outcome.[8]

Some of these aspects of Mexican history, and of the histories of other regions in Central and South America which repeated the pattern after 1521, created obtuse rules and established the assertion of laws about gender and sexuality, some of which are still in existence today. Laws easily dictated the cultural practices of the early Latina/os. Of this, the most recognized figure of the conquest of Mexico has also become synonymous with the modern nation state. The public and widely mythologized history of Doña Marina or Malinztin Tenépal or La Malinche, mentioned above, situates one of the main elements of historiographical attitudes about the role of women in the New World and as its emblem of domination.[9] The early conquistadores used force in the early encounters with the Native Indians. Within a short amount of time, a matter of 150 years, the Spanish church and state institutionalized their rules of governance through the issuances of law and religious codes. Masculinity and femininity were institutionalized as oppositional rather complimentary aspects of gender and sexuality as the Spanish Crown created a division of labor according to gender and this was seen clearly in the adjudication of specific sets of laws. The Laws of Burgos of 1512 or *Las Leyes de Burgos*, for example, established a set of laws (and in actual practice, guidelines) on the treatment of the Native people in the first island conquered, Hispaniola.[10]

---

[8] Tzvetan Todorov, "The Reasons for Victory" in *The Conquest of America: The Question of the Other* (New York: Harper and Row, 1984).

[9] See Adelaida del Castillo, "Malintzin Tenépal: A Preliminary Look into a New Perspective," in *Essays on la Mujer*, eds. Rosaura Sánchez and Rosa Martinez Cruz (Los Angeles: UCLA Chicano Studies Research Center, 1977), 124-149.

The laws constituted the first attempt to outline specifically conduct in matters of marriage and raising children; however, the law code made some attempt to regulate the treatment and conduct of the Spanish settlers and their encounters with the native Indians. The laws specifically created a family (tribal) structure and instructed priests to instill Catholic teachings and convert the Natives to Christianity. *Las Leyes de Burgos* was an attempt by the Spanish Crown to attend to the many abuses of the Native peoples in the decades after the conquest but failed on many levels because they were disempowered with the conversion into a system of labor, which was the primary goal of the law, and Catholicism which was their second goal. Another attempt to create laws for the treatment of the natives came in 1542 with the *Leyes Nuevas* (New Laws) under Charles V. Once again, these laws sought to provide for the mistreatment of the

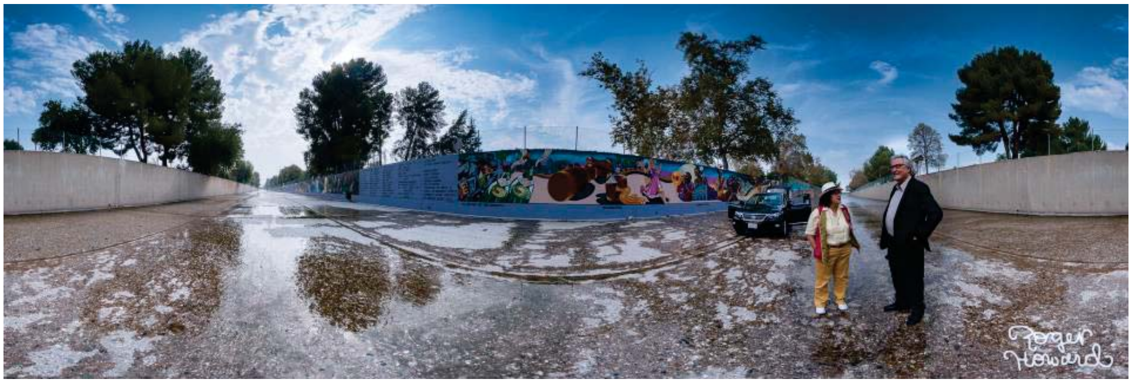


Figure 2: Chicana lesbian feminist artist Judy Baca and Stanley Smith from the Getty in front of Baca's work, The History of California/The Great Wall of Los Angeles. The work highlights the histories of California not often told, including those about the Native Americans who lived in the area, Japanese American internment, the Freedom Bus Rides, the Zoot Suit riots of 1943 (during which white Marines assaulted young Mexican-American men in Los Angeles), and the founding of the gay rights organization, the Mattachine Society in 1950. Baca and her team of artists, including Isabel Castro, Yreina Cervantez, Judith Hernandez, Olga Muñoz, Patssi Valdez, Margaret Garcia, began work in 1978. Over 400 youth, including those from the juvenile justice system and from other underrepresented groups, were paid to help work on the mural. It was finished in 1984, and measures 2,754 in length. Additional sections are planned. Photo by Roger Howard, 2011.[11]

---

[10] See Leyes de Burgos in John A. Crow, *The Epic of Latin America* (Oakland: University of California Press, 1992).

[11] License: CC BY-ND 2.0. https://www.flickr.com/photos/rogerhoward/8797111980/. For more about Judy Baca, see Burk (this volume).

native people but only reinforced the *encomienda* system of labor, an assignment often in perpetuity of a person's labor or work, and offered little protection for the Indians in the end.

The seventeenth century added to the major legal apparatus with the *Recopilacíon de las Leyes de los Reinos de Indias*, a copious and pedantic sequence of laws enacted in 1681 to supplant the previous two codifications that were deemed ineffectual on a local level and excluded the many regions overtaken by Spanish rule over the next century. One of the main accomplishments of the *Recopilacíon* was to standardize the Spanish Law over the vast and enormous territories under Spanish occupation and encompassing the areas of the Southwest, including Tucson, Los Angeles, Santa Fe, Laredo, and Albuquerque, and extended as far as the Philippines, Cuba, and Puerto Rico (Figure 2).[12]

The law's geographic reach established a wide sweep for the legal and religious codes whose influences can be found in today's attitudes and economic trade relationships. The most distinctive of these codes was girded by a supreme understanding of the division of labor. Men and women became separated in their lived and working experiences and were bound by the separate spheres that divide men and women into private and public.

But the order and regulation of sexuality fell under the purview of the dreaded and somewhat fickle Spanish Inquisition. Few think or believe that the Spanish Inquisition pertained to México or the New World, but recent historical excavation supports that the Inquisition did in fact regulate sexual behaviors and served more as a regulatory system in the New World than in Europe. Inquisitional repression also included many offenses that pertained to sexuality such as bestiality, rape, and sodomy (male and female) as well as other forms of stated heresy against the church. Phillip II established the Inquisition officially in Mexico in 1569.[13] By 1662, accounts of homosexual behavior led the Duke of Albuquerque to indict over a hundred people and execute a substantial number of them.[14] Within the colonial period and heritage, the laws and codes of conduct began to shape the codification of proper sexuality situating it within the domain of heterosexuality and the church and state as purveyors of the law guiding it.

---

[12] For the full list of laws, see Spain/Council of the Indies, *Recopilación de leyes de los reynos de las Indias, 1681*. 5 vols. (Mexico: M. A. Porrúa, 1987).

Naturally, people began to assume heterosexuality not only as the "natural" order of things, but as the only one. It would become clear through their actions that the church and state became more interested in regulating behaviors and associating morality with the regulation of sexual behaviors and were far less interested in heresy. The Inquisition in Spain did not actively pursue the persecution of sodomy as it would in the Americas and the New World.[16] Most of the active persecution of sodomy by the Inquisition belonged to the New World.[17] According to historian Richard C. Trexler, the arena of conquest placed sexuality and gender clearly within the paradigm of the victor or vanquished where rape became an "insult" of war for both

Figure 3: Mission San Diego de Alcalá, 10818 San Diego Mission Road, San Diego, California. Founded in 1769 by Spanish friar Junipero Serra, it was the first Franciscan mission in The Californias, a province of New Spain. The Native American Kumeyaay, who lived in the area, called the two-spirit members of their society Warharmi. Photo by ((brian)), 2005.[15]

---

[13] Louis Crompton, *Homosexuality and Civilization* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2003).
[14] Ibid, 319.
[15] License: CC BY 2.0. https://www.flickr.com/photos/brian-m/168494874/. Mission San Diego was listed on the NRHP and designated an NHL on April 15, 1970. See Will Roscoe,*Changing Ones: Third and Fourth Genders in Native North America* (New York City: St. Martin's Press, 1998), 218.
[16] Cristian Berco, *Sexual Hierarchies, Public Status: Men, Sodomy, and Society in Spain's Golden Age* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2007).
[17] Ibid.

men and women.[18] Sexual and gender identity were not based on individual rights, pleasure or desires, or even on group rights. The role and function of gender and sexual identity pertained to the natural order or biological basis of reproduction and conquest.

Anthropologist June Nash observes the distinctive roles men and women played in the transition under Spanish Colonialism.[19] Nash observes that "while women continued to have important roles in the domestic economy, they were [ultimately] excluded from the predatory economy."[20] In another location, historian Antonia Castañeda associates the "*entrada"* or "incursion" of the Spanish soldiers and priests with sexual violence of women and girls in Alta California (Figure 3).[21] Castañeda recognizes that limited information on the subject of gender and sexuality exists, but nevertheless found similar findings as many others have noted previously that the subordination of women did in fact lead toward sexual violence and many other abuses that are well documented in the former Spanish Borderlands.

In the centuries where the origin of the Americas lies, multi-continental, and especially for the United States, the predicament of the Spanish Conquest left behind an arcane system of laws and religious codes without the benefit of a cultural Renaissance or a Protestant Reformation as had been experienced in Europe, but instead continued as facets of canonical and state law that would carry over into the United States expansion through the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Just as the Spanish language that is spoken today in many regions of the Americas is an arcane vestige of the Old World, so, too, is the legal apparatus and cultural view of gender and sexuality residing within the remnants of a culture of conquest.

---

[18] Richard C. Trexler, *Sex and Conquest: Gendered Violence, Political Order, and the European Conquest of the Americas* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1995).
[19] June Nash, "Aztec Women: The Transition from Status to Class in Empire and Colony," in *Women and Colonization: Anthropological Perspectives*, eds. Mona Etienne and Eleanor Leacock (New York: Praeger, 1980), 134-148.
[20] Ibid, 67.
[21] Antonia I. Castañeda "Engendering the History of Alta California, 1769-1848: Gender, Sexuality, and the Family," *California History* 76, no. 2-3 (Summer-Fall 1997): 230-259.

The nineteenth century brought about expansion and new frontier attitudes through changes precipitated by United States expansion. These culminated in an ever denser context for gender and sexuality among Latina/o people as they came under US domination, physically in the former Mexican northern territories, and economically toward the end of the nineteenth century as the United States extended its reach toward the natural resources that Latin America provided, including its labor force.

While it is common to view the impact of the U.S.-Mexican War of 1846-1848 as a training ground for US soldiers later engaged in the Civil War, and common to overlook the US invasion of Mexico beyond the border formed by the Rio Grande, gender and sexuality proved powerful agents in the hands of the US takeover as Mexican lands were acquired and gender and sexual politics shaped the dynamics of acquisition. Historian Deena González concludes that the centrality of such figures as Doña Gertrudis Barceló, who operated businesses in Santa Fe, was its wealthiest citizen for over three decades, and who was maligned by the invading Euro-Americans as a common whore or a madam, is the best example of the centrality of gender in the US colonization of the Mexican north. When Euro-Americans crossed illegally first into Texas, and later into New Mexico, they argued that the people were "as barren as the land," "lazy," and "ugly."[22] These undocumented merchants, soldiers, and vagabonds used such rhetoric to denounce the local population making it easier to occupy their land and achieve domination over the work force.

After the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo of 1848 resolved the armed conflict between the two countries, if not the bitter feelings between locals and imposers, women who had owned property as allowed under Spanish law were at a loss in a court system that did not allow women to adjudicate differences. Because women outlived men and tended to own property, land, houses, and livestock, they lost more than men when the Euro-Americans went to court to establish ownership under pretext. The

---

[22] See Deena J. González, *Refusing the Favor: The Spanish-Mexican Women of Santa Fe, 1820-1880* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), chap. ii.

Widow Chaves of Santa Fe best exemplified how even wealthy women were duped by agents of the state, in this case a lawyer and claims surveyor who managed to conspire to produce a will in English that was not a translation of her wishes rendered in the original Spanish.[23] Such occurrences were far from rare and the colonizers, who cast women as gullible or dependent, managed to exert legal influence to such an extent that many resident Spanish-Mexican people of the southwest endured land and property losses without recourse.

Because the northern Mexican territories figured so critically in US history, particularly after the California Gold Rush and the need for a transcontinental railroad, and because Latino/as played such an important role in the growth of the territories west of the Mississippi, it is clear why Spanish Borderlands history and writers, historians, and artists reference consistently the roles of women. Especially prominent are the stereotypes of women as virgins or martyrs, as saloon keepers or as pious maternal figures then and later in the twenty-first century concluding that a pattern of loss, of intimidation, and of violence characterized memory and life through to the present. While it is the case that abuses of power and of gender codes occurred and continue, the most recent focus on response and resistance, on defiance of assigned roles, whether racialized, sexualized, gendered, or classed, underscores new directions in our views of sexuality and male/female roles or patterns across time and geography. For that reason, we examine next the contemporary application of some previously mentioned gender codes and roles where sexuality and sexual expressiveness most endure as agents of political action as well as of derision. In understanding these dynamics, and through them, we find a great deal of hope for a future less determined by limitation and misunderstanding.

---

[23] Ibid, 86.

Twentieth Century: Codes of Transformation

Throughout the twentieth century, moral codes about gender and sexuality underwent a tumultuous period characterized by inconsistencies and scattered progressions. For Latina/os, the triumph of the United States over the Southwest transferred the focus from a Spanish system to an Anglo-European and Protestant perspective or at least the uneasy coexistence of both. One of the main areas that transformed perspectives

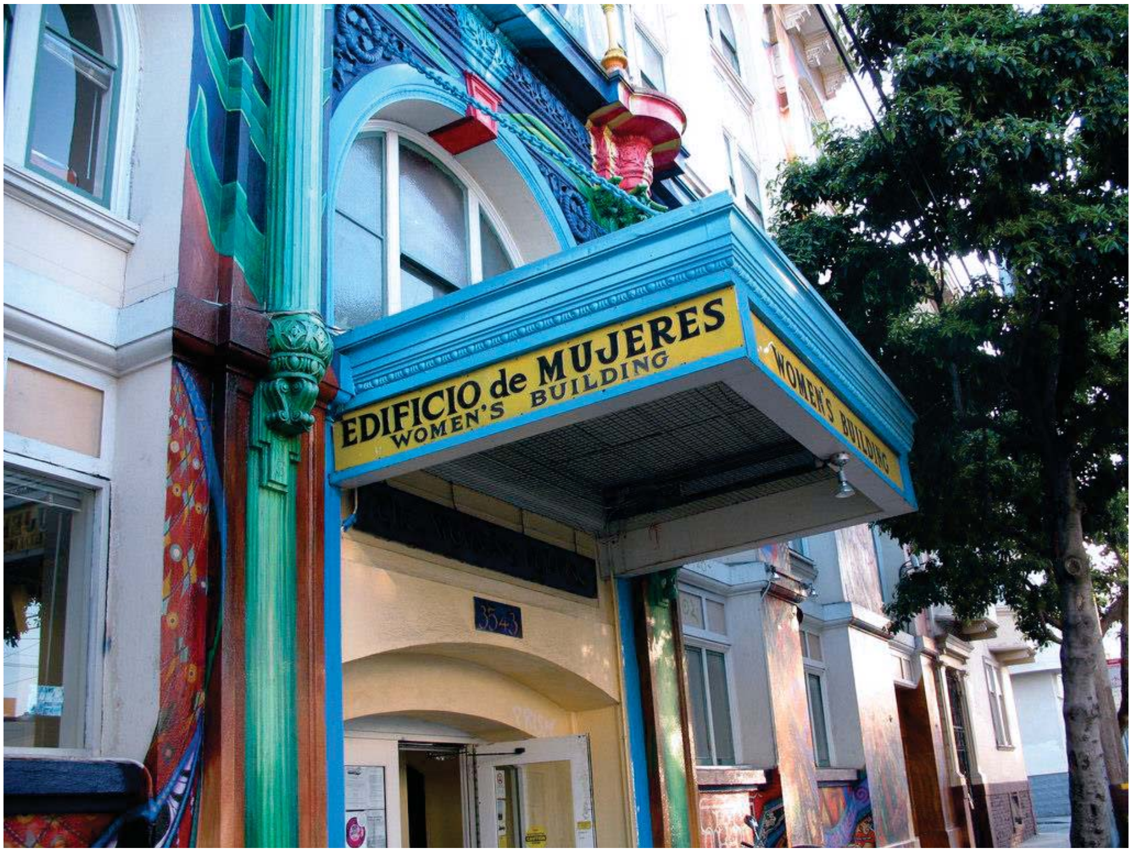


Figure 4: The founding director of The Women's Building (TWB), 3543 Eighteenth Street, San Francisco, California was lesbian Latina activist Carmen Vazquez. The Women's Building opened in 1979 and continues to serve as a home and community resource for numerous social justice groups at the intersections of race, class, sexuality, and gender. In 1984, a group of Latina activists, including Vazquez, founded Somos Hermanas, a Central American Women's Solidarity Network, at TWB. La Casa de Las Madres, a women's shelter founded in 1976, had its home at TWB, and in the early 1990s, Ellas en Acción, a group for lesbian and bisexual Latinas met here. Photo by Gary Stevens, 2009.[24]

---

[24] License: CC BY 2.0. https://www.flickr.com/photos/garysoup/3256659047

on gender and sexuality has been the gender codes. With modernization came a new industrialized labor force that brought women out of the confines of the home. This carried over to other American sensibilities that gave new arrangements for identity and self-expression (Figure 4).

One of the enduring influences shaping Latino/a gender and sexuality since the era of the Spanish conquest is the Catholic Church which has taken a strong and influential stance on sexual conduct and gender attributes. In the sacrament of marriage, also called matrimony, for example, the covenant describes a partnership to be exclusively between a man and woman, and until just recently, women were asked to assent to a life as "man and wife."[25] A man thus retained his gender, but a woman's was filtered through her marital identity as the wife of someone. The requirement of the covenant of marriage in Catholicism requires that the two partners be a man and a woman in fulfillment of the Catholic religion's holy sacraments and as the only acceptable place, marriage, for sex and procreation.[26]

Until very recently, the laws of a nation, municipal and state, followed religion's canonical law and recognized the partnership of marriage in accordance with those of religious practices. In June 2015, the United States Supreme Court decision Obergefell v. Hodges guaranteed same-sex couples across the country the fundamental right to marry.[27] The movements for same-sex marriage initiatives and for civil unions that preceded the decision were met with a backlash that views them as part of a "liberal agenda" or a conspiracy against heterosexuality.[28] Heterosexual marriage still enjoys a privileged position in the majority of Latina/o communities. Heterosexual privilege signifies a public recognition and support for an intimate relationship between a man and woman, and is recognized and supported by different social networks, such as the workplace, governmental bodies, educational institutions, housing, health care, and, of course, acceptance and recognition by many religious organizations. It is a privilege often enjoying the status of a "right" and only in the past half century has it been challenged as inaccurately reflecting people's lives, romantic interests, or the real lived experiences of gays and lesbians as well as bisexuals and transgender people. A later section of this essay gives examples of specific Latino and Latina-based challenges to heteronormativity or the belief that everyone is and must be heterosexual.

---

[25] Castañeda, "Engendering," 150.

[26] See Catholic News Service, "U.S. Bishops to Urge Constitutional Amendment to Protect Marriage," *AmericanCatholic.org*, 2003, http://www.americancatholic.org/News/Homosexuality/default.asp.

[27] The text of the decision is available online at http://www.supremecourt.gov/opinions/14pdf/14-556_3204.pdf.

[28] See the resources at The Williams Institute website, http://williamsinstitute.law.ucla.edu.

The expression of a male or female identity thus becomes embedded in institutions that support a *masculine* identity for men and *feminine* one for women. Another way of making this point is that masculinity and femininity express what it means to be a heterosexual male or female in a court of law, in hospitals, schools, or in churches, that is, in institutions that sanctify those privileges. The more obvious Latino expression of heterosexual masculinity is located in the term macho, which is defined as a strong, often exaggerated sense of masculine pride. To be macho has mixed meanings in the US context. Its meaning could be both positive and negative in connotation. Male athletes are considered a proper role model of masculinity.[29] The more negative aspect is that of the stereotype of a macho as someone who is aggressive and demonstrates excessive dominance over women through male chauvinism. Most gay men, in traditional Latino/a thinking, would be considered less masculine and not sufficiently *macho* (Figure 5).[30]

The counterpart to the macho or male figure is to be found in the concept of *Marianismo*. *Marianismo* derives from the worship or following of the Virgin Mary (Maria) and her central role in active Catholicism. It is

---

[29] See Schweighofer (this volume) for a discussion of masculinity in sport.

[30] See Tomás Almaguer, "Chicano Men: Cartography of Homosexual Identity and Behavior," in *The Lesbian and Gay Studies Reader*, eds. Henry Abelove, Michèle Aina Barale, and David M. Halperin (New York: Routledge, 1993).

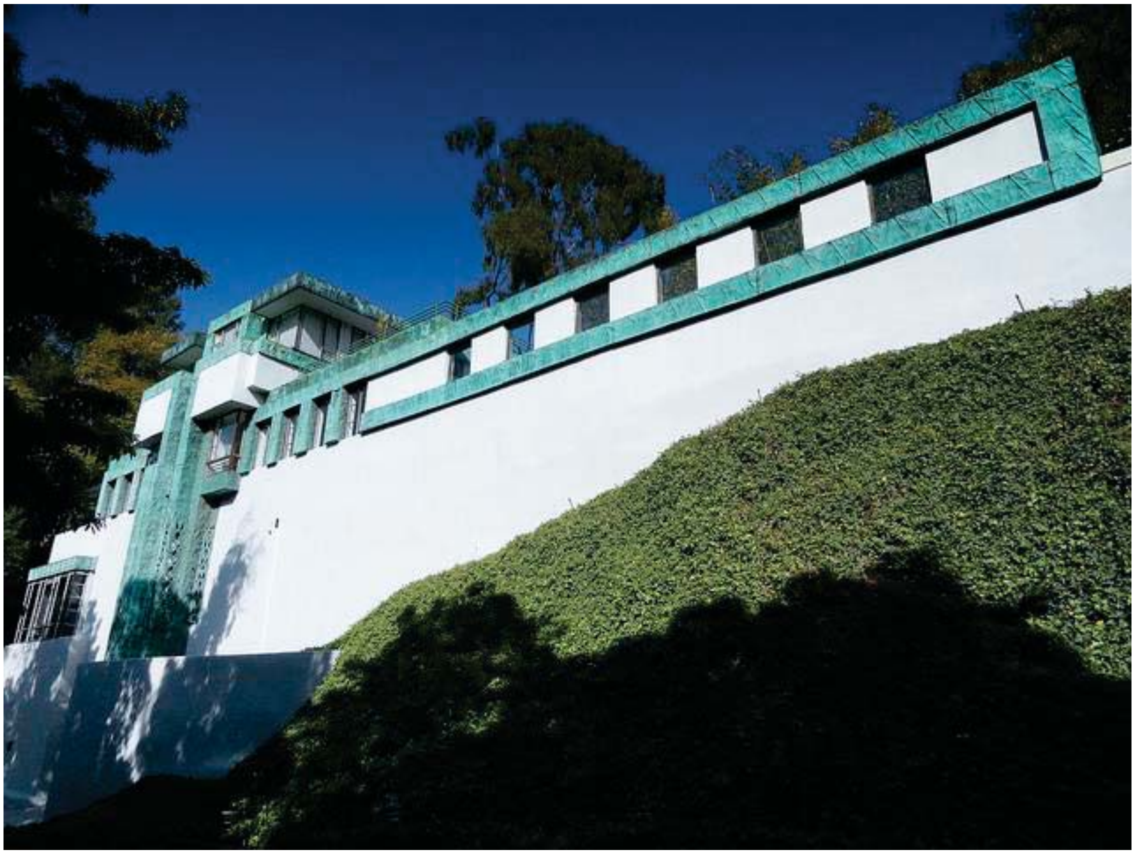


Figure 5: The Samuel-Novarro House, Hollywood Hills neighborhood, Los Angeles, California The home was designed by Frank Lloyd Wright's son, Lloyd Wright, and built in 1928 for Louis Samuel, personal assistant and business manager for Mexican-American silent film star, Ramón Novarro (born Jose Ramón Gil Samaniego). Novarro is most famous for his role as Ben Hur in *Ben-Hur: A Tale of the Christ*. Novarro's family moved to Los Angeles in 1913 to escape the Mexican Revolution. When he discovered that Samuel was embezzling money from him, Novarro opted not to press charges, but took over ownership of the house in Hollywood Hills. In 1945, Novarro moved to a home in the Studio City neighborhood of Los Angeles. Novarro was gay, and struggled with his homosexuality and Catholic upbringing. Unlike other gay actors at the time, however, Novarro refused to marry a woman to hide his sexuality. He was murdered in his Studio City home in 1968 by two brothers who were hustlers and physique photo models. The sensational coverage of Novarro's murder made his homosexuality a matter of public record. Photo by J. Jakobson, 2013.[31]

an ideal of true femininity that women are supposed to embody, that is, to be modest, virtuous, and sexually abstinent until marriage and then faithful and subordinate to their husbands. *Marianismo* serves as the female companion to "machismo," or hyper-masculinity, and originated as its counterpoint during the time of the Spanish conquest. It began as a direct response to the overused *machismo* and was intended to explain a female phenomenon in Latin America in which women were either depicted as saints or as whores. Female superiority was at the heart of Marianismo but its opposite also accounts for how easily, in this dichotomous construction, women could also be seen as overly and overtly sexual, that is, as super-sexed. Beginning in 1973, scholars have located the concept across many Latino/a cultures, meaning that it is a gender construction shared across national borders. Since the 1980s, however, other scholars introduced into the lexicon of femininity and womanhood more feminist-based ideas, including *mujerismo* or woman-centeredness which locates women's power and struggles within a Catholic context, but one that engages religious equality and social liberation for all. A mujerista theology was also a response to male-constructed notions of how women should behave in social and religious contexts; in this case, the message was directed toward the traditional Catholic hierarchy.[32]

---

[31] License: CC BY-NC 2.0. https://www.flickr.com/photos/30811353@N04/8666179554. Big Orange Landmarks, "No. 130 – Samuel-Novarro House," April 5, 2008. http://bigorangelandmarks.blogspot.com/2008/04/no-130-samuel-novarro-house.html

Other characteristics of machismo that are often hidden include an ostensibly valorous and chivalrous code of protection that extends into the Spanish and Latin-derived romantic virtues of sexual potency and prowess. Less obvious is the *mujer passiva* (or, *la mujer abnegada*) who negates herself for the love of her husband and children and sacrifices her individualism for the benefit of the family. This traditional role orients women toward home life and religious dedication. Gender and sexuality have their own unique expressions within Latina/o communities.

In the most basic sense, gender refers to the biological identity assigned at birth, usually, boy or girl, and depending on the circumstances of birth because some newborns on rare occasions have genitalia that might be male and female at once.[33] In western culture, male and female predominate as the primary assigned or prescribed gender categories.[34] For Latina/os this expression of gender identity is unique. As a cultural facet of every Spanish-speaking nation across the Americas shaped by unique traditions, religious influences, and laws, most gender codes of conduct in the vast Latina/o experience emphasize femininity for women and masculinity for men. Ideally, these gender codes of masculinity and femininity have served as the basis of heterosexuality and with them, support the formation of the family social structure as a central basis for constructing gender and sexual identities.[35]

---

[32] See R.M. Hill and C.I. Vasquez, *The Maria Paradox: How Latinas Can Merge Old World Traditions With New World Self-Esteem* (New York: G.P. Putnam & Sons, 1996).

[33] Judith Halberstam, *In a Queer Time and Place: Transgender Bodies, Subcultural Lives* (New York: New York University Press, 2005).

Latinas experience negative stereotyping as frequently as their male counterparts. The virgin/whore complex refers to the way Latinas are situated between two completely opposite views: the virgin and the whore or the martyr and the witch are ideals embedded in cultural practices, religious or spiritual values, and in social life and they require women to behave and position themselves as either celibate (virginal) or as sacrificing themselves for the good of the family, the community, or the collective (martyr). Like the terms suggest, the virgin is the idealized woman in Latina/o culture, while the term witch refers to the maligned aspects of a woman who shows too much independence. Sexual promiscuity is central to the virgin/whore or martyr/witch dichotomies.[36] To be “virginal” suggests an attitude of moral refinement and right action, and, to be labeled a whore or prostitute refers to someone who exhibits sexual autonomy and freedom, including the possibility of prostitution. Mainstream culture exploits this notion in advertising and the media, underscoring Latinas’ hypersexuality, or availability for sex. Popular culture focuses on Latinas’ bodies and eroticizes them on the basis of a traditional regard that Latinas had more children (meaning they had more sex) than white women. While attitudes about sexuality have changed during the last five decades, some of these attitudes about Latina/o men and women remain despite efforts to move away from cultural prescriptions and established preconceptions.[37]

---

[34] See Roscoe (this volume) for a discussion of multiple genders recognized by Native American societies.

[35] See Olivia Espín, “Cultural and Historical Influences on Sexuality in Hispanic/Latin Women: Implications for Psychotherapy,” in *Pleasure and Danger: Exploring Female Sexuality*, ed. Carole S. Vance (London: Pandora Press, 1989).

[36] For a review of the Spanish Mediterranean origins of these concepts, see Mary Elizabeth Perry, *Gender and Disorder in Early Modern Seville* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1990).

Now regarded as a socially constructed set of rules and behaviors, orthodox assumptions about heterosexuality and the view that men were superior and women inferior are being challenged. The belief that heterosexuality was the only option for sexual behavior no longer dominates Latina/o perspectives. Heteronormativity, the belief that heterosexuality is the only acceptable way of expressing and enjoying sexuality in the human experience, is further challenged by science, psychology, religious, and cultural mores. The belief that heterosexuality is

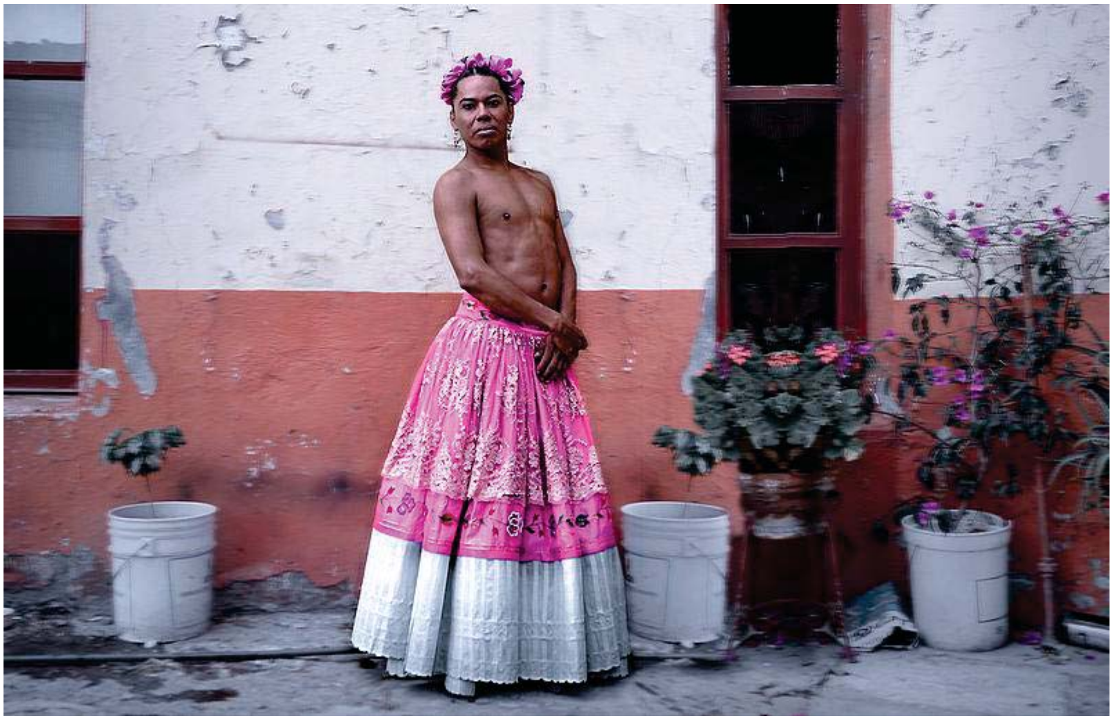


Figure 6: Lukas Avendaño, contemporary Zapotec Muxe from Mexico. Photo by Mario Patinho, 2015.[38]

---

[37] Elena R. Gutiérrez, *Fertile Matters: The Politics of Mexican-Origin Women's Reproduction* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2008); on cultural tradition, a young woman's fifteenth birthday "coming of age" ritual, see Karen Mary Davalos, "La Quinceañera: Making Gender and Ethnic Identitites," in *Velvet Barrios: Popular Culture and Chicana/o Sexualities*, ed. Alicia Gaspar de Alba (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003).

[38] License: CC BY-SA 4.0. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Lukas_Avendano-Mario_Patino-Performance_Art-Arte_de_en_accion-Mexico-14.jpg

"normal" and all other forms of sexuality outside of heterosexuality are abnormal, deviant, and disordered has given way to an understanding of the complexity of human gender and sexual expression including homosexuality, bisexuality, asexuality, and gender variation from those who are genderqueer to those who are transgender.[39] Examined by many academics and activist political organizations, the focus on seeing sexuality as complex has expanded because there are more persuasive arguments, including scientific information, that support variety in human expression and behaviors, and to a great extent among mammals and other animals. These but reinforce the idea that sex and sexuality are not simple concepts and to be understood simply as uniformly or divinely ordained.[40] Many Native American cultures recognized sexual and gender variations that go beyond the male/female understandings of Western European cultures.[41] In the Americas for example, the Zapotec of Mexico recognize a third gender category, the Muxe (pronounced Mu-SHAY), who are identified as male when they are born, but who dress and live as women (Figure 6). Muxe are generally accepted by the Zapotec Indian culture and are not viewed negatively as they might be in western industrialized cultures. Muxe are not necessarily homosexual and do not fit neatly into identity categories one may find in US LGBTQ communities.

Gender identity and sexual orientation are related, but distinct cultural identities. There are many people in the United States who do not identify with the gender they were identified as at birth. Some people find that they identify opposite to the gender they were identified as; others may feel that they exist somewhere on the continuum between the two binaries, or as some gender not represented by male or female, or as no gender at all (agender). In sexuality and sexually-fluid identities the terms used are expressly significant. The same is the case in ethnic identity where a recent trend is to use Latinx to be inclusive of Latino/a, or of all self-identified people of Latin American origins. Most broadly, the term transgender encompasses all those who do not identify with the gender they were identified with at birth; the terms gender fluid and gender queer are also used by people to describe themselves.[42] Sexuality is defined as the expression of one's sexual desire and may or may not include a certain partner. It is no longer widely seen as being limited to conventional terms of marriage and heterosexuality.[43]

---

[39] See Meyer, Stryker, and Hutchins (this volume).
[40] See Bruce Bagemihl, *Biological Exuberance: Animal Homosexuality and Natural Diversity* (New York: Macmillan, 2000).
[41] For details about cultures within what is now the United States, see Roscoe (this volume).

There are many different ways that people in the LGBTQ community and beyond it identify, depending on how they perceive their sexual and gender identities and how they express them. The terms used to describe these various attractions and identities have varied over time. [44] After the 1950s, when for example, lesbian referred to women's attraction for other women, and gay referred to men who expressed desire and partnership with each other, the sexual revolution following these understandings changed the way we describe contemporary sexual identity. The Latina/o LGBTQ communities emerged to claim spaces in the larger queer movements of the past decades from experiences in the sexual and feminist political debates, including those addressing civil rights and the rights of minorities, including sexual minorities. In sum, they drew from contemporary legacies, including civil rights, federal and state debates, and student movements that changed how minorities viewed their position in society.[45]

History and Activism of Latina/o Sexual Politics

Latinas/os had been situated at the margins in queer political movements, often overlooked in major historical moments, their political, cultural, social, and sexual activisms intertwined with radical economic and demographic changes to underscore gay rights issues (Figure 7). The general influence of queer Latinas/os became more prominent during the 1980s and 1990s and visibility and representation posed less of a challenge. During these decades, the marginalized role queer Latinos played within some of the larger LGBTQ political movements continued to permeate issues and organizations. Several pivotal and historical factors contributed to the emergence and visibility of Latinas/o queers. In these early decades, the plight of AIDS and Latina feminism transformed the

---

[42] For more on transgender identities, see Stryker (this volume).

[43] The breadth of examples and of influence about the entire topic of Latina literary narratives, to name just one, can be traced in Katherine Sugg, "The Ultimate Rebellion: Chicana Narratives of Sexuality and Community," *Meridians: Feminism, Race, and Transnationalism* 3, no. 2 (2003): 139-170.

[44] For a list of popular definitions and terms, see Fedwa Malti-Douglas, ed., *Encyclopedia of Sex and Gender* (Detroit, MI: Macmillan Reference, 2007).

[45] See Elizabeth M. Iglesias and Francisco Valdes, "Religion, Gender, Sexuality, Race, and Class in Coalitional Theory: A Critical and Self-Critical Analysis of LatCrit Social Justice Agendas, 19," in *LATCRIT Primer*, vol. 1 (Boston: Harvard Latino Law Review, 1997).

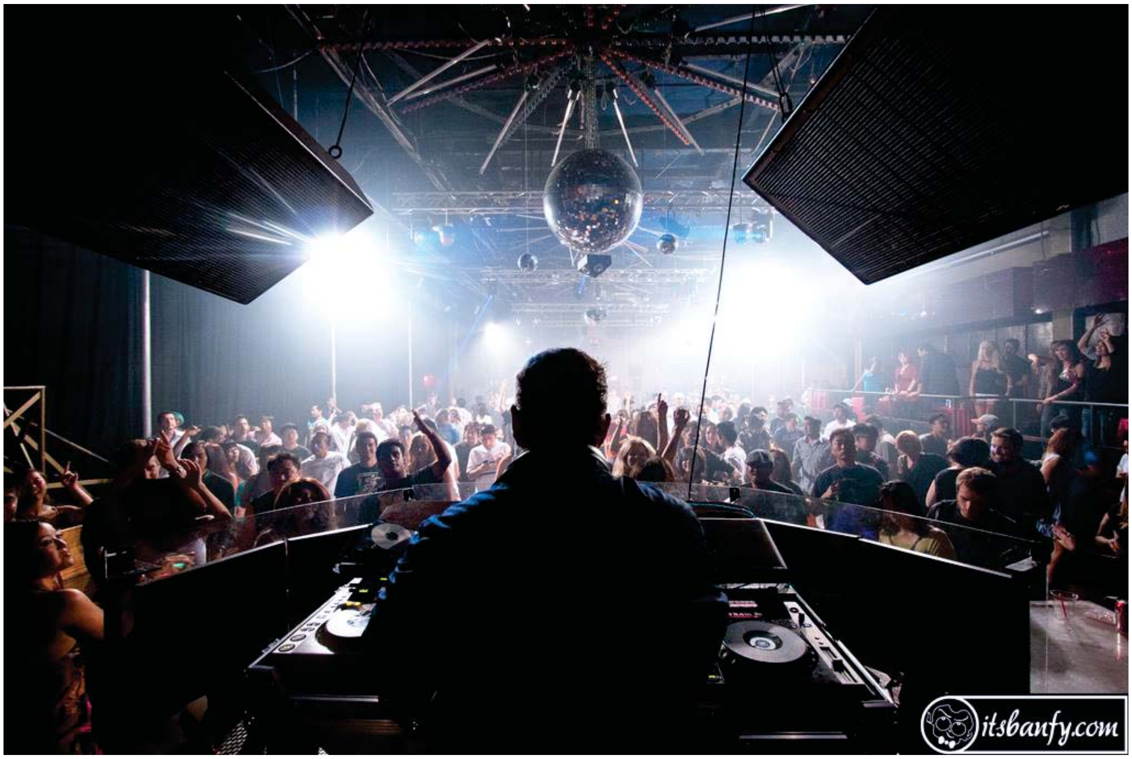


Figure 7: The interior of the Circus Disco, 6655 Santa Monica Boulevard, Los Angeles, California, August 2011. Circus Disco was opened in 1975 as a place for gay Latinos. Like African Americans, Latinos were discriminated against by many in the white LGBTQ community. They were discriminated against at white gay clubs in the area by bouncers who required multiple forms of identification from people of color, while white patrons only had to show one form of ID. Not just a social venue, Circus Disco played an important role as a place of community development and political organizing: in 1983, César Chávez addressed approximately one hundred members of the Project Just Business LGBTQ coalition at the bar. In his address, he discussed strategies for coalition fundraising and organizing boycotts. Circus Disco closed in January 2016. Slated for demolition, the developer has agreed to preserve several historic elements of the club. Photo by Tony Nungaray.[46]

---

[46] License: CC BY-SA 2.0. https://www.flickr.com/photos/banfyphotography/6020558384. See Los Angeles Conservancy, Circus Disco, https://www.laconservancy.org/issues/circus-disco.

issue of visibility as Latinos sought to transform their cultural "outsider" status—being ethnic and political minorities—often sidelined as contributing leaders and players in the larger spheres of LGBTQ politics (Figure 8). Since the 1950s and even in today's politics of self-representation, the use of the terms such as "Latino," "Latina," and "queer" transformed their pejorative meanings into a positive reflection of *Latinidad*, a label of consciousness about Latin American roots, and in the case of embracing a queer Latinidad, a politicized and political identity.[47] The same thing occurred in the 1960s in the Chicano movement; as women claimed their stake and interests in struggles for equality, access to education, and farmworker's and other laborers' rights, the pejorative flavor of the word Chicano (meaning perhaps *Mexicano* pronounced in the original Nahuatl language as Me-SHEE-cano) slipped into popular acceptance. Today, three established PhD programs in Chicana/o Studies indicate the widespread acceptance of the concept of selfhood, of naming oneself and of embracing an identity for varied political, cultural, or socially-acceptable reasons.

Until the most recent census, as the invisibility of Latino/as pervaded among the majority population as a whole, recognizing one's homosexuality amidst racial disenfranchisement made it even more difficult to be proud of any identity at all. In the Latina experience, misogyny and homophobia created complications because lesbian women were often single parents, unpartnered or disowned by their families of origin. The popular term used until the 1960s was "homosexual." "Gay" only began to gain legitimacy in later decades as gays and lesbians openly declared and reclaimed their sexual identities. "Gay" was often used to refer to gay men's experience and women began to use "lesbian" alongside "gay" to contrast the gender distinctions. Only in the 1990s was the term "queer" used to encompass all groups from a wide range of gender and sexualities. AIDS activism radicalized lesbian and gay men's movements in the early 1990s, and their leaders continued a quest to elect local sympathetic officials, found or run businesses, and create families within this expanding display of sexual desires and sexuality. Some resisted the idea of "flamboyance," while others were proudly flamboyant. Most gay and lesbian politicians and social activists argued strenuously for the inclusion of all sexual expression, no matter how disdainful some would find them, citing First and Second Constitutional Amendments as rights given to any American citizen without regard for their sexuality. Others also used "queer" to formulate artistic,

---

[47] See *Latino Studies Journal* 1, no. 1 (March 2003).

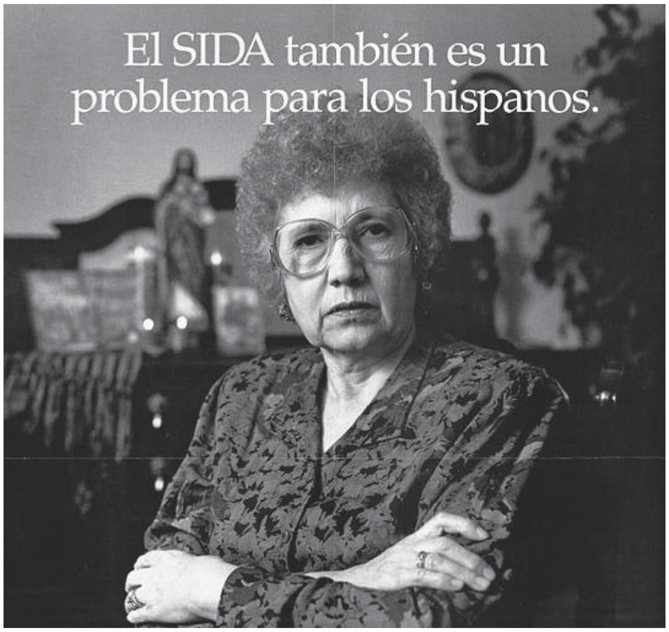

El SIDA también es un problema para los hispanos.

Figure 8: "El SIDA también es un problema para los hispanos" (AIDS is a problem for Hispanics too), from the US Centers for Disease Control's America Responds to AIDS campaign, circa 1990-1994. A translation of the text (from the English version of the poster) reads, in part, "It's difficult for our families to talk about drugs and AIDS. And it is not our nature to openly discuss issues like teen sex, homosexuality and bisexuality. We were brought up with traditional values. Even among our immediate family we don't talk...we want to, but it's just not that easy. AIDS is serious. We need to talk about it openly." Several Latino/a community-based health organizations emerged during the AIDS crisis, including Community United in Responding to AIDS/SIDA (CURAS) and Proyecto ContraSIDA por Vida (which operated from 1993 to 2005), who worked to reduce the spread of HIV in communities of color. Known for their innovative community engagement, the mission statement of Proyecto ContraSIDA por Vida (PCPV) read: "Proyecto ContraSIDA is coming to you—you joto, you macha, you vestigial, you queer, you femme, you girls and boys and boygirls and girlboys de ambiente, con la fé and fearlessness that we can combat AIDS, determine our own destinos, and love ourselves and each other con dignidad, humor, y lujuria." This mission statement embraces many different sexualities and genders, and PCPV worked with transgender people for ten years before the organization shut its doors due to lack of funding. In 2006, several of those who had been involved with PCPV created El/La Para TransLatinas to continue HIV outreach, community services, and advocacy for transgender Latinas. Both PCPV and El/La Para TransLatinas had offices at 2940 Sixteenth Street, San Francisco, California. Image courtesy of the Wellcome Library, London.[48]

---

[48] License: CC BY-NC-ND 4.0. http://wellcomeimages.org/indexplus/image/L0052366.html. See also El/La Para TransLatinas, "About Us," http://ellaparatranslatinas.yolasite.com/about-us.php.

political, and social initiatives particularly in the urban centers of the country.[49]

The pre-Stonewall period, before 1969, is often cited as an era marked by closeted life for many gays and lesbians, though there were those who worked publicly for LGBTQ civil rights.[50] It was incredibly difficult to be open about homosexuality, and this proved to be a fearful time where little to no acceptance about any gay/lesbian lifestyle pervaded. Senator Joseph McCarthy's witch hunts included searching for homosexuals in the early 1950s, blacklisting actors who might have had even an affiliation with known or suspected gay actors and actresses; the FBI under J. Edgar Hoover was discovered to have been obsessed about locating the secret lives of many left-leaning, supposedly communist-sympathizing Americans.[51] Adding to that experience of marginalization, racial politics and especially anti-Latino sentiment across the United States hardly encouraged honesty or open declarations. Despite such marginalization and erasure from the larger historical picture, Latinas/os played a role in the nascent gay liberation movements that were forming and founded.[52] The summer of 1969 ushered in a new perspective on sexuality for gays and lesbians. On June 28, 1969, a group of gay and lesbians, many of them Latina/o and of color, rebelled against police harassment at the Stonewall Inn in Greenwich Village in New York City.[53] During the Stonewall riots and in its aftermath, several Latina/o activists were critical players in forming the vocabulary and understanding of what was to become the "gay liberation" movement.[54] Before the Stonewall riots, many of the queer political movements were limited to organizations such as the Mattachine Society and Daughters of Bilitis and were focused primarily on fighting discrimination.[55] These organizations believed in assimilation over marginalization and difference, but the agenda of these groups emphasized Anglo-American values, middle-class interests, and the desire to blend in with mainstream society, despite the fact that each group contained gays and lesbians of color.[56]

---

[49] For sensationalizing media coverage of early gay rights marches, see as examples, Sex and Love Editor, "Will the gay rights movement make for fabulous history?" *Creative Loafing*, July 25, 2011, http://cltampa.com/dailyloaf/archives/2011/07/25/will-the-gay-rights-movement-make-for-fabulous-history or for primary sources designed to develop lesson plans for gay and lesbian studies, see Media Construction of Social Justice, Teacher's Guide, Unit 7: Gay Liberation at http://www.projectlooksharp.org/?action=justice.

[50] See Springate, Civil Rights (this volume).

[51] Anthony Summers, *Official and Confidential: The Secret Life of J. Edgar Hoover* (New York: Putnam, 1993).

[52] Tim Retzloff, "Eliding Trans Latino/a Queer Experience in U.S. LGBT History: José Sarria and Sylvia Rivera Reexamined," *CENTRO: Journal of the Center for Puerto Rican Studies* 19, no. 1 (Spring 2007): 140-161.

[53] Stonewall, including the Stonewall Inn (51-53 Christopher Street, New York City, New York) and the area in the street and Christopher Park where the riots took place was added to the NRHP on June 28, 1999, designated an NHL on February 16, 2000, and declared the Stonewall National Monument on June 24, 2016.

Despite the Anglo, middle-class values of the earliest LGBTQ or Queer movements, some Latino activists clearly and cleverly resisted the assimilationist models that predominated a pre-civil rights era. In San Francisco, for example, José Sarria rejected the secrecy of the Mattachine Society and founded instead the League for Civil Education in 1960, which sought to educate queer and straight

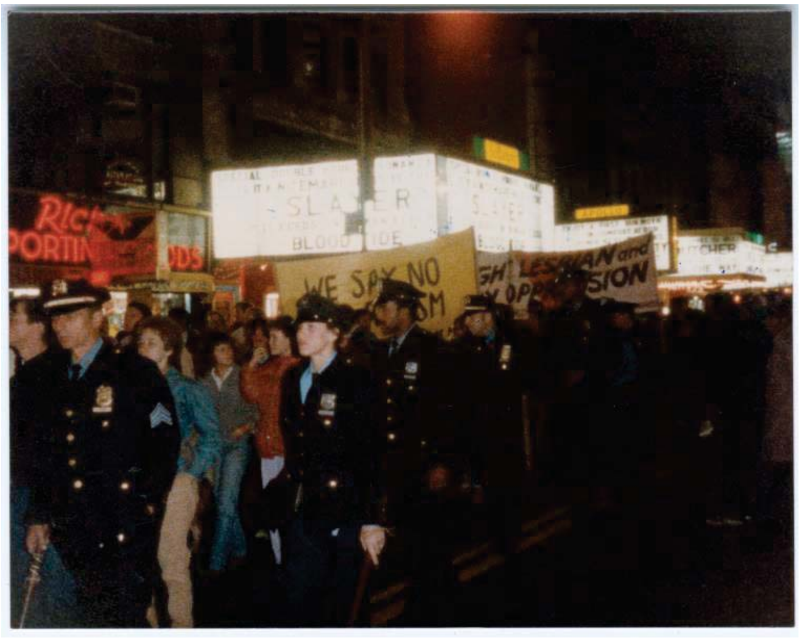


Figure 9: Police harassment of LGBTQ bars was not limited to the 1950s and 1960s. In October of 1982, a series of violent and homophobic police raids at Blue's, a historically black and Latino gay bar in Times Square, resulted in a protest by over eleven hundred people. No one was charged in the raids, which were part of a pattern of harassment of gays and people of color. Blue's was located at 264 West 43rd Street, New York City, New York. Photo in the collections of the New York Public Library (b11686548), courtesy of the LGBT Community Center National History Archive.

---

[54] See Martin Duberman's account of the Stonewall riots in his book, *Stonewall* (New York: Dutton, 1993).

[55] Harry Hay, *Radically Gay: Gay Liberation in the Words of its Founder,* ed. Will Roscoe (Boston: Beacon Press, 1996); Kristen Esterberg, "From Accommodation to Liberation: A Social Movement Analysis of Lesbians in the Homophile Movement," *Gender and Society* 8, no. 3 (September 1994): 424- 443.

[56] See also Sueyoshi and Harris (this volume).

communities about homophobia and especially police abuse.[57] The group worked to find a solution to the police raids of gay bars and harassment that was pervasive at the time (Figure 9). Sarria would move on and subsequently founded the Royal Court System in 1965, which now serves as the collective body for over sixty-five local chapters worldwide, each of which organizes drag-related fundraisers for queer charities.

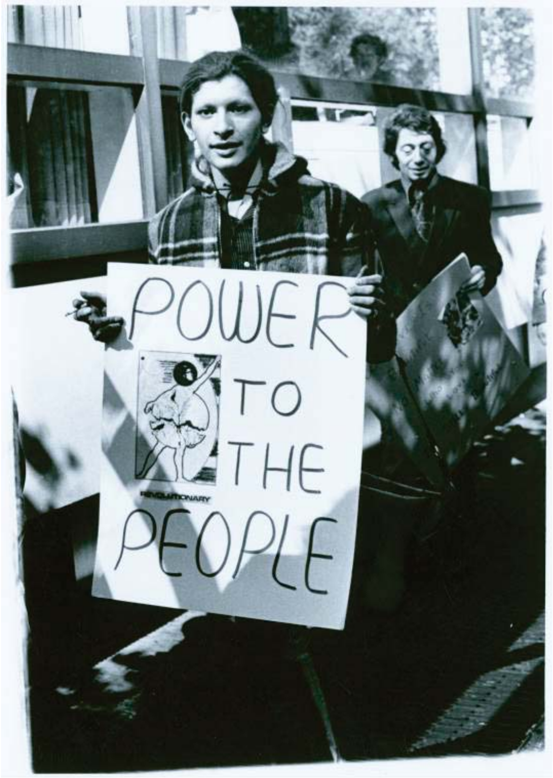


Figure 10: Sylvia Rivera was among the Gay Liberation Front and members of the Gay Student Liberation group who demonstrated in 1970 outside New York University's Weinstein Hall after the university cancelled and then refused to allow gay dances on campus. Other protesters simultaneously occupied the basement of the building. Protesters dispersed when the Tactical Police Force arrived. Frustrated by the refusal of the group to defend itself against the police, Rivera and others formed the more radical Street Transvestites for Gay Power, later to become the Street Transvestites Action Revolutionaries. Weinstein Hall is located at 5 University Place, New York City, New York. Photo by Diana Davies, courtesy of the New York Public Library (Diana Davies Photographs, b14442517).[58]

Latina Sylvia Rivera was born Ray Rivera in New York City to Puerto Rican and Venezuelan parents, and took the name Sylvia while still a child. Rivera was present at Stonewall during the 1969 Stonewall Riots. Told through testimony, Rivera purportedly threw out one of the first bricks at the police during the riot.[59] She also played an important role in the organization of other queer organizations, among them the Gay Liberation Front (GLF) and another offshoot of the GLF, called the Gay

---

[57] Sarria performed drag at the Black Cat Club, 710 Montgomery Street, San Francisco, California. It was from the Black Cat that he launched his 1961 campaign for a seat on the San Francisco Board of Supervisors—the first time an openly gay person ran for elected office. The Black Cat Club location is a contributing resource to the Jackson Square Historic District, added to the NRHP on November 18, 1971.

[58] Greenwich Village History, "An Army of Lovers Cannot Lose: The Occupation of NYU's Weinstein Hall," https://greenwichvillagehistory.wordpress.com/tag/weinstein-hall/

[59] Sylvia Rivera, "Sylvia Rivera's Talk at LGMNY, June 2001, Lesbian and Gay Community Services Center, New York City," *CENTRO: Journal of the Center for Puerto Rican Studies* 19, no. 1 (Spring 2007): 116-123.

Activists Alliance (GAA) (Figure 10). These organizations were active primarily from 1970 to 1974 and included Latino/as. Rivera would also move on to co-found, with Marsha P. Johnson, the Street Transvestite Action Revolutionaries (STAR), which focused on providing social services to those we would now identify as transgender and queer youth, and to offer a safe space for transgender political voices to speak.

In response to many instances of erasure and lack of consideration, many Latina/o queers began setting up their own representational organizations such as the Third World Gay Revolution in New York the Gay Liberated Chicanos of Los Angeles, or the Gay Latino Alliance (GALA) of San Francisco (Figure 11). In yet another example of representational political efforts, a New York-based Latino gay men's group, described as a coalitional group from several countries in Latin America, published a pamphlet in Spanish, *AFUERA* ("Out").[61] Focused on the politics of "coming out," the booklet examined leftist ideas drawing from Third World liberation, Marxist thought, and challenged patriarchy, as one scholar of Latino gay rights notes.[62] In 1974 in Puerto Rico, inspired by the 1969 Stonewall Riots, LGBTQ Puerto Ricans

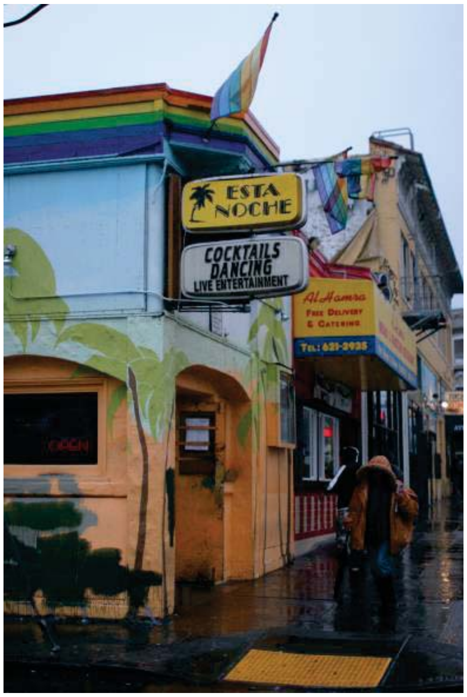


Figure 11: Esta Noche, the first gay Latino bar in San Francisco, was located at 3079 Sixteenth Street. The bar was founded in 1979 by openly gay community members Anthony Lopez and Manuel Quijano and initially had close ties with the Gay Latino Alliance (GALA). Esta Noche was a safe place for LGBTQ Latinos/as to meet, socialize, and form community. Like other people of color, Latinos/as often experienced racism and discrimination at predominantly white bars and clubs. The group, Gay American Indians, also founded in response to discrimination in white LGBTQ spaces, often met at Esta Noche. The bar closed in 2014. Photo by Sean Hoyer, 2008.[60]

---

[60] License: CC BY-NC 2.0. https://www.flickr.com/photos/flavor32/2283576978

[61] Darren Rosenblum, "Queer Political Movements," in the *Oxford Encyclopedia of Latinos and Latinas in Contemporary Politics, Law, and Social Movements*, eds. Suzanne Oboler and Deena J. González. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2015).

[62] Darren Rosenblum, "Queer Intersectionality and the Failure of Recent Lesbian and Gay 'Victories,'" *Law and Sexuality* 83 (1994), online at http://digitalcommons.pace.edu/lawfaculty/210/.

founded the Comunidad de Orgullo Gay de Puerto Rico (Figure 12). They published *Pa'fuera!* and offered educational and community services out of the second floor space in a residential neighborhood.[63] Of major significance to the coming out process were the public events and social celebrations such as parades, pageants, and political activism. Understanding that "coming out" and public visibility were important to LGBTQ rights, organizations such as Comité Homosexual Latinoamericano, or the Latin American Homosexual Committee attempted to march in New York's annual Puerto Rican Day Parade (Figure 13). Denied participation, activists were successful in drawing attention to gay realities in Puerto Rican communities, a move that one scholar believes presaged later battles over St. Patrick's Day Parades which ended in the United States Supreme Court.[64]

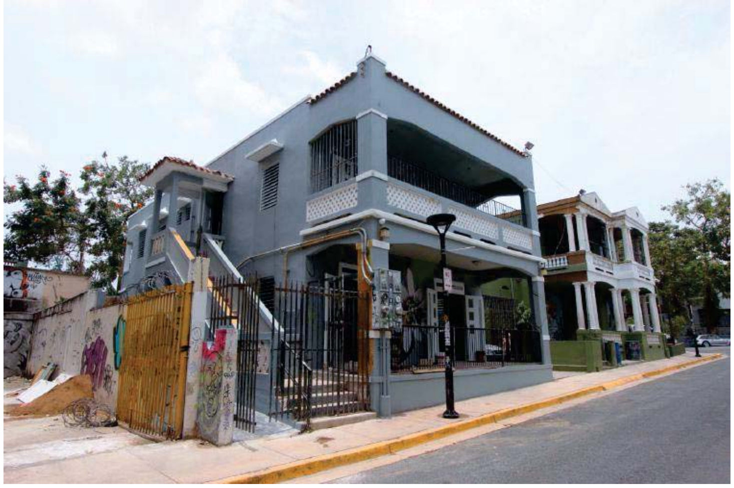


Figure 12: The Edificio Comunidad de Orgullo Gay de Puerto Rico (Casa Orgullo), at 3 Saldaña Street, San Juan, Puerto Rico, was the home of the Comunidad de Orgullo Gay de Puerto Rico. Inspired by the Stonewall Riots in New York City, the group was founded in 1974, and was Puerto Rico's first gay liberation organization. They occupied this building from 1975 to 1976. Casa Orgullo was listed on the NRHP on May 1, 2016. Photo by Santiago Gala, 2015, courtesy of the Puerto Rico State Historic Preservation Office.

---

[63] The Comunidad de Orgullo Gay de Puerto Rico was founded on August 4, 1974 at a meeting held at the San Juan Unitarian Fellowship, 53 Sevilla Street, San Juan, Puerto Rico. In 1975, they rented their own space, the Edificio Comunidad de Orgullo Gay de Puerto Rico (Casa Orgullo) at 3 Calle Saldaña, San Juan, Puerto Rico. The group lasted until 1976.

[64] Hurley v. Irish-American Gay, Lesbian, and Bisexual Group of Boston, 515 U.S. 557 (1995), is a landmark decision regarding the right to assemble. Much to the dismay of gay rights groups, the court ruled that private organizations, even if they were planning on and had permits for a public demonstration, were permitted to exclude groups if those groups presented a message contrary to the one the organizing group wanted to convey. Organizers of the St. Patrick's Day event were under no obligation to include gays, lesbians, and transgender people in the annual parade. In 2015, LGBTQ people were allowed to march in St. Patrick's Day parades in Boston, Massachusetts and New York City, New York for the first time. See David Gibson, "Catholic Debate over Gays in St. Patrick's Parades Roils Irish on Big Day," *Huffington Post*, March 17, 2015, http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2015/03/17/st-patrick-day-parade-lgbt_n_6880892.html.

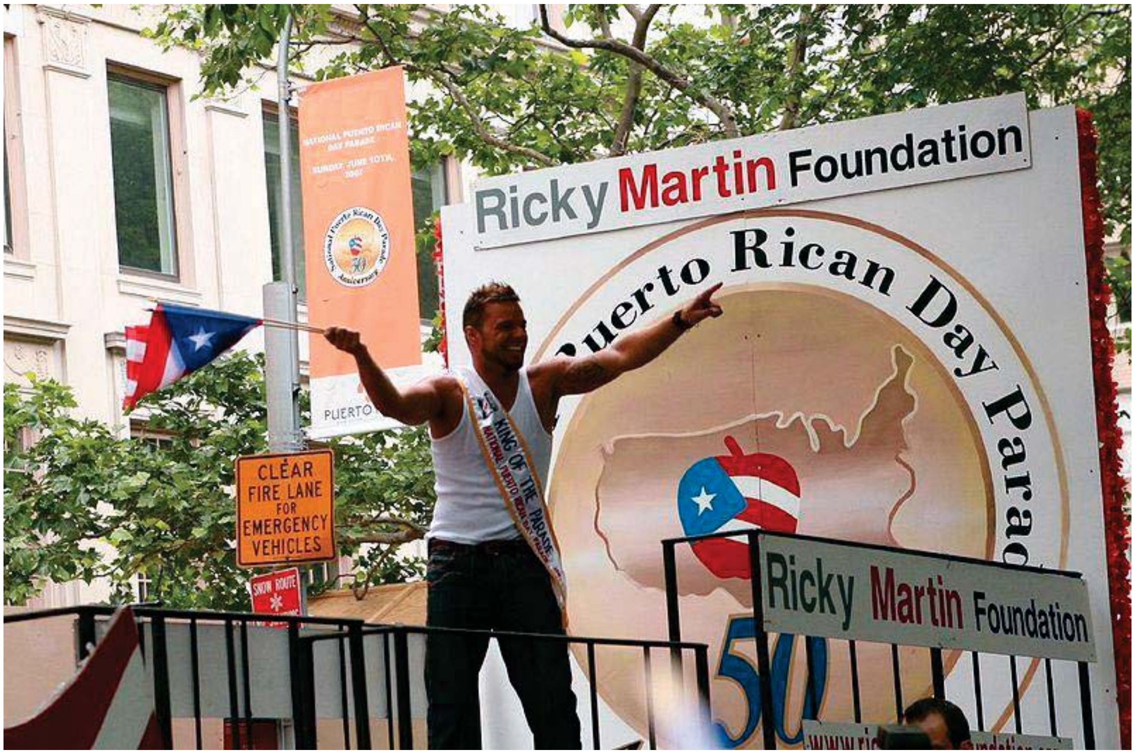

Ricky Martin Foundation
Puerto Rican Day Parade
50
CLEAR FIRE LANE FOR EMERGENCY VEHICLES
SNOW ROUTE
KING OF THE PARADE
Ricky Martin Foundation

Figure 13: Long the subject of rumor about his sexuality, Puerto Rican superstar singer Ricky Martin came out on his website in 2010. He is the father of twin boys, who were born to a surrogate mother. This photo shows him in the 2007 National Puerto Rican Day Parade in New York City. Photo by Brian.[65]

Sexuality, Gender, and Representation

Many issues have come to impact the LGBTQ communities regarding access and adequate care and representation. One of the most difficult aspects of being "out" is the working through the homophobic attitudes against LGBTQ people. They often have faced discrimination in legal matters, and life-threatening decisions in areas of health care and immigration. These concerns over homophobia in the legal system became the basis of many legal disputes with cases related to child custody, immigration, and survivor benefits. Mariana Romo-Carmona underwent such legal battle over the custody of her son, she notes

---

[65] License: CC BY-SA 2.0. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Ricky_Martin_at_the_National_Puerto_Rican_Day_Parade.jpg

"Sometimes our own families act in collusion with the state to deprive us of the right to raise our own children."[66]

Issues with immigration also surfaced as lesbian or bisexual and transsexual women seeking asylum in to the United States have been denied entry. Ironically, many LGBTQ people were among the thousands of Cubans allowed to come to the United States as part of the Marielito boatlift, sent out of Cuba as the nation drained the undesirables.[67] Until recently, immigration laws have generally excluded LGBTQ people from entering the United States and other nations also do not offer considerations for LGBTQ refugees. It has only been since the 2015 Supreme Court decision regarding same-sex marriage that spouses of LGBTQ people have been eligible for immigration privileges and death benefits. Elba Cedeno's life partner was killed in the World Trade Center attacks on September 11, 2001.[68] Her efforts to access survivor benefits from the Federal Victim's Compensation Fund were denied. After denial of her claims, she sought representation from the Lambda Legal Defense Fund.[69]

Homophobia in one of the largest industries in the United States, health care, discourages gays, lesbians, bisexual, and transgender people from access to adequate medical care. This is exacerbated by cultural and financial barriers that discourage Latino/as in general from seeking health care.[70] While some changes in the health care industry have developed, like increasingly noting sexual preference and preferred name and gender pronouns in a chart so that accurate information can be conveyed, health care in the United States continues to practice heteronormativity. Suzanne Newman, producer of *Nuestra Salud*, discusses lesbian health issues. Newman notes, "Many Latinas believe that you only go to the OB-GYN when you're sick or dying … And that when you do go, you always get bad news."[71]

---

[66] Juanita Ramos, *Compañeras: Latina Lesbians (An Anthology)* (New York: Latina Lesbian History Project, 1987), xxvii. See also Stein (this volume).

[67] See Capó (this volume).

[68] The seven buildings of the World Trade Center were located in Lower Manhattan, New York City. They were destroyed by terrorist attacks on September 11, 2001.

[69] See Barbara Raab, "Same-Sex Partners Face Discrimination," *NBC News*, December 20, 2011, http://tampabaycoalition.homestead.com/files/1220SameSexPartnersFaceDiscrimination911.htm (web page no longer online, see archived link at https://web.archive.org/web/20051227141702/http://tampabaycoalition.homestead.com/files/1220SameSexPartnersFaceDiscrimination911.htm).

[70] See, for example, Jennifer Kates, Usha Ranji, Adara Beamesderfer, Alina Salganicoff, and Lindsey Dawson, "Health and Access to Care and Coverage for Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender Individuals in the U.S.," Kaiser Family Foundation website, last updated June 6, 2016, http://kff.org/disparities-policy/issue-brief/health-and-access-to-care-and-coverage-for-lesbian-gay-bisexual-and-transgender-individuals-in-the-u-s; and Amanda Machado, "Why Many Latinos Dread Going to the Doctor," *Atlantic*, May 7, 2014,

Conclusion: Contemporary Sites of Political Organizing

Latina lesbian organizations that emerged during the 1990s and later included Latina Lesbians United Never Apart (LLUNA, Boston); Ellas en Acción (San Francisco); Las Buenas Amigas (New York City); Entre Ellas (Austin, Texas); and Amigas Latinas (Chicago). Chicago LGBTQ activists are often overlooked by LGBTQ historians, but a number of notables can be found in the Chicago Gay and Lesbian Hall of Fame, including Latinas Mona Noriega and Evette Cardona.[72] Latino/a LGBTQ organizations more broadly are increasingly found across the country, including the Association of Latinos/as Motivating Action (ALMA) in Chicago; Latino LinQ in Atlanta; the Austin Latina/Latino Lesbian and Gay Organization (ALLGO) in Austin; the Latino Pride Center in New York City; AGUILAS in San Francisco; the Unity Coalition in Florida; and from 1987 to 2004, the National Latino/a Lesbian and Gay Organization (LLEGÓ).[73] The Latino

---

http://www.theatlantic.com/health/archive/2014/05/why-many-latinos-dread-going-to-the-doctor/361547.

[71] *Nuestra Salud: Lesbianas Latinas Rompiendo Barreras (Our Health: Latina Lesbians Breaking Barriers)*, directed by Teresa Cuadra and Suzanne Newman (Brooklyn, NY: Fan Light Productions, 2002).

[72] See the Chicago Gay and Lesbian Hall of Fame website at http://www.glhalloffame.org.

[73] ALMA is located at 3656 North Halsted Street, Chicago, Illinois. ALLGO was founded in 1985 and is currently located at 701 Tillery Street, Austin, Texas. The Latino Pride Center, founded in 2013 is an evolution of the Hispanic AIDS Forum, the first Latino organization in the United States established to fight HIV/AIDS, itself founded in 1983; they are currently located in East Harlem, New York City, New York. AGUILAS was founded in 1991, and met in people's homes until early 1992, when they began regular meetings at St. Francis Lutheran Church, 152 Church Street, San Francisco, California; they are currently located at the San Francisco LGBT Center, 1800 Market Street, San Francisco, California. The Unity Coalition/Coalicion Unida was founded in 2002. LLEGÓ was founded in 1987

GLBT History Project works to preserve LGBTQ Latina/o history (Figure 14).[74]

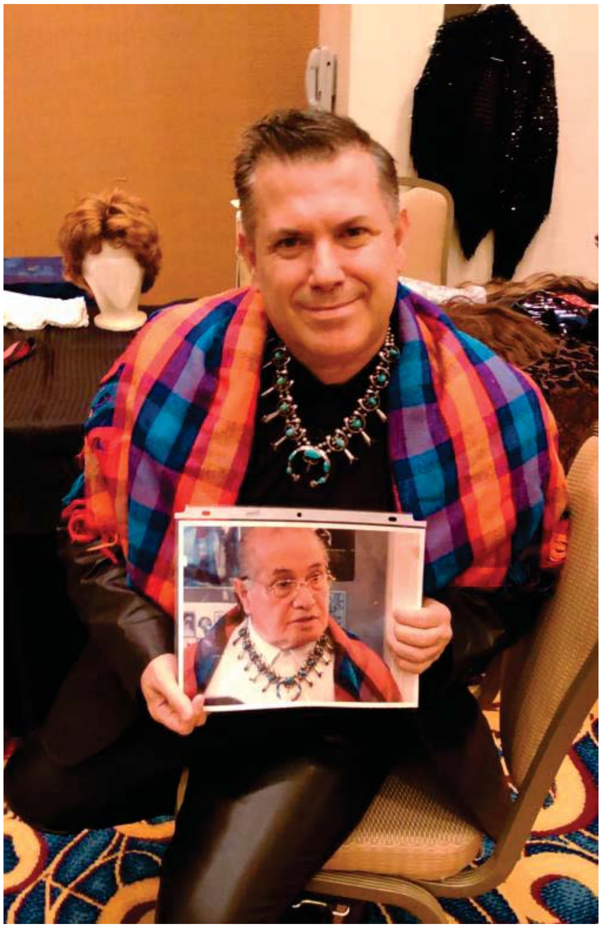


Figure 14: José Gutierrez wearing a shawl and Native American blossom necklace that once belonged to José Sarria (shown wearing both in the photo held by Gutierrez). Gutierrez organized the first DC Latino Pride, "20 Years of Struggle – 20 Años de Lucha" in 2006, which included a panel discussion at the Human Rights Campaign offices. He also was a founder of the Latino GLBT History Project in 2000 (www.latinoglbthistory.org). This photo was taken at the Coronation of the Imperial Court of Washington, DC – one of the chapters of the Imperial Court System founded by Sarria in 1965. The Human Rights Campaign offices are located at 1640 Rhode Island Avenue NW, Washington, DC. Photo courtesy of Jose Gutierrez.

Lesbians have made significant inroads in local community politics and serve social justice causes in critical ways. In San Antonio, Texas, Graciela Sánchez and a group of young feminists with visions of ending discrimination founded the Esperanza Peace and Justice Center (Figure 15). When homophobic interests sought to cut the center's funding, Esperanza sued and won.[75] In Los Angeles, attorney and housing advocate Elena Popp helped elect Antonio Villaraigosa to a seat on the Los Angeles City Council. She was expected to run for lesbian Jackie Goldberg's seat in the California State Senate. In Washington, DC, attorney Mercedes Marquez served as deputy general

---

during the National March for Lesbian and Gay Rights in Washington, DC, and had their headquarters in DC. See "National Latino/a Lesbian and Gay Organization (LLEGÓ) Records, 1987-2004," Texas Archival Resources Online, University of Texas Libraries website, http://www.lib.utexas.edu/taro/utlac/00273/lac-00273.html; and Patrick Saunders, "New organization tackles Latino LGBT needs in Georgia," *Georgia Voice*, August 21, 2015, http://thegavoice.com/new-organization-tackles-latino-lgbt-needs-in-georgia.

[74] The Latino GLBT History Project was founded in Washington, DC, by Jose Gutierrez in 2000. See the organization's website at http://www.latinoglbthistory.org.

[75] See Esperanza vs. the City of San Antonio at http://esperanzacenter.org. The Esperanza Peace & Justice Center is located at 922 San Pedro Avenue, San Antonio, Texas.

counsel for fair housing at the US Department of Housing and Urban Development. In 1993, with the help of Ellas in Acción, Susan Leal was appointed to the San Francisco Board of Supervisors. Olga Vives, a Cubana, served as vice president of action for the National Organization for Women (NOW) until her death in 2012. She said that in NOW she could focus on a mix of issues that affected her life as a "Latina, immigrant, mother, and lesbian from the Midwest."[76] Ingrid Durán works in the national political arena through the Congressional Hispanic Caucus Institute. She has served as a social justice broker and change agent, mitigating homophobia in Latina/Latino political organizations and countering racism in LGBTQ organizations.[77]

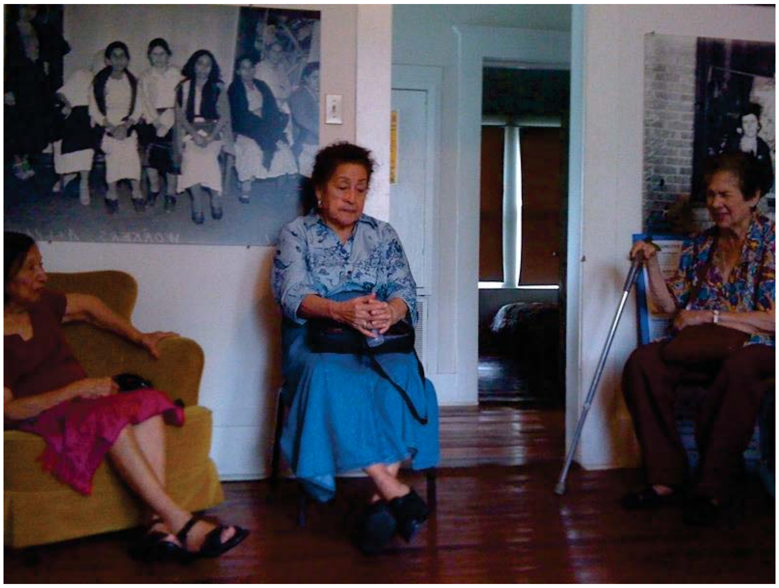


Figure 15: Women sharing their stories of San Antonio at the Esperanza Peace & Justice Center, 2010. Photo by Jennifer Herrera.[78]

Other rich forms of activism manifest in lesbian and feminist cultural representations. During the 1990s, Tatiana de la Tierra, a Colombian writer, activist, and librarian (now deceased), published three Latina lesbian magazines: *Conmoción*, *Esto No Tiene Nombre*, and *Telaraña*.[79] In Los Angeles, Tongues is a Latina lesbian group and publication that grew out of VIVA, a 1980s LGBTQ Latina/Latino arts group. Members included artist Alma López, whose controversial re-imagination of Our Lady caused a furor in New Mexico in 2001.[80] MACHA Theatre (Mujeres Advancing Culture, History, and Art), led by Cuban American Odalys Nanin, produces plays with lesbian content.[81] Laura Aguilar is a Los Angeles-based Chicana photographer whose images examine body image and cultural identity.[82] A long list of Latina and Latino LGBTQ writers, activists, and other notables can be found on the Lesbian History Project Web site thereby suggesting how enduring this legacy of both activism and presence or visibility has been, but also what a leading role in gender and sexuality studies such writers and researchers, artists, and others have played in deriving contemporary feminist standing, including among gay Latino men as well as heterosexual allies.

---

[76] Vives passed away in March 2012. See "In Memoriam: Olga Vives," National Organization for Women website, March 19, 2012, http://www.now.org/history/vives-memoriam.html, (web page no longer online, see archived web link at https://web.archive.org/web/20131011091857/http://www.now.org/history/vives-memoriam.html).

[77] For examples of Ingrid Duran's work in Washington and with elected officials, see http://www.dpcreativestrategies.com/#!ingrid-duran/w83no.

[78] License: CC BY-NC 2.0. https://www.flickr.com/photos/jennherrera/4759590950

[79] A previous website could be found at http://delatierra.net.

Many theories today argue that the hegemonic narratives of identity politics (said to be grounded in nationalist or religious identities) are an essentialist error, but some Latina lesbians argue that identity politics have been their survival strategy. In other words, possessing an identity politics grounded on gender and sexuality allows a person to sustain a strong politics of identity. Emma Pérez has written that "strategic essentialism is practiced resistance against dominant ideologies that silence and/or model marginalized groups."[83] Regardless of theoretical and political disruptions, straight, lesbian, and bisexual Latina feminists who began exploring gender and sexuality as important elements of their human condition maintained a standpoint of resistant consciousness and created important movements of interaction with familia, cultura, and the larger society. For a unique moment, historically speaking, such consciousness existed apart from patriarchal reach or male visions of women's proper roles. In this way, the new Latina feminisms of the contemporary era also shed light on men's gender roles and encourage their re-examination as well. Such accomplishment attests to the significance of an understanding about the varied, central roles gender and sexuality have played in Latino/a life.[i]

---

[80] See Alicia Gaspar de Alba and Alma López, eds., *Our Lady of Controversy: Alma López's "Irreverent Apparition"* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2011). On the earlier Chicana re-configurations of the Virgen de Guadalupe, see the work of the artist, Yolanda López, in Karen Mary Davalos, *Yolanda López* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2009).
[81] See the MACHA Theatre website at http://www.machatheatre.org.
[82] Luz Calvo, "Embodied at the Shrine of Cultural Disjunction," in *Beyond the Frame: Women of Color and Visual Representation*, eds. Neferti X.M. Tadiar and Angela Y. Davis (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2005). On the Lesbian History Project, see the Latino LGBT History Project website at http://www.latinoglbthistory.org/about-the-archive.
[83] Emma Pérez, *The Decolonial Imaginary: Writing Chicanas into History* (Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1999), 105.

---

[i] Additional resources used in preparing this chapter: Gloria Anzaldúa, *Borderlands/La Frontera: The New Mestiza* (San Francisco: Spinsters/Aunt Lute, 1987); Anzaldúa, *The Gloria Anzaldúa Reader,* ed. Ana Louise Keating (Durham: Duke University Press, 2009); Luis Aponte-Parés and Jorge Merced, "Páginas Omitidas: The Gay and Lesbian Presence" in *The Puerto Rican Movement: Voices from the Diaspora*, eds. Andrés Torres and Jose Velá (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1998); Emilio Bejel, *Gay Cuban Nation* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001); Combahee River Collective, "The Combahee River Collective Statement," in *Homegirls: A Black Feminist Anthology*, ed. Barbara Smith (New York: Kitchen Table: Women of Color Press, 1983); Tatiana de la Tierra, *Para las duras/For the Hard Ones: A Lesbian Phenomenology* (San Diego: Calaca, 2002); Terence Kissack, "Freaking Fag Revolutionaries: New York's Gay Liberation Front," *Radical History Review* 62 (1995): 105-134; Lawrence La Fountain-Stokes, *Queer Ricans: Cultures and Sexualities in the Diaspora* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 2009); La Fountain-Stokes, "De un pájaro las dos alas: Travel Notes of a Queer Puerto Rican in Havana," *GLQ: A Journal of Lesbian and Gay Studies* 8, no. 1-2 (2002): 7-33; Yolanda Chávez Leyva, "Listening to the Silences in Latina/Chicana Lesbian History," in *Living Chicana Theory*, ed. Carla Trujillo (Berkeley, CA: Third Woman Press, 1998), 429-434; Jacqueline M. Martinez, *Phenomenology of Chicana Experience and Identity: Communication and Transformation in Practice* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2000); Cherrie Moraga and Gloria Anzaldúa, *This Bridge Called My Back: Writings by Radical Women of Color* (Watertown, MA: Persephone Press, 1981); José Esteban Muñoz, *Cruising Utopia: The Then and There of Queer Futurity* (New York: New York University Press, 2009); Muñoz, *Disidentifications: Queers of Color and the Performance of Politics* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 1999); Emma Pérez, "Irigaray's Female Symbolic in the Making of Chicana Lesbian Sitios y Lenguas (Sites and Discourses)," in *The Lesbian Postmodern*, ed. Laura Doan (New York: Columbia University Press, 1994); Yolanda Retter, "Identity Development of Lifelong vs. Catalyzed Latina Lesbians," master's thesis, School of Social Work, University of California, Los Angeles, 1987; Juana Maria Rodríguez, *Queer Latinidad: Identity Practices, Discursive Spaces* (New York: New York University Press, 2003); Richard T. Rodríguez, *Next of Kin: The Family in Chicano/a Cultural Politics* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2009); Horacio Roque Ramírez, "'That's my Place': Negotiating Racial, Sexual, and Gender Politics in San Francisco's Gay Latino Alliance (GALA), 1975-1983," *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 12, no. 3 (2003): 224-258; Yvette Saavedra with Deena J. González, "Latino/Latina Americans and LGBTQ Issues," in *LGBTQ America Today: An Encyclopedia,* ed. John C. Hawley (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2009); Eve Sedgwick, *Touching Feeling: Affect, Pedagogy, and Performativity* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2003); Carla Trujillo, *Chicana Lesbians: The Girls Our Mothers Warned Us About* (Berkeley, CA: Third Woman Press, 1991); Antonia Villaseñor, "Latina Lesbians," in *The Reader's Companion to U.S. Women's History,* ed. Wilma Pearl Mankiller (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1998), 340; Antonio Viego, *Dead Subjects: Toward a Politics of Loss in Latino Studies* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2007).

13

“WHERE WE COULD BE OURSELVES”: AFRICAN AMERICAN LGBTQ HISTORIC PLACES AND WHY THEY MATTER

Jeffrey A. Harris

Introduction

My first forays into African American LGBTQ history were purely for self-edification. As an out African American man, I sought out whatever information I could find, from novels, to anthologies, to biographies, to documentaries. In many ways, I was looking for a sense of community, and a sense of belonging as an LGBTQ African American through the information I sought. Yet, it wasn’t until I started working in historic preservation that I began asking different questions, and seeking new information. Though I began my work in history by following the traditional academic path, historic preservation proved to be a revelation for me. I began to understand more fully the power and importance of visiting historic places. I took note of the impact on people that historic sites had. I also saw how academic history and historic preservation could work in tandem to broaden our overall understanding of the past.

I remember visiting Montpelier, the home of our fourth president, James Madison, and I had something of an epiphany.[1] As a docent conducted our tour of the grounds, she spoke of the praise the Madison family received regarding the beauty of their estate. As I looked toward the mountains in the distance, and did a visual sweep of the manicured lawns, I turned around and looked at the home itself (it was in the midst of a major renovation at that time). Then, it hit me, as though I was struck by lightning, that everything I was taking in had been the work of the enslaved Africans who were owned by the Madison family. I understood that the praise the docent mentioned earlier needed to be directed toward those who actually did the work to make Montpelier beautiful. I began to swell with pride at THEIR work. I looked at my surroundings again, imagining what it would have looked like back when James and Dolley Madison were living, and I felt a sense of ownership of Montpelier on behalf of those who were forced to work there, and on behalf of the descendants of those who worked there. I realized, for myself, that there was no need to feel shame over slavery, something that many people do feel (along with anger and sadness). Instead, I offered congratulations, silently, to those spirits who did that work, and did it well. If no one in their lives offered genuine thanks for THEIR work, I wanted to do it those many years later, and I did.

I shared that anecdote, because I wanted to convey the impact that visiting an historic site can have on a person. I felt a similar sense of pride, when I moved to the Logan Circle neighborhood of Washington, DC, in the mid-2000s.[2] Occasionally, I would walk around the surrounding neighborhoods looking for the residences of noted African Americans, and

---

[1] Montpelier, near Orange, Virginia, was added to the NRHP on October 15, 1966 and designated an NHL on December 19, 1960.

[2] There are two historic districts in the Logan Circle neighborhood: the Logan Circle Historic District was added to the NRHP on June 30, 1972; the Fourteenth Street Historic District was added to the NRHP on November 9, 1994.

I took special care to look for the homes of African American LGBTQ Washington residents. I hoped to build on the legacies that they left behind, because I was following in their footsteps. That is why I accepted the opportunity to participate in this LGBTQ theme study. I recognized the deep need for the African American LGBTQ community not only to know where our predecessors made their history, but also to identify places that are still available for us to visit, even if that visit constitutes standing outside of a door, or driving by a building where something incredible happened. And it certainly is important for historic places associated with African American LGBTQ history to be recognized as places worthy of inclusion on the National Register of Historic Places (NRHP).

Though I will focus more attention on some of these historic sites within the body of this study, I wanted to share a partial list of the few African American LGBTQ-related historic sites that either are National Historic Landmarks (NHL) or are currently listed on the NRHP. Two NHL sites that have African American LGBTQ historic relevance are: The residence of writer Claude McKay in Harlem, New York, and Villa Lewaro, the estate of Madame C. J. Walker, the hair straightening and beauty products magnate, and her daughter, A'Lelia, in Irvington-on-Hudson, New York.[3] Six sites on the NRHP that have African American LGBTQ historic relevance include: The residence of writer Langston Hughes, the Apollo Theater in Harlem, the apartment complex where Countee Cullen lived (the Dunbar Apartments), as well as the residence of civil and LGBTQ rights activist Bayard Rustin, all of which are in New York City; the residence of Gertrude "Ma" Rainey in Columbus, Georgia; and Azurest South, the Petersburg, Virginia home of architect Amaza Lee Meredith.[4] Of these, only the Bayard Rustin site has as express African American LGBTQ narrative highlighted in its nomination. Of course, as scholars and researchers discover new information, or revisit existing information and find missed LGBTQ context clues, then the number of these sites will grow.[5]

---

[3] The Claude McKay Residence (Harlem YMCA) at 180 West 135th Street, New York City, New York was listed on the NRHP and designated an NHL on December 8, 1976. Villa Lewaro is located on North Broadway (US 9), Irvington, New York. It was added to the NRHP and designated an NHL on May 11, 1976.

[4] The Apollo Theater is located at 253 West 125th Street, New York City, New York. It was added to the NRHP on November 17, 1983. The Langston Hughes House in Harlem, New York was listed on the NRHP on October 29, 1982. The Dunbar Apartments in the Harlem neighborhood of New York City, New York were listed on the NRHP on March 29, 1979. The Bayard Rustin Residence in the Chelsea neighborhood of New York City was added to the NRHP on March 8, 2016. The Ma Rainey House (now the Ma Rainey House and Blues Museum) is located at 805 Fifth Avenue, Columbus, Georgia; it was

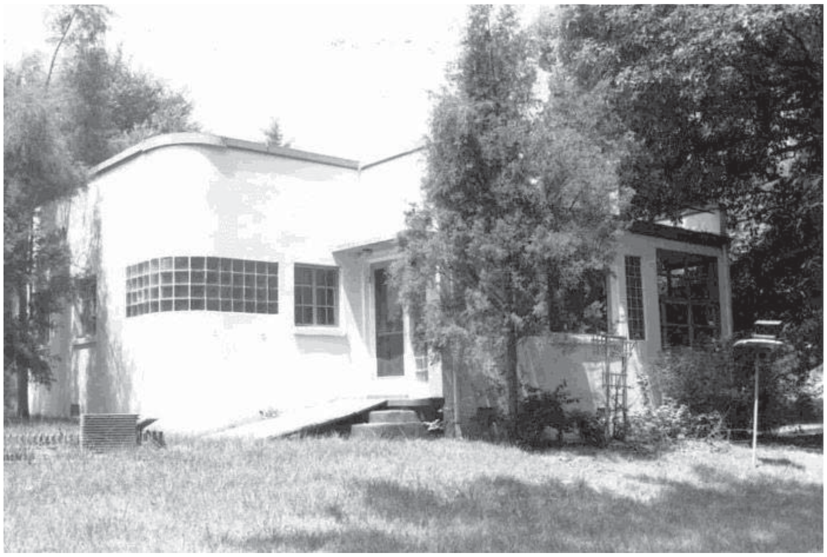


Figure 1: Azurest South, Ettrick, Virginia, 1987. Courtesy of the Virginia Department of Historic Resources.

It was during my tenure as program coordinator of the African American Historic Places Initiative at the National Trust for Historic Preservation that I learned of Azurest South (Figure 1). Located on the campus of Virginia State University, a historically black university, Azurest South was the home of architect Amaza Lee Meredith. The home itself, completed in 1939, is an example of the International Style in architecture, and Meredith was, at that time, one of the nation's few African American female architects. Though trained as a teacher, Meredith explored her artistic expression through architecture, and she designed homes for family and friends. Meredith also dabbled in real estate development, with the creation of Azurest North, an African American resort community in Sag Harbor, New York. Azurest South was listed on the NRHP in 1993, particularly for its architectural distinction. However, as I read through the National Register nomination, I noticed that Dr. Edna Meade Colson, a former dean of the university's School of Education, was identified as

---

added to the NRHP on November 18, 1992. Azurest South, at 2900 Boisseau Street, Ettrick, Virginia, was added to the NRHP on December 30, 1993.

[5] For a list of the ten LGBTQ-associated properties currently listed on the NRHP and designated NHLs, see Springate, Introduction (this volume).

Meredith’s “companion.” The nomination also provided a description of the second bedroom in the home, a room identified as Dr. Colson’s. Meredith preceded Colson in death, and in the two years before Colson passed away, the university co-owned Azurest South with Colson.[6] It was clear to me that I’d stumbled upon an African American LGBTQ historic place that was listed on the NRHP, but wasn’t identified expressly as such. Meredith and Colson likely did not live in a LGBTQ vacuum, meaning that there likely was a LGBTQ community at Virginia State, no matter how clandestine it may have been, to which they belonged. But at Azurest South, they were able to create a space where they could be themselves.

Purpose of the Chapter

This chapter is part of a longstanding effort to identify African American historic places that should be considered for listing on the NRHP. But it is, more specifically, an examination of African American historic places that are directly related to the African American LGBTQ experience. The historic places that will be highlighted are currently are listed on the National Register, but without specific mention of their LGBTQ historical ties, unlisted historic places that are extant, and African American LGBTQ historic places that have been lost. As Gail Dubrow, author of “Deviant History, Defiant Heritage” notes, there are those who view sexual orientation as a private matter: “Corollary thinking suggests that we have no business ‘outing’ closeted gay people and that sexual orientation is largely irrelevant to the interpretation of the past....”[7] In spite of that concern, it is of particular importance that the African American LGBTQ community be represented openly through its sites of historic significance. The African American community as a whole had experienced efforts at historical erasure in the past. Through scholarship, however, historians and preservationists have enriched the American historical narrative, and have identified historic places tied to African Americans, including historic places that many would not automatically consider African American historic places. The White House and the US Capitol Building are great examples.[8] Historical erasure has also been experienced by the African American LGBTQ community both in broader LGBTQ history and African American history. This study will help to move the needle in the direction not only of combatting that erasure, but also in gaining national recognition for African American LGBTQ historic places.

---

[6] Azurest South now serves as the home of the Virginia State University Alumni Association.

[7] “While the idea of privacy continues to be critical to protecting the right of queer folk to love whomever they choose, it is an increasingly problematic concept for public policy and practice, particularly when used as a rationale for the suppression of public discourse on controversial subjects. Gail Dubrow, “Deviant History, Defiant Heritage,” The Friends of 1800 website, 2002, accessed June 5, 2016, http://www.friendsof1800.org/VIEWPOINT/dubrow.html.

The African American LGBTQ community, for the most part, and unlike the broader white LGBTQ community, was integrated into, and has remained within, broader African American historic communities. Even following the Stonewall rebellion, and the growing acceptance and visibility of the LGBTQ community as a whole, there have not been significant movements to create African American LGBTQ enclaves or for LGBTQ African Americans to leave African American communities for LGBTQ-identified communities. Racism and economic disparities, both social and structural, have certainly contributed to this circumstance. As Professor of Rhetoric Charles Nero noted in his study tracing the development of the Faubourg Marigny neighborhood of New Orleans into a "gay ghetto," this racialized social and physical segregation was often by design: "Exploiting personal and friendship networks that had been established because of shared sexual—and racial and gender—identities was crucial…in the Marigny."[9] African American LGBTQ people were excluded from home ownership in the neighborhood "because they were neither a part of their formal networks of middle class gay men nor were they employed in the low wage service sector of gay owned businesses."[10] As a result, the gay enclave of Faubourg Marigny is largely white. These circumstances are not unique to Faubourg Marigny. In his study of

---

[8] The White House, 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue NW, Washington, DC, was designated an NHL on December 19, 1960. The United States Capitol building, Capitol Hill, Washington, DC, was designated an NHL on December 19, 1960.

[9] Charles I. Nero, "Why Are the Gay Ghettoes White?" in *Black Queer Studies: A Cultural Anthology*, eds. E. Patrick Johnson and Mae Henderson (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2005), 233.

[10] Ibid., 234.

Harlem's African American gay male community, anthropologist William Hawkeswood notes that, "…given the relative social and economic marginalization experienced by most residents of Harlem…that apart from organized religion's traditional dogma against homosexuality, gayness does not in itself draw condemnation from others in the community."[11] Historian Timothy Stewart-Winter, in his study on gay politics in Chicago, notes that African American LGBTQ life was a visible component of the broader African American community in the city, which definitely was not the case for Chicago's white LGBTQ community.[12] It is not surprising that many African American LGBTQ people have historically remained within African American communities and that therefore the vast majority of African American LGBTQ historic places are located there.

There is no question that the vast majority of the earliest LGBTQ historical studies focused primarily on the experiences of white males, largely reflecting the experiences of their authors—themselves predominantly white men.[13] Historian Kevin J. Mumford notes that "[m]any of the best and most important studies have avoided further investigation into the meanings of race for the gay past."[14] Despite the avoidance of race, almost every general LGBTQ history covering the early twentieth century features information about Harlem and/or the Harlem Renaissance. This, I believe, is a testament to the power and visibility of Harlem's African American LGBTQ community and the willingness of Harlemites to provide spaces for interracial interactions rarely allowed elsewhere during this period.[15] In part, this was helped by the vice industry that had established itself in Harlem (keeping the vice out of places like the white LGBTQ enclave of Greenwich Village), so "Harlem clubs… continued to mix straight and gay, thereby providing homosexuals with a proportionally greater number of gathering spots than were available in the more uptight downtown white world."[16] Because white members of the LGBTQ community could make the trip uptown to "slum" among the Harlemites, they too could be themselves—even if for an evening.[17] As a result, early chroniclers of LGBTQ history found many references to Harlem in the archives and papers that they mined.

---

[11] William G. Hawkeswood, *One of the Children: Black Gay Men in Harlem*, ed. Alex W. Costley (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996), xii.

[12] Timothy Stewart-Winter, *Queer Clout: Chicago and the Rise of Gay Politics* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2016), 19.

[13] In his important work on the history of LGBTQ New York City, *The Gay Metropolis, 1940-1996*, Charles Kaiser stated the following, regarding his focus: "Some of the ordinary and extraordinary citizens who nurtured the spectacular growth of that larger metropolis are the main subjects of this book. While the women I have written about are among the most compelling characters in this saga, men gradually became my principal focus—because their story is also mine." See Charles Kaiser, *The Gay Metropolis, 1940-1996* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1997), xii.

[14] "As more researchers engage the queer turn, wholly new sexual landscapes promise to emerge, and yet one methodological flaw that limits both the older and recent scholarship has been inattention to questions of diversity and prejudice." See Kevin J. Mumford, *Not Straight, Not White: Black Gay Men from the March on Washington to the AIDS Crisis* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2016), 2.

Harlem Renaissance Era

Harlem has a special place in African American LGBTQ history. Not only was there a concentration of African American LGBTQ folk there, but their presence was visible and documented—uncommonly so in the early twentieth century. The participants of the Harlem Renaissance left an historical record, from Richard Bruce Nugent's "Smoke, Lilies and Jade," the first known African American literary work with an explicit gay theme, to the various drag balls that were attended (and chronicled) by interracial audiences. The Harlem African American LGBTQ community, which included people from across the country, left an indelible mark on African American, LGBTQ, and American history. But not without limits; as George Chauncey noted, though LGBTQ people "were casually accepted by many poor Harlemites and managed to earn a degree of begrudging respect from others, they were excoriated by the district's moral guardians."[18] Cultural Studies scholar, Shane Vogel, notes that many of the more famous artists of this era, members known as the "Cabaret School," "rejected the narratives and logics of normative racial uplift and sexual respectability that initially guided the Harlem Renaissance."[19] Scholars and preservationists of African American LGBTQ history owe much to the "Cabaret School" of the Harlem Renaissance.

---

[15] Harlem was also something of a vice district, so there was a greater tolerance by the city for the salacious and licentious behavior. As historian George Chauncey noted in his book *Gay New York: Gender, Urban Culture, and the Making of the Gay Male World, 1890-1940*: "The ascendency of Harlem's nightlife…also owed much to the willingness of city authorities to look the other way as the largely white-controlled 'vice industry' took shape in a poor black neighborhood." George Chauncey, *Gay New York: Gender, Urban Culture, and the Making of the Gay Male World, 1890-1940*, 3rd ed. (New York: Basic Books, 1994), 247.

[16] Martin Duberman, *Stonewall* (New York: Penguin Group, 1994), 42.

[17] According to Jack Dowling, who was interviewed by Charles Kaiser for *The Gay Metropolis, 1940-1996*, he and his friends used to patronize the Harlem club, Lucky's. "It was a big bar where the waiters and waitresses would sing, and the patrons would sing, and people would come and listen to jazz. It was a straight bar, but there were a lot of gay people from downtown, and there were a lot of Black gay guys there." Kaiser, 122. Lucky's Rendezvous was located at 773 St. Nicholas Avenue and 148th Street, Harlem, New York City, New York. See Ulysses, "REMEMBER: Lucky's Rendezvous," *Harlem + Bespoke* (blog), June 11, 2012, http://harlembespoke.blogspot.com/2012/06/remember-luckys-rendezvous.html.

Decades after the Harlem Renaissance, its LGBTQ history survived in stories told across the generations: "Many stories abound about the legendary figures of the Harlem Renaissance. There is the 'Langston Hughes chair' in one gay bar, the apartment where Countee Cullen and Harold Jackman played out their long-term affair, the solicitation of young college students by the eminent Alain Locke, and tales of the restroom and park sex of Richard Bruce Nugent and Wallace Thurman."[20] These oral histories mention places that researchers may be able to find, like the specific apartment of the Cullen/Jackman affair, or which park Nugent and Thurman enjoyed. African American women certainly weren't excluded from these sorts of recollections. "Harlemites might ridicule stereotypic bulldaggers or drag queens, but in the twenties especially, bisexuality had a certain cachet in sophisticated circles, and in the world of show biz the rumored lesbianism of such favored entertainers as Bessie Smith, Ma Rainey, Alberta Hunter and Ethel Waters tended to be ignored as irrelevant."[21]

The historical scholarship focused on the era of the Harlem Renaissance, as well as gay life in the 1920s and 1930s, has been particularly helpful in identifying African American LGBTQ historic places.[22] LGBTQ literary luminaries like Langston Hughes and Claude McKay have residences that are currently listed on the NRHP; McKay's residence has also been designated an NHL.[23] The Dunbar Apartments were home to Countee Cullen, and the complex is listed on the National Register.[24] In addition to historical research, the literary canon of the Harlem Renaissance itself provides the names of LGBTQ writers and the places associated with them. Unfortunately, one of the most significant historic places tied to African American LGBTQ literature, the "267 House," was demolished in 2002, and a new building was built in its place.[25] The "267 House" (also referred to as "Niggerati Manor" by its residents) was a rooming house where Zora Neale Hurston, Langston Hughes, Wallace Thurman, and Richard Bruce Nugent all used to live. It was here where Wallace Thurman sought contributions from other young artists for a publication made for them, as opposed to being targeted to an outside audience. The 1926 publication was *Fire!!*, and included the aforementioned "Smoke, Lilies and Jade" short story from Richard Bruce Nugent.[26] Thurman would go on to use the "267 House" as a primary locale in his novel, *Infants of the Spring* (1932). Despite its historical significance, the building was not landmarked before its demolition.

---

[18] Chauncey, 253.
[19] Shane Vogel, *The Scene of Harlem Cabaret: Race, Sexuality, Performance* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009), 4.
[20] Hawkeswood, 154.
[21] "A lesbian subculture seems to have developed earlier in Harlem than elsewhere, probably because blacks, knowing the pain of being treated as outsiders, had developed an attitude toward homosexuality relatively more tolerant than was characteristic of white heterosexual circles...." See Duberman, 42.

---

[22] Historian David Levering Lewis and his works on the Harlem Renaissance and W. E. B. Du Bois have been particularly helpful in their detail.

[23] Langston Hughes residence on East 127th Street, New York City, New York was listed on the NRHP on October 29, 1982. The Claude McKay Residence (also known as the Harlem YMCA) is located at 180 West 135th Street, New York City, New York. It was listed on the NRHP and designated an NHL on December 8, 1976.

[24] The Dunbar Apartments Complex is located along West 149th and West 150th Streets between Frederick Douglass and Adam Clayton Powell, Jr. Boulevards, New York City, New York. It was added to the NRHP on March 29, 1979.

[25] "This used to be the home and hangout of…so many of the literary luminaries of the Harlem Renaissance. Their former rooming house stood here until 2002, when New York City sold the peaked roofed brownstone, one of six in a matching row, to an investor in Rye, N.Y. The home came down, and a new one, no bigger, was built in its place, its most distinguishing feature being a driveway." See Matt A.V. Chaban, "Much to Save in Harlem, but Historic Preservation Lags, a Critic Says," *New York Times*, February 29, 2016. The "267 House/Niggerati Manor" (now demolished) was located at 267 West 136th Street, New York City, New York.

[26] There was only one volume published, and there were only a few copies sold prior to a fire that destroyed the majority of the publication's copies. ""Fire!!" marked the first appearance in print of one of the most interesting minor characters of the Renaissance. Twenty-one year old Richard Bruce Nugent was a self-conscious decadent who had shortened his name to Richard Bruce to allay maternal embarrassment about his homosexuality." David Levering Lewis, *When Harlem Was in Vogue* (Australia: Penguin Books, 1997), 196.

Another important site for African American LGBTQ history was "The Dark Tower," named after Countee Cullen's poem "From the Dark Tower."[27] This was the home and salon of A'Lelia Walker, the daughter of Madame C. J. Walker. Walker was not only an ally of LGBTQ Harlemites, but her "romantic partiality to accomplished women was an open secret in Harlem…."[28] "The Dark Tower" was demolished in 1941. Surviving is Walker's Irvington-on-Hudson estate, Villa Lewaro, which is an NHL (1976) (Figure 2). The narrative for the National Landmark designation, in light of the evidence of Walker not only being a strong supporter of the LGBTQ community (publicly), but also being a member of the LGBTQ community herself (privately), could be updated to include that information.[29]

The losses of "The Dark Tower" and the "267 House," were genuine blows to African American LGBTQ history, but are not the only such places in Harlem to have been lost. The Rockland Palace, which hosted some of the most legendary of drag balls during the Harlem Renaissance, is gone.[30]

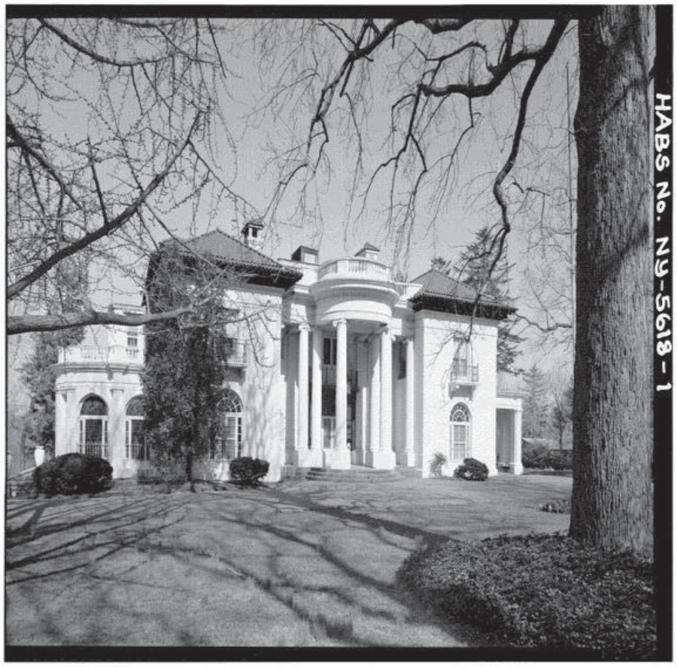


Figure 2: Villa Lewaro, Irvington, New York. Photo from the Historic American Buildings Survey, n.d. (HABS NY,60-IRV,5-1).

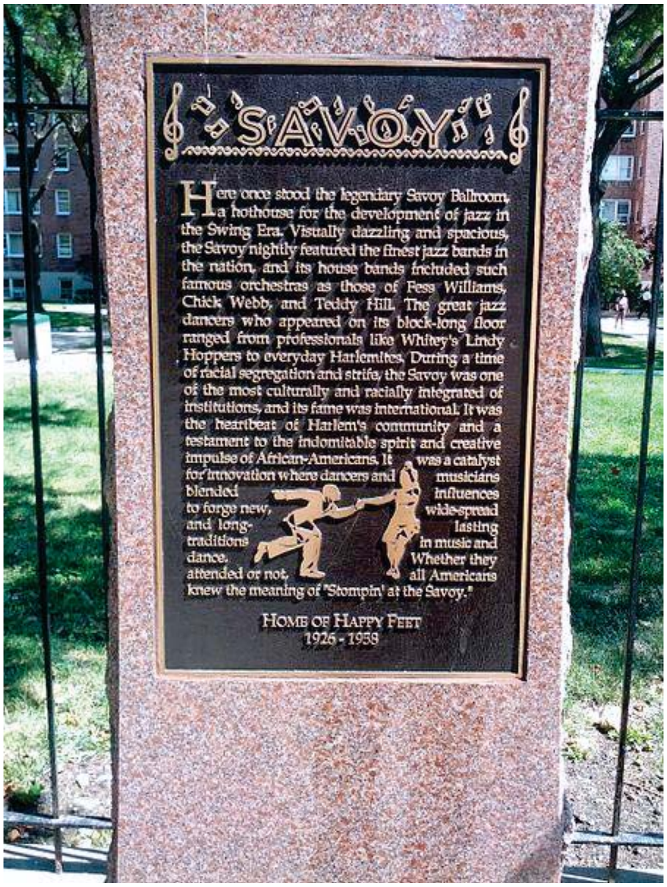
---

[27] David Lewis noted that it was Richard Bruce Nugent who suggested naming the salon after Cullen's poem "The Dark Tower." Ibid., 168-69. The Dark Tower (now demolished) was located at 108-110 West 136th Street, New York City, New York. This is now the location of the Countee Cullen Branch of the New York City Public Library.

[28] David Levering Lewis, *W.E.B. Du Bois: The Fight for Equality and the American Century, 1919-1963* (New York: Henry Holt & Company, 2000), 224-225.

[29] Villa Lewaro was added to the NRHP and designated an NHL on May 11, 1976.

[30] The Rockland Palace (now demolished) was located at 280 West 155th Street, New York City, New York.



SAVOY

Here once stood the legendary Savoy Ballroom, a hothouse for the development of jazz in the Swing Era. Visually dazzling and spacious, the Savoy nightly featured the finest jazz bands in the nation, and its house bands included such famous orchestras as those of Fess Williams, Chick Webb, and Teddy Hill. The great jazz dancers who appeared on its block-long floor ranged from professionals like Whitey's Lindy Hoppers to everyday Harlemites. During a time of racial segregation and strife, the Savoy was one of the most culturally and racially integrated of institutions, and its fame was international. It was the heartbeat of Harlem's community and a testament to the indomitable spirit and creative impulse of African-Americans. It was a catalyst for innovation where dancers and musicians blended influences to forge new, wide-spread and long-lasting traditions in music and dance. Whether they attended or not, all Americans knew the meaning of "Stompin' at the Savoy."

HOME OF HAPPY FEET
1926 - 1958

Figure 3: Plaque commemorating the Savoy Ballroom, Harlem, New York City, New York, 2013. Photo by Lukeholladay.[31]

So too are places that were integrated (heterosexual/homosexual) gathering spaces, like the Savoy Ballroom and Harry Hansberry's Clam House, where the drag king Gladys Bentley held court (Figure 3).[32] Despite these losses, there remain places from the Harlem Renaissance era that have been identified as historically significant, but efforts at designations either have stalled or haven't begun. There are efforts to improve the pace of designations in Harlem generally, but they remain slow going.[33]

Harlem was not the only African American community where LGBTQ denizens felt a sense of freedom. Many urban communities "provided Black gays, lesbians, and bisexuals, who might have been closeted in small towns or other cities, an opportunity to meet one another in clubs, or street corners, and in storefront churches."[33] And there has been a marked increase in interest in the history of the African American LGBTQ folks in various communities across the nation. Historians, anthropologists, and local organizations have been scouring sources, conducting oral histories, and identifying historic sites in an effort to expand our knowledge and understanding of the lives of LGBTQ African Americans. For example, even though he wasn't a Harlemite, Howard University professor Dr. Alain Locke, the nation's first African American Rhodes Scholar, was central to the Harlem Renaissance.[35] Not only did Locke seek to identify writers and artists with potential for success during his travels, but he also encouraged those he met who weren't living in Harlem to move there to have more direct access to the various publications (like *The Crisis* from the NAACP or *Opportunity* from The Urban League) and publishing houses. Langston Hughes was one who followed Locke's suggestion to move from Washington, DC, to Harlem.[36] It's likely that the combination of Hughes' talent and good looks greatly influenced Locke's interest in him; after all, "Professor Locke had a

---

[31] License: CC BY-SA 3.0. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Savoyplaque_large.jpg

[32] The Savoy Ballroom (now demolished) was located at 596 Lenox Avenue; Harry Hansberry's Clam House (now demolished) was located at 146 West 133rd Street, both in New York City, New York. See Springate, Archeology (this volume) for a discussion of the archeological potential of places where standing structures are no longer extant.

[33] According to New York City's Landmarks Preservation Commission, as of February 2016, approximately seventeen percent of properties in Harlem have protections through designations. That's in comparison with other Manhattan neighborhoods that have at least sixty percent of properties protected. Chaban, Ibid.

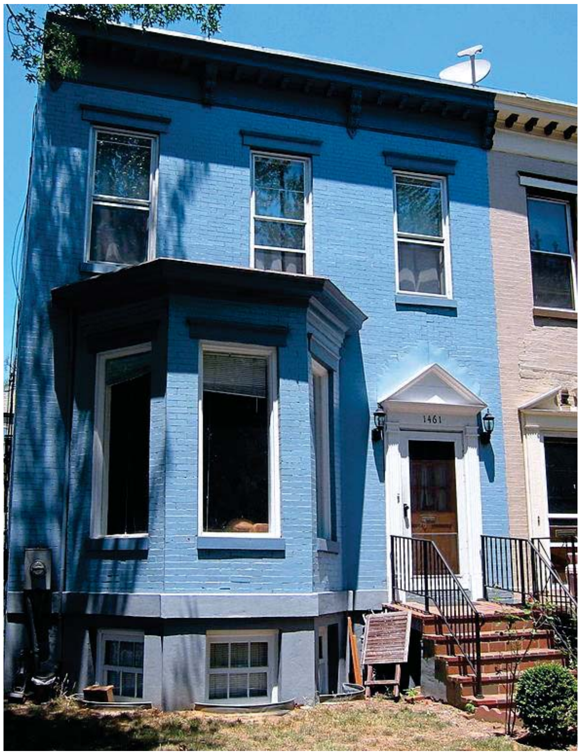


Figure 4: The Georgia Douglas Johnson house, Washington, DC, 2010. Photo by AgnosticPreachersKid.[34]

---

[34] License: CC BY-SA 3.0. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:1461_S_Street.JPG

[35] Dr. Locke was chair of the Philosophy Department at Howard University. Locke Hall, 2441 Sixth Street NW, Washington, DC, is named in his honor. Locke's home on R Street NW, Washington, DC, is a contributing resource to the Fourteenth Street Historic District, added to the NRHP on November 9, 1994. When in New York City, Locke often stayed at the Hotel Olga, 42 West 120th Street.

[36] Places associated with Langston Hughes include the Harlem YMCA (now the Claude McKay Residence), 180 West 135th Street, New York City, New York, added to the NRHP and designated an NHL on December 8, 1976; his residence on East 127th Street, New York City, New York, added to the NRHP on October 29, 1982; his residence on S Street NW, Washington, DC, is a contributing resource to the Dupont Circle Historic District, added to the NRHP on January 21, 1978 (boundary increases February 6, 1985 and June 10, 2005); the 267 House on West 136th Street in New York City, New

weakness for his male students and for intelligent males in general."[37] Locke was also a part of Washington, DC's literary and artistic community. He participated in the famed "Saturday Nighters" salons in the home of the writer Georgia Douglas Johnson in the period before the start of the Harlem Renaissance (Figure 4).[38]

Just as there are places associated with African American intellectuals from the Harlem Renaissance, expanding historical research is also highlighting places associated with African American LGBTQ entertainers—where they lived, and where they performed.

Blues/Jazz Era African American LGBTQ Entertainment

The field of entertainment has long served as a safe haven for the LGBTQ community, including African Americans. From the rise of the bawdy blues performers, to the proliferation of drag balls, to the emergence of jazz era entertainers hiding in plain sight, to the performances on the disco stage to the house club, the African American LGBTQ community has made its presence in entertainment known. In many ways, ragtime/jazz artist Antonio "Tony" Jackson, and blues artists Gladys Bentley and Gertrude "Ma" Rainey were pioneers in visibility and openness.

It was during the era of the Great Migration that Jackson moved from the Storyville community of New Orleans (the original home of jazz) to the

---

York (now demolished) where he socialized with other members of the Harlem Renaissance; Rockland Palace (now demolished), 280 West 155th Street, New York City, New York where he attended and wrote about the drag balls; and Yaddo in Saratoga Springs, New York, located within the Union Avenue Historic District (listed on the NRHP on April 4, 1978 and designated an NHL on March 11, 2013) where Hughes spent time as an artist in residence.

[37] Lewis, *When Harlem Was in Vogue*, 87.

[38] "In the living room of [Johnson's] S Street house…, a freewheeling jumble of the gifted, famous, and odd came together on Saturday nights. There were the poets Waring Cuney, Mae Miller, Sterling Brown, Angelina Grimke, and Albert Rose. There were the artists Richard Bruce Nugent and Mae Howard Jackson. Writers like Jean Toomer and Alice Dunbar-Nelson (former wife of Paul Laurence Dunbar), and philosopher-critic Locke came regularly to enjoy the train of famous and to-be-famous visitors." Ibid, 127. Johnson's home is located on S Street NW, Washington, DC.

Bronzeville community of Chicago.[39] According to the famed jazz musician Jelly Roll Morton, a contemporary of Jackson, Jackson made the move because he believed that both his music and his sexuality would be better appreciated in Chicago.[40] It was rumored that his 1916 song “Pretty Baby” originally referred to one of Jackson’s male lovers.[41] Gladys Bentley also was known in Bronzeville for her tuxedo-clad performances and suggestive lyrics that alluded to bisexual tastes, but she really made her mark in Harlem.[42] Rainey, who maintained her base primarily in her hometown of Columbus, Georgia, hid in plain sight, using her lyrics to suggest certain truths.[43]

Rainey, like Jackson, performed as blues emerged at the turn of the twentieth century. Beginning her career in Columbus, and following her marriage to Will “Pa” Rainey, Ma Rainey toured with her husband’s company, the Rabbit Foot Minstrels. She was one of the earliest blues artists to record her performances, earning her the title of “Mother of the Blues.” On a trip to Chattanooga, Tennessee, Rainey discovered a young Bessie Smith, who later would become the “Empress of the Blues.” Though it was research that revealed Rainey’s bisexuality (and that of her protégé, Smith), her bisexuality was in her lyrics for anyone to hear.

---

[39] Jackson performed at the Beaux Arts Café on the second floor of the Pekin Theater (now demolished), 2700 South State Street, Chicago, Illinois. The Beaux Arts, which opened in 1911, was a “scandalous” venue where a racially diverse audience socialized and danced. See Kendall, “Bob Mott and the Pekin Theater,” *The Chicago Crime Scenes Project* (blog), January 17, 2009, http://chicagocrimescenes.blogspot.com/2009/01/bob-mott-and-pekin-theater.html. In 2011, Jackson was inducted into Chicago’s Gay and Lesbian Hall of Fame, see “Tony Jackson,” Chicago Gay and Lesbian Hall of Fame website, http://www.glhalloffame.org/index.pl?item=372&todo=view_item.

[40] Tristan Cabello, “Queer Bronzeville: African American LGBTs on Chicago’s South Side, 1900-1985,” *Windy City Times*, February 29, 2012, accessed June 19, 2016, http://www.windycitymediagroup.com/lgbt/Queer-Bronzeville-African-American-LGBTs-on-Chicagos-South-Side-1900-1985/36389.html.

[41] David Ehrenstein, “Gay New Orleans 101,” *Advocate*, October 11, 2005, 50.

[42] Cabello, “Queer Bronzeville.” Bentley performed at venues across the country, including Harry Hansberry’s Clam House, 133rd Street, Harlem, New York City, New York; Rockland Palace (now demolished), 280 West 115th Street, New York City, New York; the Ubangi Club (now demolished), 131st Street at Seventh Avenue, New York City, New York; Joaquin’s El Rancho, Vine Street, Los Angeles, California; and Mona’s Club 440, 440 Broadway, San Francisco, California. Nan Alamilla Boyd, *Wide-Open Town: A History of Queer San Francisco to 1965* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003), 76.

[43] Ma Rainey’s home, now a museum honoring her legacy, is located at 805 Fifth Avenue, Columbus, Georgia.

Rainey's song "Prove It on Me Blues" "speaks directly to the issue of lesbianism. In it, she admits to her preference for male attire and female companionship, yet she dares her audience to 'prove it' on her."[44] Rainey was able to be explicit on stage and on her records, while maintaining her intimate relationships with women in private spaces. Rainey's successors, including Bessie Smith, Alberta Hunter (a student of Tony Jackson), Josephine Baker, and Ethel Waters followed her lead in their subsequent relationships with women, adopting heterosexual public personas [like Rainey], most favoring a 'red hot mama' style. Bentley and comedienne Jackie "Moms" Mabley were notable exceptions who were much more open with their sexuality.[45]

That several of these female entertainers donned men's clothing during their performances was not surprising, considering that drag balls (and smaller performances with female/male impersonators) in the African American community were quite popular in the first half of the twentieth century. Independent of the annual drag balls, "in cities with high black populations some nightclubs featured female impersonators. New York's 101 Ranch, Detroit's Uncle Tom's Cabin, and Chicago's Joe's Deluxe Club were among biggest."[46] Langston Hughes recalled his time attending the Hamilton Club Lodge Ball at the Rockland Palace with

---

[44] Eric Garber, "A Spectacle in Color: The Lesbian and Gay Subculture of Jazz Age Harlem," American Studies at the University of Virginia website, accessed June 19, 2016, http://xroads.virginia.edu/~ug97/blues/garber.html.

[45] Ibid. Many of these performers, including Bessie Smith, "Moms" Mabley, and Ethel Waters, performed at the Apollo Theater, 253 West 125th Street, New York City, New York. The Apollo was added to the NRHP on November 17, 1983. Like Bentley, Mabley performed at the Ubangi Club (now demolished), 131st Street at Seventh Avenue, New York City, New York. In 1962, Mabley performed at Carnegie Hall, 881 Seventh Avenue, New York City, New York (added to the NRHP on October 15, 1966 and designated an NHL on December 29, 1962). Alberta Hunter got her big break performing at the Dreamland Café, 3518-3520 South State Street, Chicago, Illinois. In addition to the Apollo, Ethel Waters also performed at Edmond's Cellar, Fifth Avenue and 132nd Street, New York City, New York; she lived in the Crown Heights neighborhood of Brooklyn, New York. Both Josephine Baker and Ethel Waters performed at the Plantation Club, Broadway and 50th Streets, New York City, New York. See Aberjhani and Sandra L. West, *Encyclopedia of the Harlem Renaissance* (New York: Facts on File, 2003); Jonathan Gill, *Harlem: The Four Hundred Year History from Dutch Village to Capital of Black America* (New York: Grove Press, 2011).

[46] Gregory Conerly, "Swishing and Swaggering: Homosexuality in Black Magazines during the 1950s," in *The Greatest Taboo*, 389. The 101 Ranch (now demolished) was located at 101 West 139th Street, New York City, New York; Joe's Deluxe Club (now demolished) was located at 6323 South Parkway, Chicago, Illinois.

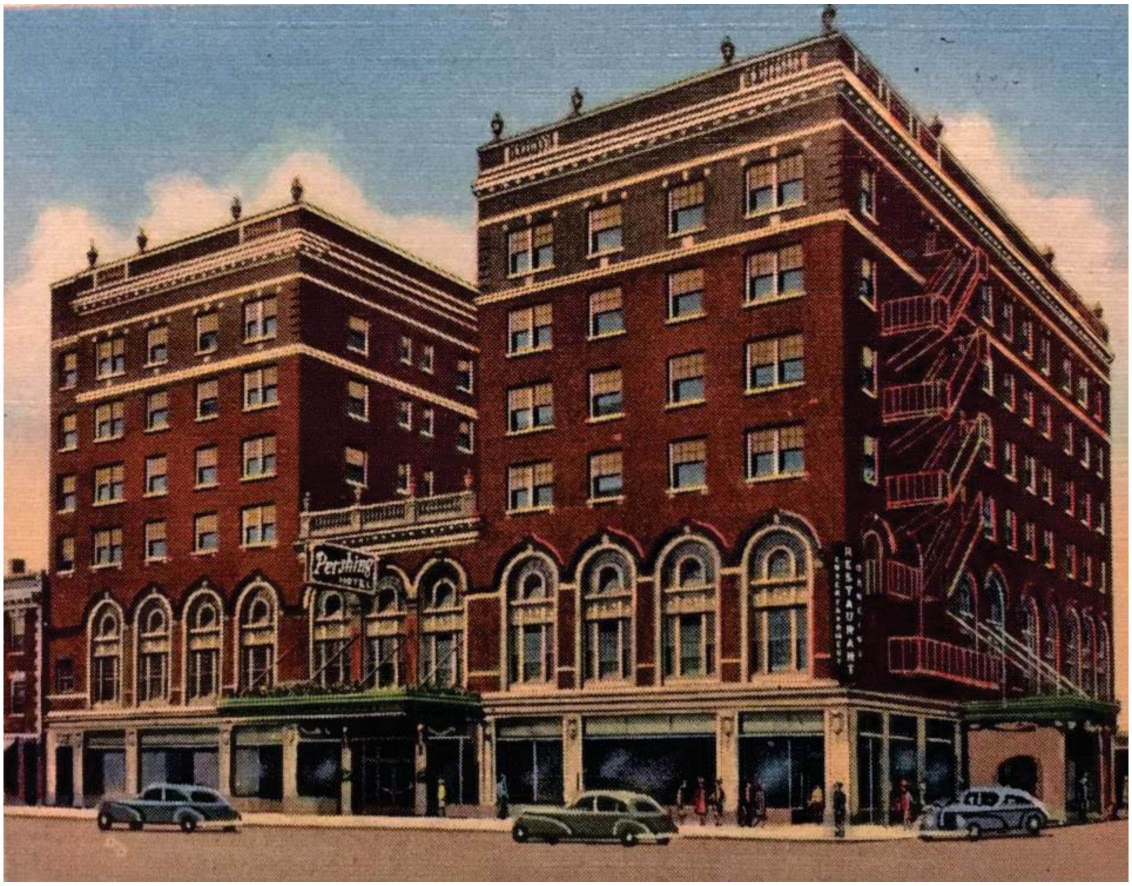


Figure 5: The Hotel Pershing, Chicago, Illinois, home to drag balls in the 1930s. From a postcard, ca. 1948, courtesy of Megan E. Springate.

A'Lelia Walker: "[I]t was fashionable for the intelligentsia and social leaders of both Harlem and the downtown area to occupy boxes at this ball and look down from above at the queerly assorted throng on the dancing floor, males in flowing gowns and feathered headdresses and females in tuxedos and box-back suits."[47] *Ebony* magazine published a report of a New York drag ball: "Harlem's annual drag ball at the Fun Makers Social Club was a hit in 1944. The men who don silks, satins and laces for the yearly masquerades are as style conscious as the women of a social club planning an annual charity affair or a society dowager selecting a debutante gown for her favorite daughter."[48] Back in the 1930s, years before *Jet* and *Ebony* magazines existed, Finnie's Club in Chicago hosted drag balls, eventually becoming so popular that they had to move them to the Pershing Hotel's Ballroom (Figure 5).[49] In the 1950s, *Ebony* did a feature on Harlem Renaissance era drag king and lesbian, Gladys Bentley. By that time Bentley had moved to the West Coast, and had a fairly successful performance career in California;[50] she later demonized lesbianism in her retirement.[51] It's clear that the drag ball scene was all the rage in the early twentieth century. Unfortunately, very few drag ball sites from that dynamic era remain extant. One that does remain is New York City's Webster Hall which hosted bohemian masquerade balls and drag balls in the 1910s and 1920s.[52]

---

[47] Langston Hughes, *Autobiography: The Big Sea (The Collected Works of Langston Hughes)*, vol. 13, ed. Joseph McLaren (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2002), 208. Rockland Palace (now demolished) was located at 280 West 115th Street, New York City, New York.

The openness of the 1920s and 1930s eventually gave way to the struggles of the Great Depression, which certainly affected many African Americans. Though popular magazines like *Ebony* and *Jet* featured stories on LGBTQ events, the overarching scene was becoming more underground. By the time jazz composer and pianist Billy Strayhorn was hitting his creative stride with Edward "Duke" Ellington in the late 1930s and into the 1940s, the quiet acceptance of and tolerance toward the African American LGBTQ community was beginning to wane.

Strayhorn was one of the few openly gay jazz men, yet his sexuality seemed to not be much of an issue—perhaps because he allowed Ellington to be the public face of their many collaborative efforts. Strayhorn composed "Take the 'A' Train," one of the most recognized songs of Ellington's orchestra. He also composed "Something to Live For" and "Lush Life."[53] During this prolific period, Strayhorn was partnered with Aaron Bridgers, another openly gay pianist and composer, and they lived together in the Hamilton Heights neighborhood of Manhattan from 1939 until Bridgers moved to France in 1948.[54]

---

[48] Kaiser, 40-41. Gregory Conerly, in his essay "Swishing and Swaggering," focused his research on the mid-twentieth-century powerhouses of *Ebony* and *Jet* magazines. Generally, they focused their coverage on Halloween and Thanksgiving events that were held in Chicago and New York City.

[49] Conerly, 387. The Pershing Hotel (now demolished) was located at 6400 Cottage Grove, Chicago, Illinois.

[50] In San Francisco where she played at the lesbian venue Mona's Club 440 during World War II, Bentley was "[a]dvertised as 'America's Sepia Piano Artist' and the 'Brown Bomber of Sophisticated Songs.'" Nan Alamilla Boyd, *Wide-Open Town*, 76. Mona's Club 440 was located at 440 Broadway, San Francisco, California.

[51] "Bentley, at the time of the article written in 1952, was 'happily married and living a normal existence.' But, she claimed, 'I am still haunted by the sex underworld in which I once lived. I want to help others, who are trapped in its dark recesses by telling my story.'" Conerly, 391.

[52] Webster Hall and Annex are located at 119-125 East 11th Street, New York City, New York.

As with other African American LGBTQ historic places from the Harlem Renaissance, many of the places associated with African American LGBTQ entertainers from the early decades of the twentieth century have been lost, or not been considered for historic designation. The Apollo Theater, listed on the NRHP was an important performance venue for almost every African American LGBTQ entertainer throughout the twentieth century—an aspect of its history omitted from its nomination.[55] Important places that survive include the home of Billy Strayhorn and Aaron Bridgers, where Strayhorn composed some of his most recognized work and the home of singer and actress Ethel Waters. Further research may provide information for places associated with Jackie "Moms" Mabley and Gladys Bentley (who moved to California in the 1930s), who were open lesbians in the 1920s and 1930s, or for places associated with more private African American LGBTQ entertainers, like Josephine Baker and Alberta Hunter.

Middle/Late Twentieth-Century African American LGBTQ Activism and Activists

Though there have been continual efforts to ensure full equality and freedom for African Americans since the nation's founding, the mid-twentieth century represented a high water mark for organizational and activist success. This same time period also proved to be a watershed for the LGBTQ community.[56] Despite the fact that African American LGBTQ individuals played important roles in both movements, it was not until 2016 that places associated with them as African American and LGBTQ people were nationally recognized. An increasing scholarship is not only helping to identify and/or confirm African American LGBTQ participants, but is also revealing associated historic places that can be considered for possible future historic designations. It is important to note that the nation's first LGBTQ civil rights organization, the Society for Human Rights founded by Henry Gerber in Chicago, had an African American president, John T. Graves. Beyond Graves' dealings with Gerber at the Henry Gerber House, there are no known extant places associated with Graves. Perhaps continued research on the Society for Human Rights and Gerber will reveal relevant places for this important figure in African American LGBTQ history.[57]

---

[53] Tom Vitale, "100 Years of Billy Strayhorn, Emotional Architect of Song," NPR, *Weekend Edition Sunday*, November 29, 2015, accessed June 21, 2016, http://www.npr.org/2015/11/29/457598579/100-years-of-billy-strayhorn-emotional-architect-of-song.

[54] Kevin Henriques, "Aaron Bridgers," *Guardian*, December 21, 2003. The home of Strayhorn and Bridgers was located within the Hamilton Heights Historic District, listed on the NRHP on September 30, 1983. Strayhorn's Childhood Home (now demolished) was at 7212 Tioga Street, Rear, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.

[55] The Apollo Theater, 253 West 125th Street, New York City, New York was added to the NRHP on November 17, 1983.

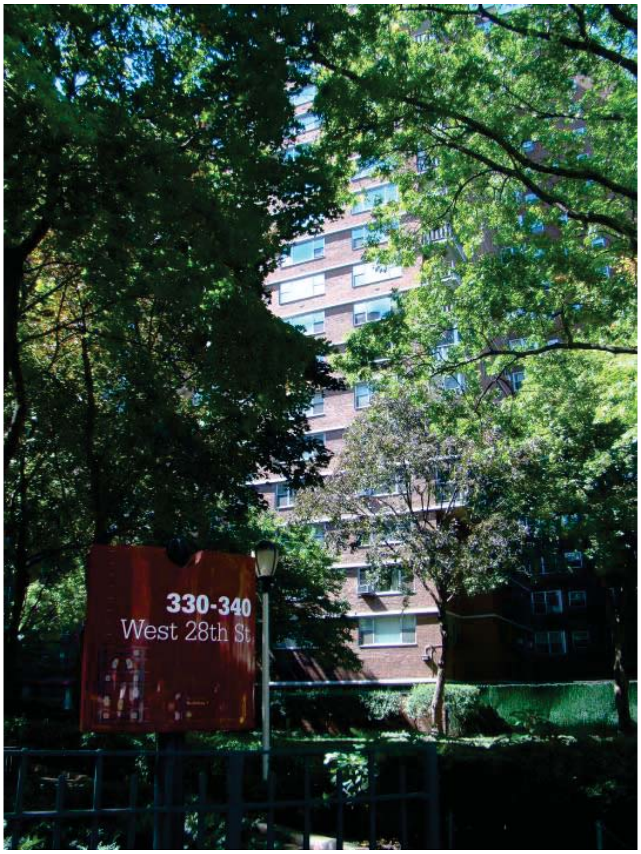


Figure 6: Bayard Rustin Residence, New York City, New York, ca. 2013. Photo courtesy of Walter Naegle.

---

[56] See Springate, Civil Rights (this volume).

[57] The Henry Gerber House was designated a NHL on July 21, 2015. See Tammye Nash, "Henry Gerber: The Gay Rights Pioneer You Probably Never Heard of," *Dallas Voice*, February 17, 2015, accessed July 30, 2016, http://www.dallasvoice.com/henry-gerber-gay-rights-pioneer-heard-10190163.html.

Currently, there is just one known National Register listing for an African American LGBTQ participant in the civil rights movement: the Bayard Rustin Residence (Figure 6).[59] Rustin, an openly gay, yet discreet, man is perhaps best known as the principal organizer of the 1963 March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom. He was also the person who introduced nonviolence as a key principle for the civil rights movement, helped to usher in direct action protest tactics, and he restored the legitimacy of mass protesting.[60] Because of Rustin's sexuality, he was asked to step back from public work in the civil rights movement, and he was nearly erased from public memory. Fortunately, the LGBTQ community has helped to ensure that that erasure was not successful, and there has

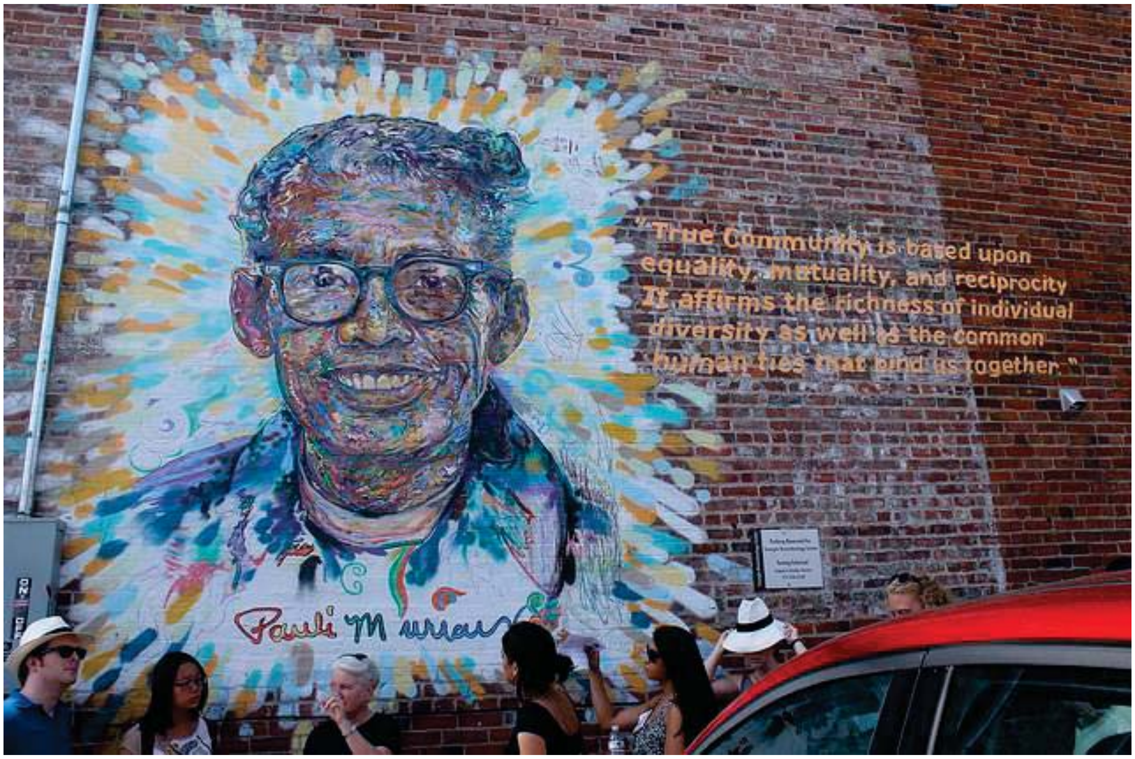

"True Community is based upon equality, mutuality, and reciprocity It affirms the richness of individual diversity as well as the common human ties that bind us together."
Pauli Murray

Figure 7: Pauli Murray mural, Durham, North Carolina, 2014. "True Community is based upon equality, mutuality, and reciprocity. It affirms the richness of individual diversity as well as the common human ties that bind us together." Photo by Connie Ma.[58]

---

[58] License: CC BY-SA 2.0. https://www.flickr.com/photos/ironypoisoning/15472932724

[59] Bayard Rustin's residence in the Chelsea neighborhood of New York City, New York was listed on the NRHP on March 8, 2016.

[60] John D'Emilio, *Lost Prophet: The Life and Times of Bayard Rustin* (New York: The Free Press, 2003), 1.

been a resurrection of Rustin's name as a significant civil rights and gay rights activist.[61]

Pauli Murray was a contemporary of Rustin. Both were members of the Fellowship of Reconciliation (FOR) and the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), and participated in efforts to test the 1946 Supreme Court ruling that deemed segregation in interstate bus travel unconstitutional (predating the Freedom Rides by almost twenty years). Murray, who was gender nonconforming, was open about her relationships with women, but she never identified as a lesbian, and offered critiques of both society and the civil rights movement for their discrimination based on gender (Figure 7). She coined the term "Jane Crow," and noted that "Black women faced with these dual barriers, have often found that sex bias is more formidable than racial bias."[62] Murray went on to become one of the cofounders of the National Organization for Women. There is currently an effort to have Murray's childhood home in Durham, North Carolina designated an NHL.[63]

Writers James Baldwin and Lorraine Hansberry used their pens and their voices to advance civil rights. Baldwin, who was openly gay, followed in Richard Bruce Nugent's footsteps when he wrote a gay protagonist into his novel, *Giovanni's Room* (1956). In 1957, Baldwin was given an opportunity to report about the South for the *Partisan Review*. It was through his reporting that he became a national voice of both the civil rights movement and the broader African American community. Hansberry, in her play, *A Raisin in the Sun*, articulated the struggles of African American families striving for upward mobility. An activist from her time as a student at the University of Wisconsin, Hansberry continued that activism into the civil rights era. A 1963 meeting of Attorney General Robert Kennedy with civil rights activists, including Baldwin and Hansberry, that came in the aftermath of brutal police attacks on peaceful demonstrators in Birmingham, Alabama, became contentious when Hansberry challenged Kennedy to use his authority (and that of President Kennedy) more forcefully to protect African American demonstrators—or risk those demonstrators resorting to violence in frustration. "This memorable moment of emotionality, radical refusal and principled resolve," writes historian Kevin Mumford "ought to be seen as a signal beginning of modern black gay activism."[64]

---

[61] See, for example, D'Emilio, *Lost Prophet*.

[62] Pauli Murray, "The Liberation of Black Women," in *Words of Fire: An Anthology of African-American Feminist Thought*, ed. Beverly Guy-Sheftall (New York: The New Press, 1995).

[63] The Pauli Murray Childhood Home is located at 906 Carroll Street, Durham, North Carolina. It was named a National Treasure by the National Trust for Historic Preservation in 2015, and is currently being developed as the Pauli Murray Center for History and Social Justice, with a planned opening to the public in 2020. See "National Treasures: Pauli Murray House," National Trust for Historic Preservation website, https://savingplaces.org/places/pauli-murray-house; "Pauli Murray Project," Duke Human Rights Center at the Franklin Humanities Institute website, Pauli Murray Project, http://paulimurrayproject.org/becoming-involved.

Neither Baldwin nor Hansberry has National Register listed or NHL designated places associated with them, despite the survival of several locations. Two places survive in New York City associated with Baldwin: his apartment in Greenwich Village where he wrote *Another Country* and his home on the Upper West Side that he owned until his death in 1987, and where he wrote *Tell Me How Long the Train's Been Gone*.[65] Hansberry spent her first years living in Chicago's South Side; in 1937, her parents purchased a home in an all-white neighborhood. They were sued for violating the restrictive covenant preventing African Americans from moving there. The case went to the United States Supreme Court (Hansberry v. Lee), which decided in favor of the Hansberrys. [66] However, it was in New York City's Greenwich Village, where Hansberry wrote *A Raisin in the Sun*, and it is also where she lived as she more fully explored her interests in women.[67]

---

[64] Mumford, 12-13.

[65] Baldwin's residence on Horatio Street, Greenwich Village, New York City, New York is within the Greenwich Village Historic District, listed on the NRHP on June 19, 1979. A plaque was unveiled at this location in 2015. The James Baldwin House is located on the Upper West Side, New York City, New York. Danielle Tcholakian, "James Baldwin Historic Plaque to Be Unveiled at 81 Horatio St.," *DNAinfo*, October 6, 2015, accessed June 21, 2016, https://www.dnainfo.com/new-york/20151006/west-village/james-baldwin-historic-plaque-be-unveiled-at-81-horatio-st.

[66] The Hansberry home on Chicago's South Side (now demolished) was at 5330 South Calumet Avenue, Chicago, Illinois. The home purchased by Lorraine's parents in 1937 was in Chicago's Woodlawn neighborhood. It has been designated an historic site at the local level. Alison Shay, "Remembering Hansberry v. Lee," *Publishing the Long Civil Rights Movement* (blog), November 12, 2012, https://lcrm.lib.unc.edu/blog/index.php/tag/hansberry-v-lee.

[67] Her Greenwich Village residence was on Bleecker Street, New York City, New York. She also lived on Waverly Place, New York City. Though she did not live to see the Stonewall riots of 1969, Lorraine

With its listing on the NRHP in 1999, the Stonewall Inn was the first explicitly LGBTQ historic site to gain historic designation specifically for its central place in American LGBTQ history.[68] The bar was a place where minorities could be patrons without encountering the levels of racism found at other gay bars. According to historian Martin Duberman, the Stonewall bouncer, Ed Murphy, reportedly "had a soft spot in general for Hispanics… and also for blacks; indeed, later gay bar owners who employed Murphy would worry that he would 'turn the club black' and—since racism has always been alive and well in the gay world—frighten off white clientele."[69] The Stonewall Inn was also a place where transgender and gender nonconforming patrons felt safe to be themselves without judgment from those in the LGBTQ community who disapproved of their appearance. Kevin Mumford offered this assessment of Duberman's approach to the subject of the riots: "In Duberman's telling, the 1969 police raid of a gay bar signaled not only the usual violent repression, but also an emergent coalition of the respectable activist, the street drag queen, and the bar fly, alongside black and Hispanic gays."[70] Scholarship, as well as the personal recollections of Stonewall participants, like Miss Major and the late Marsha P. Johnson, reveals that the first designated LGBTQ historic site is also an African American (and Hispanic) LGBTQ historic site.

The activism of writer and poet Audre Lorde straddled the era of the Stonewall Riots; she published her first work of poetry, *The First Cities*, in 1968. But it was in the post-Stonewall era, and with the rise of the black power, women's, and gay liberation movements that Lorde gave voice to the intersections that defined the experiences and perspectives of African American lesbians. In her works, like *Zami: A New Spelling of My Name*

Hansberry's Bleecker Street home was less than two blocks away from the site. See NYC Landmarks Preservation Commission, *150 Years of LGBT History*, PowerPoint presentation, accessed June 21, 2016, http://www.nyc.gov/html/lpc/downloads/pdf/LGBT-PRIDE_2014.pdf, 13.

[68] National Register of Historic Places, Stonewall, New York, New York County, New York, National Register #99000562. Stonewall, 51-53 Christopher Street, New York City, New York was listed on the NRHP on June 28, 1999; designated an NHL on February 16, 2000; and declared the Stonewall National Monument on June 24, 2016.

[69] Duberman, 183.

[70] Mumford, 89.

(1982) and *Sister Outsider: Essays and Speeches* (1984), Lorde offered searing critiques of these liberation movements from a black lesbian feminist perspective. Lorde also influenced the work of activist Barbara Smith, who cofounded the Combahee River Collective in 1974 (see below) and, in 1980 (at the suggestion of Lorde), Kitchen Table: Women of Color Press, the nation's first publishing company dedicated solely to works by women of color. Writer Joseph Beam, disillusioned not only with the racism of the broader LGBTQ movement, but also with the invisibility of African American gay male voices, "predicted that 'black gays are soon to follow the lead of black lesbians; our voices, from a whisper to a scream,' would soon be recorded, collected, and published."[71] It was Beam who took on that project (with mentoring from Barbara Smith), resulting in *In the Life: A Black Gay Anthology*. The publication was the first of its kind: all of the contributors were African American gay men writing about their experiences for an African American gay male audience.[72]

There are places associated with Lorde, Smith, and Beam that are extant. For example, the home Lorde shared with her partner, Dr. Frances Clayton and where she wrote *Zami* and *Sister Outsider* is located on Staten Island, New York. There are several places in Boston and New York City associated with Smith, who among the three is the only one still living, which may be good candidates for NRHP or NHL nomination. Beam was based in Philadelphia, and his home in the Rittenhouse Square neighborhood where he produced *In the Life*, remains extant. As with Rustin, Murray, Baldwin, and Hansberry, these African American LGBTQ activists and artists (and this is far from a complete list) have had national impacts on American and LGBTQ history.

---

[71] Mumford, 140.

[72] In this way, *In the Life: A Black Gay Anthology* (Boston: Alyson Books, 1986) is reminiscent of Wallace Thurman's *Fire!!,* which gave young Harlem Renaissance writers a place to produce art by and for themselves.

Post-Stonewall & HIV/AIDS Era African American LGBTQ Organizations

In the flurry of LGBTQ activism that arose post-Stonewall, many members of the African American LGBTQ community found themselves and issues important to them excluded or not represented. Finding racism in the existing LGBTQ organizations and homophobia in existing African American organizations, they organized among themselves.[73] Several of these organizations were the first of their kind in American history.[74]

The nation's oldest African American lesbian organization, the African Ancestral Lesbians United for Social Change (AALUSC) has a somewhat labyrinthine origin story. Having begun as the Black Lesbian Caucus of the Gay Activists Alliance (which itself formed from the splintering of the Gay Liberation Front), in 1974 the organization became the Salsa Soul Sisters, Third World Wimmin Incorporated Collective. In 1990, they changed their name to the AALUSC.[75] 1974 was also the year that the Combahee River Collective (CRC), another African American feminist lesbian organization, was established. They began as the Boston chapter of the National Black Feminist Organization with the express purpose of providing a space where African American feminist lesbians could be themselves wholly, without having to sublimate any aspect of their identities.[76] The members of the CRC "held seven retreats in the northeast between 1977 and

---

[73] There were also concerns that existing LGBTQ organizations at that time simply weren't interested in working on "non-LGBTQ" issues that directly affected the African American LGBTQ community, like employment, police brutality, poverty, and health care.

[74] Criteria considerations for both NRHP and NHL nominations exist that allow researchers to nominate places where the significant events took place less than fifty years prior. See Springate and de la Vega (this volume).

[75] The Salsa Soul Sisters, Third World Wimmin Incorporated Collective included African American and Latina women. They met primarily at a private residence near Washington Square Park in Greenwich Village, New York City, New York. The AALUSC currently meets at the Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual & Transgender Community Center, 208 West 13th Street, New York City, New York. Third World Gay Women, Inc., "Salsa Soul Sisters Pamphlet," *Greenwich Village History* website, accessed June 18, 2016, http://gvh.aphdigital.org/items/show/1159.

[76] In the mid-1970s, the Combahee River Collective met at the Women's Center, 595 Massachusetts Avenue, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

1980."[77] The Combahee River Collective Statement, written by members Barbara Smith, Demita Frazier, and Beverly Smith in 1977, came out of the first retreat. The statement highlights the importance of the intersecting identities of African American women (particularly around race and sexual orientation) in feminist organizing.[78] The subsequent retreats afforded the CRC opportunities to build upon principles established in its statement.

The nation's oldest national African American LGBTQ organization, the National Coalition of Black Lesbians and Gays, was founded as the National Coalition of Black Gays (NCBG) in Columbia, Maryland in 1978 by bisexual activist ABilly S. Jones (now ABilly S. Jones-Hennin), Darlene Garner, and Delores Berry. The First National Conference of Third World Lesbians and Gays was organized by the NCGB at the former Harambee House Hotel at Howard University (now the Howard Center) the following year, with approximately 450 conference attendees, and in conjunction with the first National March on Washington for Lesbian and Gay Rights.[79] The NCGB also organized the 1986 National Conference on AIDS in the Black Community, the first national conference on HIV/AIDS focused specifically on the African American community.[80]

The National Conference of Third World Lesbians and Gays was a catalyst for the creation of the Lambda Student Alliance (LSA) at Howard

---

[77] The retreats themselves took place "mostly in private homes," which is reflective of the overarching theme of this study, highlighting the spaces where members of the African American LGBTQ community could be themselves. Duchess Harris, "From the Kennedy Commission to the Combahee Collective: Black Feminist Organizing, 1960-1980," in *Sisters in the Struggle: African American Women in the Civil Rights-Black Power Movement*, eds. Bettye Collier-Thomas and V.P. Franklin (New York: New York University Press, 2001), 295.

[78] See also Springate, Intersectionality (this volume).

[79] Robert Crisman, "History Made: First Lesbians/gays of Color Conference," Freedom Socialist Party website, Winter 1979, accessed June 19, 2016, http://www.socialism.com/drupal-6.8/articles/history-made-first-lesbians-gays-color-conference. The Harambee House Hotel was located on the 2200 block of Georgia Avenue NW, Washington, DC.

[80] See "ABilly S. Jones-Hennin," Rainbow History Project Digital Collections website, accessed June 19, 2016, https://rainbowhistory.omeka.net/exhibits/show/pioneers/2007awardees/jones-hennin. The National Conference on AIDS in the Black Community was held at the Washington Convention Center (now demolished), 909 H Street NW, Washington, DC. Gil Gerald, "Speech to the Southern Christian Leadership Conference Women's Conference on AIDS," in *Speaking for Our Lives: Historic Speeches and Rhetoric for Gay and Lesbian Rights (1892-2000)*, ed. Robert B. Marks Ridinger (New York: Harrington Park Press, 2004), 515.

University in 1979.[81] Interested students like Sidney Brinkley worked with faculty member James Tinney to establish the organization. In the January 1980 issue of *Blacklight*, the LSA's publication, Bill Stevens noted the challenges not only in publicizing the organization but also in gaining official recognition from the university. The organization initially advertised using posters under the (incorrect) assumption that African American LGBTQ students would recognize "Lambda" as being synonymous with gay. The uphill struggle for the LSA to gain university recognition was exacerbated by vocal opposition to the group, including the interruption of an LSA meeting by Muslim students.[82] In 1981, the LSA became the first LGBTQ student organization recognized by a historically black college or university. Their publication, *Blacklight*, was the nation's first African American LGBTQ publication.[83]

In 1986, as the HIV/AIDS crisis was raging, Rev. Charles Angel established Gay Men of African Descent (GMAD) to meet the holistic needs of African American gay, bisexual, and same gender loving men.[84] "The organization represented the largest constituency of black gay men on the East Coast, and is the nation's largest and oldest black gay organization dedicated exclusively to the welfare of black gay men."[85] Though it wasn't created as an HIV/AIDS organization, it became one because of the need for an African American male-identified organization. Sadly, Rev. Angel himself succumbed to complications from HIV/AIDS in 1987.

This is far from an exhaustive listing of African American LGBTQ organizations, but the goal was to highlight those that may have national historic relevance. And with the emergence of the HIV/AIDS crisis, the LGBTQ community responded with the creation of organizations that had historic impacts in the various cities and states where they were established, like GMAD, and those organizations and their founding sites can be researched for NRHP and/or NHL designation.

---

[81] Howard University is located at 2400 Sixth Street NW, Washington, DC.
[82] Bill Stevens, "The Gay Movement Comes to Howard University," *Blacklight*, 2014, accessed June 19, 2016, http://www.blacklightonline.com/howard.html.
[83] Mumford, 157.
[84] GMAD was located at 540 Atlantic Avenue, Brooklyn, New York.
[85] "Gay Men of African Descent, Inc. records, 1986-1998," New York Public Library Archives & Manuscripts website, accessed June 22, 2016, http://archives.nypl.org/scm/21213.

Black Pride

Black Pride events have proliferated across the United States providing African American LGBTQ communities the opportunity to celebrate both of their identities simultaneously. The first Black Pride event (though it was not called Black Pride at that time) was held Memorial Day weekend in 1975 at a bar called the Clubhouse.[87] The event was called the "Children's Hour," which is a play on words: "Children" is often used in the African American LGBTQ community as a euphemism for themselves. The "Children's Hour" events were held annually at the Clubhouse from 1975 to 1990, when the venue closed its doors. Inspired by the Children's

Figure 8: Banneker Field is part of the Banneker Recreation Center complex, Washington, DC. Photo by Smallbones, 2011.[86]

---

[86] License: Public Domain. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Banneker_Rec_Center_DC.jpg

[87] The Clubhouse was located at 1296 Upshur Street NW, Washington, DC.

Hours, in 1991, Welmore Cook, Theodore Kirkland, and Earnest Hopkins organized the first DC Black Pride event to use that name as an HIV/AIDS fundraiser.[88] It was held at Banneker Field, and served as the model for subsequent Black Pride events (Figure 8).[89] The locations of other cities' Black Pride events may also be considered significant. For example, Los Angeles held its first Black Pride event, called "At the Beach" in 1988; New York City had its first Black Pride in 1997.[90]

African American LGBTQ Cruising/Sexual Engagement Sites

Clandestine liaisons, anonymous couplings, and sexual partner searches in public and/or partially private spaces have been central to the LGBTQ experience. Entertainment venues and bars—including the Stonewall Inn and Julius', both of which have been designated historic sites—have long been places where the LGBTQ people gather and socialize.[91] In both cases, however, their historic designation rests primarily on the central role they played in the modern LGBTQ civil rights movement, not about their roles as places of cruising/sexual engagement. Of course the possibility of cruising/sexual engagement drew patrons to these bars; however, could that aspect of an LGBTQ site's history contribute to its significance?[92]

There is precedence for places of sexual engagement being listed on the National Register. The Fort Laramie Three Mile Hog Ranch in Fort Laramie, Wyoming served not only as a community center of sorts, providing patrons with access to alcohol and entertainment, but as a bordello, it also served as a site of [hetero]sexual engagement.[93] The Fort Laramie Three Mile Hog Ranch "was one of the very few military bordellos left in the western United States at the time of its nomination to the National Register of Historic Places," in 1975.[94] The role of this place as one of sexual engagement was partially determinative in its designation. In 1973, Portland, Oregon's Hotel Alma building became home to the Club Baths bathhouse and a restaurant catering to a gay clientele; it continuously hosted gay bathhouses under several names until 2007 when the building was sold. While the Hotel Alma was listed on the NRHP with a period of significance of 1911, when it was built, the nomination does not shy away from the building's history as a gay bathhouse, and places it into the context of both LGBTQ life in Portland, as well as the post-Stonewall era more broadly.[95]

---

[88] Frank Muzzy, *Gay and Lesbian Washington, D.C.,* Images of America Series (Charleston, SC: Arcadia Publishing, 2005), 51.

[89] Banneker Field is part of the Banneker Recreation Center, 2500 Georgia Avenue NW, Washington, DC. It was added to the NRHP on April 28, 1986.

[90] Atlanta held its first Black Pride event in 1996. Les Fabian Brathwaite, "Black Pride Matters," *Advocate*, June/July 2016, 55.

[91] Stonewall and Julius', both in New York City, are listed on the NRHP. See note 66 for information on Stonewall. Julius', at 159 West 10th Street, New York City, New York, was listed on the NRHP on April 21, 2016.

[92] For discussions of the importance of places associated with cruising and sexual engagement to LGBTQ history, see, for example, Hanhardt, Johnson, Baim, and Gieseking (this volume). See also Dubrow (this volume) for a discussion regarding pushback to having LGBTQ places added to the NRHP and designated NHLs.

One of the most significant African American LGBTQ historic sites related to cruising/sexual engagement is the Mount Morris Turkish Baths in Harlem.[96] The bathhouse was in operation from 1893 to 2003, and it was the only bathhouse in New York City that specifically catered to African American men (beginning in the 1930s). Primarily an African American LGBTQ space, it was also patronized to a much lesser extent by non-African American gay and bisexual men, and straight men of various races and ethnicities: "Harlem royalty like Joe Louis and Sam Cooke used to sweat here years ago, and it [was] nothing to see French tourists, straight businessmen and Hasidic Jews perspiring in the steam room side by side…."[97] Mount Morris Baths was one of the very few bathhouses across the country that were not closed down during the AIDS panic of the 1980s; instead of closing, they provided public outreach and education about the disease. In 2003, organizations dedicated to HIV/AIDS education were conducting educational tours of the bathhouse.[98] The site currently is an apartment building with street level retail space.

---

[93] The Fort Laramie Three Mile Hog Ranch, located outside Fort Laramie, Wyoming was added to the NRHP on April 23, 1975.

[94] "National Register of Historic Places: Fort Laramie Three Mile Hog Ranch," Wyoming State Historic Preservation Office website, accessed June 14, 2016, http://wyoshpo.state.wy.us/NationalRegister/Site.aspx?ID=179.

[95] Hotel Alma (now the Crystal Hotel), 1201-1217 SW Stark Street, Portland, Oregon was added to the NRHP on September 9, 2009. John M. Tess, National Register of Historic Places Registration Form: Hotel Alma (Washington, DC: National Park Service, July 2009). For more on the importance of periods of significance, see Springate and de la Vega (this volume).

[96] Mount Morris Turkish Baths were located at 28 East 125th Street, New York City, New York.

[97] Alan Feuer, "Mount Morris Journal; A Gay Bathhouse in Harlem? Hey, It's No Secret," *New York Times*, January 19, 2003.

There are many other potentially significant sites of cruising and sexual engagement to the African American LGBTQ community. For example, in Washington, DC, Meridian Hill Park, a National Historic Landmark, was an infamous site of cruising/sexual engagement prior to the park's restoration;[99] Marcus Garvey Park and the West Side Piers in New York City have storied places in the histories of African American same-gender loving men.[100] The Wentworth, a bar located adjacent to the Apollo Theater, was in fact two bars: a straight bar in front, and then behind it, with a separate side entrance, a black lesbian bar.[101] It is likely that sites of cruising/sexual engagement related to African American same-gender loving women, outside of lesbian bars, will be the private homes of African American women: Villa Lewaro, the New York estate of the Harlem Renaissance era figure A'Lelia Walker, and the no longer extant "Dark Tower" home in Harlem, are two examples.[102] Other examples could include the Georgia home of Ma Rainey, the Detroit home of LGBTQ activist Ruth Ellis, or the New York home of Ethel Waters.

---

[98] With the arrival of HIV/AIDS, it is not a surprise that Mount Morris moved beyond its role as a site of cruising/sexual engagement, and became a site of education for men in the LGBTQ community. "[S]peakers from advocacy groups like the Gay Men's Health Crisis and the Minority Task Force on AIDS discuss topics of particular interests to gay men. There are lectures on being gay in high school and on gay men raising families." Ibid.

[99] Anonymous, "The Secret Garden," *Washington City Paper*, August 25, 2000, accessed June 14, 2016, http://www.washingtoncitypaper.com/news/article/13020626/the-secret-garden. Meridian Hill Park (also known in the African American DC community as Malcolm X Park), 2400 Fifteenth Street NW, Washington, DC, was added to the NRHP on October 25, 1974 and designated an NHL on April 19, 1994. The term "same gender loving" includes those African American men who engage in same-sex sexual contact, but do not identify as gay or bisexual, particularly at sites of cruising/sexual engagement.

[100] Marcus Garvey Park, formerly Mount Morris Park, 18 Mount Morris Park West, New York City, New York is part of the Mount Morris Park Historic District, added to the NRHP on February 6, 1973, boundary increase May 24, 1996. The West Side Piers, individual piers, are located along the Hudson River, Greenwich Village, New York City, New York.

[101] Duberman, 42.

[102] Lesbian dancer Mabel Hampton recalled Walker's "funny parties," "…the more intimate gatherings at The Dark Tower, [that] illustrate the extent to which the millionaires was willing to participate in Harlem's sexual bohemia." Devon W. Carbado, Dwight A. McBride, and Donald Weise, eds., "1900-1950: The Harlem Renaissance," in *Black Like Us: A Century of Lesbian, Gay, and Bisexual African American Fiction* (New York: Cleis Press, 2002).

Gail Dubrow wrote that “[q]uestions of morality…tend to come into play when the landmarks of GLBT history are proposed for designation, with queer folks claiming we need role models and homophobes arguing against the government legitimizing deviant lifestyles.”[103] Therefore, it is understandable that the possibility of nominating African American LGBTQ historic sites related to cruising/sexual engagements may invite controversy. The impact of these places in creating community and in the lives of the African American LGBTQ community members, however, cannot be underestimated. Both the Fort Laramie Three Mile Hog Ranch and the Hotel Alma are examples of places on the NRHP with explicit reference to their importance as places of cruising/sexual engagement; the inclusion of a similar African American LGBTQ site would not be breaking new designation ground.

Planning for Future African American LGBTQ Historic Places

With regard to the preservation of African American LGBTQ historic places, let the historic African American gay bar, Washington, DC’s Nob Hill serve as a cautionary tale (Figure 9).[104] Nob Hill was the oldest gay bar in Washington, DC, and one of the nation’s oldest African American gay bars. Like so many other African American LGBTQ historic places, Nob Hill was part of the African American community of Columbia Heights. It opened in 1957. Significantly, it was an African American gay bar that was owned by gay African Americans until it closed in 2004 and passed out of African American gay ownership.[105] None of the other gay bars that

---

[103] Gail Dubrow, “Deviant History, Defiant Heritage.” See also Dubrow (this volume).

[104] Nob Hill was located at 1101 Kenyon Street NW, Washington, DC.

[105] Sean Bugg and Randy Shulman, “Closed for Business,” *Metro Weekly*, February 25, 2004, accessed June 21, 2016, http://www.metroweekly.com/2004/02/closed-for-business.

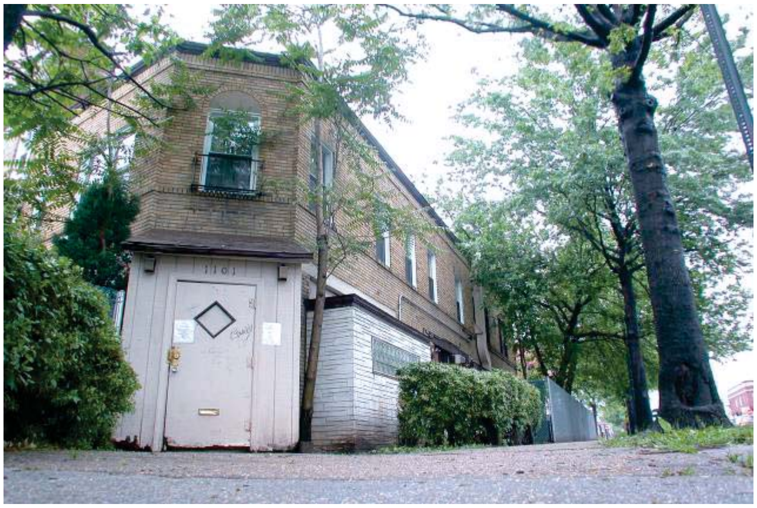


Figure 9: Nob Hill, Washington, DC, ca. 2003. Photo courtesy of Todd Franson/Metro Weekly.

catered to African Americans in DC was African American owned. When Nob Hill closed, the former middle-class African American neighborhood of the 1950s was known as an "up and coming" neighborhood for "urban pioneers" seeking to revitalize a Columbia Heights that went into decline following the assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., and the subsequent riots in 1968. The Wonderland Ballroom opened in the space a few months after Nob Hill's 2004 closing, and it is a vibrant community bar to this day. The new owners are not interested in having the building nominated.

There are many African American LGBTQ historic persons and places that were not included in this chapter. This should not be taken as a judgment against the significance of any of those persons or places, but instead a reflection of the limitations of space and current research. It is important that the African American LGBTQ community expand the discussion of historical legacies to include historic preservation. As noted throughout this study, historical research, scholarship, and local interest in African American LGBTQ historic places can be a boon for identifying individuals, organizations, and places that are historically important. But there also should be active consideration for what has happened in the more recent past, as well as what is happening currently in the African American LGBTQ community. For example, what is the status of the home of the late "Queen of Disco," Sylvester? What are the important addresses of Essex Hemphill, Marlon Riggs, and E. Lynn Harris, and have there been discussions around preparations for seeking historic designation for their homes? Who is prepared to ask Angela Davis or Alice Walker which places associated with them should be considered the most historically relevant to them? What are the historic preservation-related plans that will highlight the late Rep. Barbara Jordan's ties to the LGBTQ community? HIV/AIDS organizations like the Black AIDS Institute (Los Angeles) or Us Helping Us (Washington, DC) have been vital to the African American LGBTQ community, but what's being done to make sure that they will receive the historic recognition they deserve?[106] What about the location of Jewel's Catch One night club, now that it is closed (Figure 10)?[107] These are just a handful of the questions that should be addressed when considering the historic preservation-based legacies of the African American LGBTQ historic places.

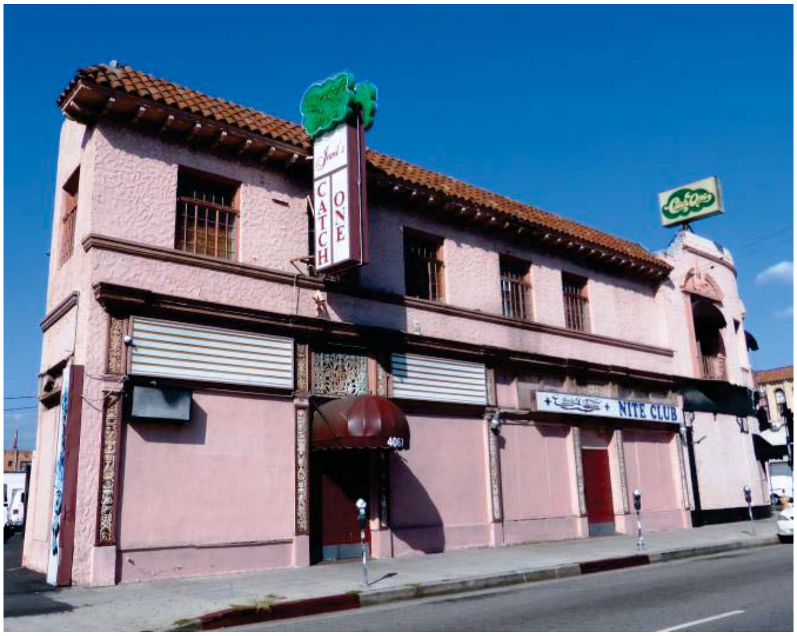


Figure 10: Jewel's Catch One, Los Angeles, California, ca. 2015. Photo by Adrian Scott Fine/L.A. Conservancy courtesy of the L.A. Conservancy.

---

[106] The Black AIDS Institute was founded in 1999 as the African American AIDS Policy Training Institute. It is currently located at 1833 West Eighth Street, Los Angeles, California. Us Helping Us was founded in 1985 by Rainey Cheeks and the support of African American gay and bisexual men to provide holistic support for those affected by HIV/AIDS. They met at the Clubhouse (1296 Upshur Street NW, Washington, DC) until it closed in 1990, when they began meeting in Rainey's DC apartment. Their first formal location was a rented house near the Washington Navy Yard in DC's Southeast. See "About Us," Black AIDS Institute website, https://www.blackaids.org/about-the-institute; "About Us," Us Helping Us, People Into Living, Inc. website, http://www.uhupil.org/#!about/cttm.

[107] Jewel's Catch One, 4067 West Pico Boulevard, Los Angeles, California was the nation's first black gay and lesbian disco, opened in 1972 by Jewel Thais-Williams. When the club closed in 2015 with Jewel's retirement, it was the last black-owned gay club in the city.

Conclusion

Throughout this chapter, I made it a point to highlight African American LGBTQ-related historic places that have been lost. So many of these historic places are located in African American neighborhoods across the country that are experiencing tremendous changes both physically and demographically, whether through revitalization (that does not explicitly acknowledge the African American LGBTQ historical relationship) or demolition, that the historic places that remain are under direct threat. These include historic places from the Harlem Renaissance to the more recent past. With continued scholarship, there even may be opportunities to identify African American LGBTQ historic places preceding the twentieth century.[108] Though so many have already been lost, we have the opportunity to develop strategies to preserve African American LGBTQ historic places, including nominating them to the NRHP or for designation as NHLs. Though there are sure to be more places that will be lost, we have the chance now to help validate those places where members of the African American LGBTQ community could be themselves.

---

[108] A great example of scholarship providing new information on nineteenth-century African American LGBTQ lives is Farah Jasmine Griffin, ed., *Beloved Sisters and Loving Friends: Letters from Rebecca Primus of Royal Oak, Maryland, and Addie Brown of Hartford, Connecticut* (New York: Knopf, 1999). Unfortunately, there are no known extant historic places associated with Primus and Brown.

THEMES

The chapters in this section take themes as their starting points. They explore different aspects of LGBTQ history and heritage, tying them to specific places across the country. They include examinations of LGBTQ community, civil rights, the law, health, art and artists, commerce, the military, sports and leisure, and sex, love, and relationships.

14

LGBTQ SPACES AND PLACES

Jen Jack Gieseking

As LGBTQ people have been invisibilized, criminalized, and outcast, they have created ways to respond specific to their geographies. Like the injustices they have suffered, their tactics of resilience and resistance and their spaces and places are similar to but unique from other marginalized groups. Since sexuality is not always visible in a person's appearance, certain types of places and spaces have developed as key environments for LGBTQ people to find one another, develop relationships, and build community. Due to unjust laws and social mores, socialization among LGBTQ people focused on sex and relationships or was limited to small groups until the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. LGBTQ people created social and political spaces in order to share face-to-face contact and find community. The physical landscape of LGBTQ lives, therefore, plays a special role in this group's history. This chapter looks at a range of LGBTQ spaces and places to provide a broad context for thinking about them as they are discussed in other chapters.

While LGBTQ people are discussed here as a group, each sexual identity—lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and/or queer—is specific not only to that group, geography, and period, but also to the individuals themselves. Gay and lesbian spaces are a longtime part of the American landscape, but queer places are more recent. The reclaiming of the derogatory "queer" in the 1980s and 1990s as part of LGBTQ activism relates to the act of "queering space"—developed from queer theory—which envisions a space as in flux rather than fixed.[1] There are few specific bisexual or transgender physical spaces, as these groups often navigate between straight, lesbian, and gay spaces, and cisgender (gender conforming) and gender nonconforming spaces.[2] As such, the meanings of spaces and places discussed here also shift over time, just as spaces and places change and grow through history.

Since at least the 1920s, the association between LGBTQ people and spaces in the popular and LGBTQ media, as well as in scholarly research, is often reduced to three geographies: the city, the neighborhood, and the place of the bar.[3] With greater acceptance and tolerance toward LGBTQ people in recent decades, the understandings around and recognition of LGBTQ spaces and places are also increasing to encompass more diverse places, including bookstores, community centers, and public spaces. This essay pays special attention to LGBTQ environments from a geographic perspective, including those at the scale of the individual as well as temporary places and places of memorialization.

The Space of the Body, Bodies Making Space

For some LGBTQ people, sexuality is at the core of their being; more recently, some LGBTQ people claim their sexual identity is tangential and identify as "post-gay."[4] Regardless, behaviors of LGBTQ people often link their spaces to practices related to their sexuality, ranging from the political or social, economic or cultural, to sexual acts or being in relationships.[5]

---

[1] Kath Browne, "Challenging Queer Geographies," *Antipode: A Radical Journal of Geography* 38, no. 5 (2006): 885,893; Annamarie Jagose, *Queer Theory: An Introduction* (New York: NYU Press, 1997); Natalie Oswin, "Critical Geographies and the Uses of Sexuality: Deconstructing Queer Space," *Progress in Human Geography* 32, no. 1 (February 2008): 89-103; and Melissa W. Wright, "Gender and Geography II: Bridging the Gap – Feminist, Queer, and the Geographical Imaginary," *Progress in Human Geography* 34, no. 1 (February 2010): 56–66.

[2] Petra L. Doan, "Queers in the American City: Transgendered Perceptions of Urban Space," *Gender, Place & Culture: A Journal of Feminist Geography* 14 no. 1 (2007): 57-74; Clare Hemmings, *Bisexual Spaces: A Geography of Sexuality and Gender* (New York: Routledge, 2002); and Catherine J. Nash, "Trans Experiences in Lesbian and Queer Space," *The Canadian Geographer* 55 no. 2 (Summer 2011): 192-207.

[3] Jen Jack Gieseking, "Dyked New York: Opening Up a Typology of Urban LGBTQ Spaces through Lesbian-Queer Experience," in *The Ashgate Research Companion to Geographies of Sex and Sexualities,* eds. G. Brown and K. Browne (New York: Ashgate, forthcoming).

The visibility and recognition of LGBTQ people changed drastically throughout the latter half of the twentieth century, affording a public LGBTQ presence. Since the late 2000s, scholars across the disciplines have made further attempts to take an intersectional approach to LGBTQ studies and preservation.[6] Intersectionality recognizes that identity is not singular to one dimension (gender *or* race *or* class) but that each person is all identities at once.[7]

The visibility of LGBTQ spaces is heavily related to the dynamics of private and public spaces. Since the late nineteenth and throughout the twentieth century, most gay, bisexual, and queer men were largely unable to occupy private spaces alone together with the result that their "privacy could only be had in public."[8] Such practices of meeting in public venues for sex, friendship, and conversation still continue today.[9] Women and transgender people are more often associated with private spaces like the home or indoor gathering spaces as the persistent male gaze and claim to public space limit their options.[10] The claims of women and transgender people to public spaces are more transient and ephemeral, such as the use of softball fields (Figure 1).[11] Age and generation also matter: an individual who made their sexuality known to others (many would use the term "came out") during the McCarthy era of the 1950s or the AIDS crisis of the 1980s will have a very different outlook than someone who comes out today.[12] For example, young people today now see positive representations of themselves in the media and have greater legal supports so that they feel more confident and well adjusted.

---

[4] Catherine J. Nash, "The Age of the 'Post-Mo'? Toronto's Gay Village and a New Generation," *Geoforum*, 49 (October 2013): 243-252.

[5] Judith Butler, *Bodies That Matter: On the Discursive Limits of Sex* (New York: Routledge, 1993); Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity* (New York: Routledge, 1989); and Elizabeth Grosz, "Bodies-Cities," in *Sexuality & Space*, ed. Beatriz Colomina (Princeton, NJ: Princeton Architectural Press, 1996), 241-254.

[6] Michael Brown, "Gender and Sexuality I: Intersectional Anxieties," *Progress in Human Geography* 36, no.4 (2012): 541–550.

[7] See Springate on nominating properties to the NRHP and NHL (this volume).

[8] George Chauncey, *Gay New York: Gender, Urban Culture, and the Making of the Gay Male World, 1890-1940* (New York: Basic Books, 1994).

[9] David J. Bell, "One-handed Geographies: An Archaeology of Public Sex," in *Queers in Space: Communities, Public Places, Sites of Resistance*, eds. Gordon Brent Ingram, Anne-Marie Bouthillette, and Yolanda Retter (Seattle: Bay Press, 1997), 81-87; and Shaka McGlotten, "A Brief and Improper Geography of Queerspaces and Sexpublics in Austin, Texas," *Gender, Place & Culture* 21, no. 4 (2014): 471–488.

[10] Nash, "Trans Experiences"; Jen Jack Gieseking, "Queering the Meaning of 'Neighbourhood': Reinterpreting the Lesbian-Queer Experience of Park Slope, Brooklyn, 1983-2008," in *Queer*

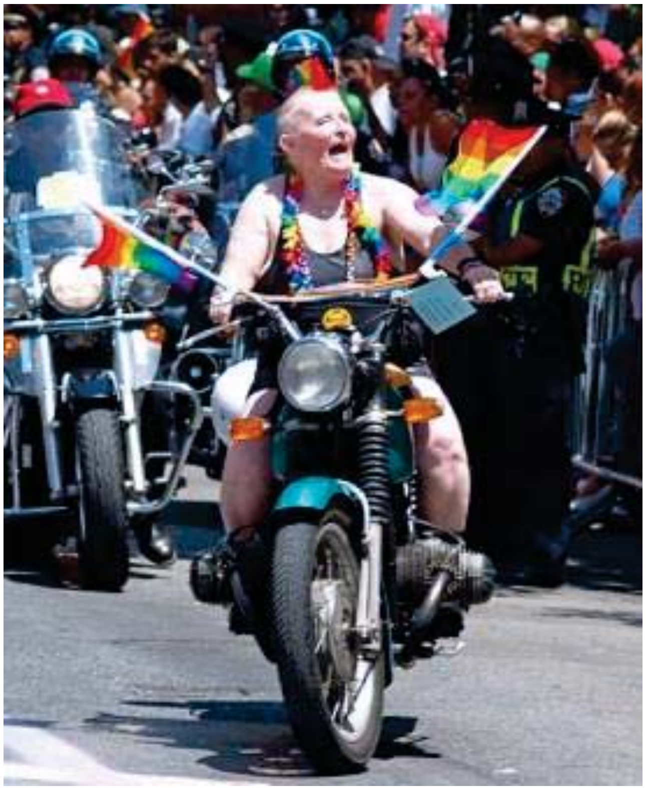


Figure 1: As a member of Dykes on Bikes, Woody Woodward of Boston, Massachusetts often led New York City's Gay Pride Parade. Woodward passed away on June 13, 2009. Photo by David Shankbone, June 2007.[13]

Race and class are key factors in the production of LGBTQ spaces that are often linked and always reveal the stark limits placed on people of color and the poor. The extra policing and more extreme regulation of people of color make clear that not all public spaces are made equally. An example of this is the treatment of gender nonconforming and LGBTQ youth of color on the streets of New York City who are more heavily policed and harassed

---

Presences and Absences, eds. Yvette Taylor and Michelle Addison (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 178-200.

[11] See Anne Enke, *Finding the Movement: Sexuality, Contested Space, and Feminist Activism* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2007).

[12] Arlene Stein, *Sex and Sensibility: Stories of a Lesbian Generation* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997); Loree Cook-Daniels, "Living Memory LGBT History Timeline: Current Elders Would Have Been This Old When These Events Happened…," Transgender Aging Network; FORGE, 2007, http://forge-forward.org/wp-content/docs/LGBT_elder_timeline_FINAL.pdf; and Gieseking, "Queering the Meaning of 'Neighbourhood'".

[13] License: CC BY-SA 3.0. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:A_Dyke_on_a_Bike_by_David_Shankbone.jpg

than gender conforming youth of color.[14] Even today, the role of class also plays out in the harassment, violence, and rape common for LGBTQ steel workers in northeastern Indiana.[15] People of color make less and have less access to resources, which means that their ability to make or retain spaces is often drastically decreased; dynamics of racism, sexism, transphobia, and classism often divide different groups into more segmented communities. The role of religion and cultural beliefs across races, classes, and ethnicities deeply affects the types of LGBTQ spaces and places that individuals can and will frequent. Context and intersectionality must always be considered to account for this group's "situated knowledges," or the place- and identity-specific experiences of actual individuals that define a place.[16]

City, Suburb, Rural

This section addresses the scale of geographic settings: large cities, small cities, vacation towns, suburban areas, and the rural. Special attention is made to reject stereotypes around LGBTQ people in these settings to provide a more comprehensive, complicated view of American LGBTQ environments. Each city, town, suburb, or rural environment relates to the context of its state and region; however, rarely is research conducted at the level of the state, region, or nation state. Identities and communities including LGBTQ develop differently in different places. All cities, suburbs, and rural settings have included LGBTQ people, whether or not they are visibly read as such.[17]

---

[14] Michelle Fine and Jessica Ruglis, "Circuits and Consequences of Dispossession: The Racialized Realignment of the Public Sphere for US Youth," *Transforming Anthropology* 17, no. 1 (2009): 20–33; Brett G. Stoudt and María Elena Torre, "The Morris Justice Project: Participatory Action Research," ed. Patrick Brindle, *SAGE Cases in Methodology* (2014); Caitlin Cahill, Brett G. Stoudt, María Elena Torre, Jose Lopez, and Researchers for Fair Policing, "Fair Policing for the Fair City?" *Aggregate* 2 (March 2015), http://we-aggregate.org/piece/fair-policing-for-the-fair-city; Petra L. Doan, ed. *Planning and LGBTQ Communities: The Need for Inclusive Queer Spaces* (New York: Routledge, 2015); Michelle Billies, "Low Income LGBTGNC (Gender Nonconforming) Struggles over Shelters as Public Space," *ACME: An International E-Journal for Critical Geographies* 14, no. 4 (2016): 989-10007.

[15] Anne Balay, *Steel Closets: Voices of Gay, Lesbian, and Transgender Steelworkers* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2014).

[16] See Donna J. Haraway, *Simians, Cyborgs, and Women: The Reinvention of Nature* (New York: Routledge, 1990).

LGBTQ people have always existed in America's urban areas.[18] Cities are territories of dense populations, often with large varieties of difference among people, which serve as trading hubs, marketplaces, and cultural centers. Studying San Francisco in the early 1990s, anthropologist Kath Weston wrote that "The result is a sexual geography in which the city represents a beacon of tolerance and gay community."[19] Some researchers, activists, and biographers have contended that the city is the most viable home for LGBTQ people because of the cover of anonymity and for social interaction across differences it affords.[20] It is essential to note that LGBTQ identities, cultures, and politics do not develop in cities and then "diffuse" to suburban and rural locales, rather each environment produces its own, which are connected via media and social networks.[21]

Yet this sense of urban promise was, and is, both myth and fact. The clustering of gendered workforces in cities in World War II, especially the likes of San Francisco, and increased job opportunities and pay for women radically altered the possibility for many lesbians and gays to build and afford lives together.[22] Soon thereafter, anti-urbanism, racist, and antihomosexual projects of the federal, state, and local governments of the suburbanizing 1950s went hand-in-hand with increased urban in-migration of LGBTQ people.[23] In other words, LGBTQ people found an increased refuge in cities just as they were decimated, while the heterosexual families of the suburbs were heralded as "normal." LGBTQ poor and people of color especially were driven out of cities by waves of gentrification. Other numbers of the same group were unable to move out of cities or rural areas as they were most limited in their ability to choose where they could live.

---

[17] See Emily Kazyak, "Midwest or Lesbian? Gender, Rurality, and Sexuality," *Gender & Society* 26, no. 6 (December 1, 2012): 825-848.

[18] Robert Aldrich, "Homosexuality and the City: An Historical Overview," *Urban Studies* 41, no. 9 (2004): 1719-1737.

[19] Kath Weston, "Get Thee to a Big City: Sexual Imaginary and the Great Gay Migration," *GLQ: A Journal of Lesbian and Gay Studies* 2, no. 3 (1995): 282.

[20] Samuel R. Delany, *Times Square Red, Times Square Blue* (New York: NYU Press, 2001).

[21] Lawrence Knopp and Michael Brown, "Queer Diffusions," *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 21, no. 4 (2003): 409-424.

[22] John D'Emilio, *Sexual Politics, Sexual Communities* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983) and "Capitalism and Gay Identity" in *Powers of Desire: The Politics of Sexuality*, eds. Ann Snitow, Christine Stansell, and Sharon Thompson (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1983), 100-113; Allan Bérubé, "Marching to a Different Drummer: Lesbian and Gay GIs in World War II," in *Powers of Desire*; Lillian Faderman, *Odd Girls and Twilight Lovers: A History of Lesbian Life in Twentieth-Century America* (New York: Penguin, 1992); Chauncey, *Gay New York*; and Aldrich, "Homosexuality and the City."

[23] John D'Emilio and Estelle B. Freedman, *Intimate Matters: A History of Sexuality in America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998); and Karen Brodkin, "How Did the Jews Become White Folks?" in

The white flight to the suburbs in the mid-twentieth century induced a re-norming of the heterosexual family which often made it necessary for LGBTQ people to move into cities and cluster. The LGBTQ movement and spaces began to become more publicly visible in the 1970s and 1980s, just as the United States saw massive funding cuts and the breakdown of

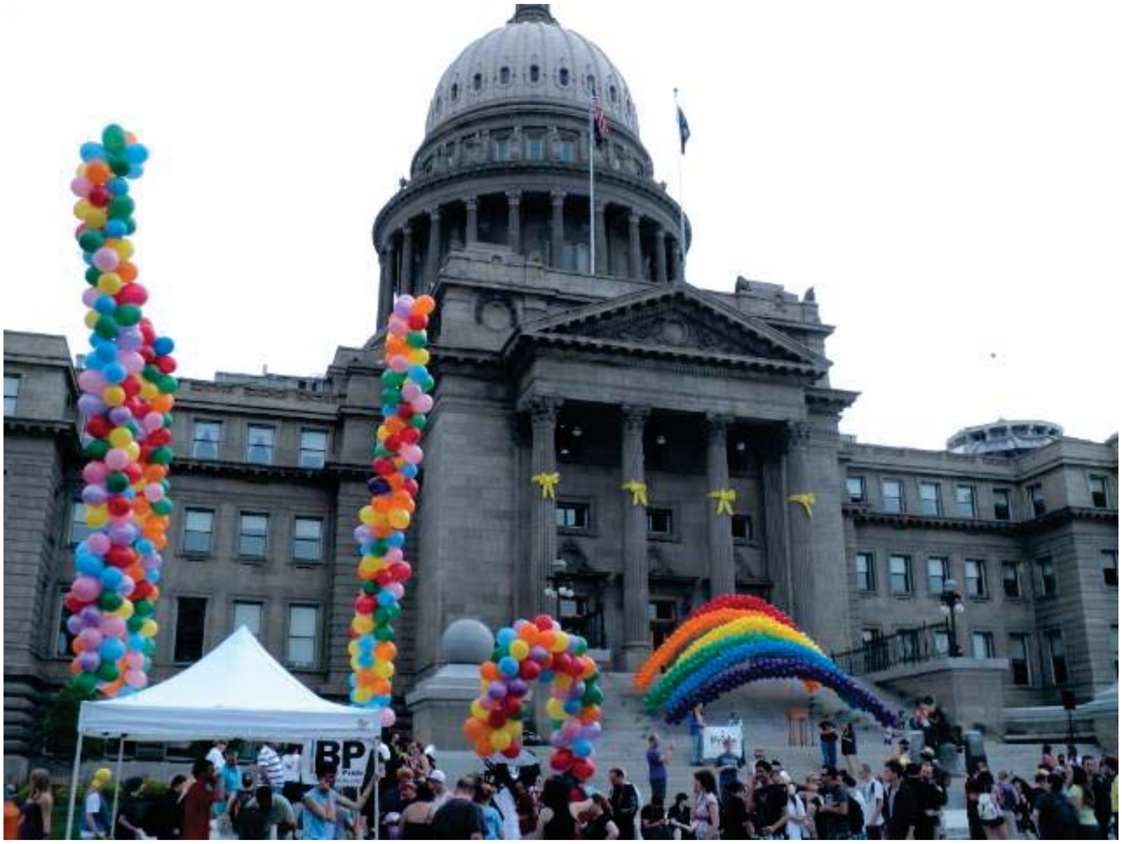


Figure 2: Pride at the Idaho State Capitol Building, 700 West Jefferson Street, Boise, Idaho. Photo by Kencf0618, 2011.[24]

Off White: Readings on Power, Privilege, and Resistance, eds. Michelle Fine et al., 2nd ed. (New York: Routledge, 2004).

[24] License: CC BY-SA 3.0. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:StatehouseBoisePride2011.jpg

most city infrastructures.[25] Since then, US cities have experienced a renaissance with many Americans leaving rural and suburban environments to dwell in cities. In the late twentieth century and at the turn of the twenty-first century most especially, LGBTQ people played an important role in the gentrification of cities across the United States.[26] This process is addressed further in the next section.

San Francisco and New York City are the two most well-known American cities associated with LGBTQ politics, culture, business, and history.[27] All cities and towns are just as essential to the LGBTQ movement, and most key activism took place in urban centers. For example, the first gay rights organization, the Society for Human Rights, was founded by Henry Gerber in his Chicago home in 1924, and the more well-known homophile or gay rights organization, the Mattachine Society, was founded by Harry Hay and others in his Los Angeles home in 1950.[28] A number of in-depth histories of everyday, urban LGBTQ lives in US cities have been written since the 1980s.[29] There is a recent and vast in-migration of straight residents into cities identified closely with LGBTQ communities as varied as San Francisco or Ogunquit, Maine. Along with the often steep increases in property values and mortgage loads, there is much debate over whether these gay villages have assimilated, or are being "de-gayed" through processes of gentrification.[30]

---

[25] Christina Hanhardt, *Safe Space: Gay Neighborhood History and the Politics of Violence* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2013).

[26] Neil Smith, "'Class Struggle on Avenue B': The Lower East Side as the Wild Wild West" in *The New Urban Frontier: Gentrification and the Revanchist City* (New York: Routledge, 1996), 3-29; Lawrence Knopp, "Gentrification and Gay Neighborhood Formation in New Orleans: A Case Study," in *Homo Economics: Capitalism, Community, and Lesbian and Gay Life*, eds. Amy Gluckman and Betsy Reed (New York: Routledge, 1997), 45-64; and Sarah Schulman, *The Gentrification of the Mind: Witness to a Lost Imagination* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012).

[27] See Herczeg-Konecny, Shockley, and Watson and Graves (all this volume).

[28] Marc Stein, *Rethinking the Gay and Lesbian Movement* (New York: Routledge, 2012). The Henry Gerber House is the second NHL designated for its association with LGBTQ history. It was designated a NHL on June 19, 2015.

[29] To date, there are book-length works on various cities, including New York City: Chauncey, *Gay New York*; James F. Wilson, *Bulldaggers, Pansies, and Chocolate Babies: Performance, Race, and Sexuality in the Harlem Renaissance* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2011); A. B. Christa Schwarz, *Gay Voices of the Harlem Renaissance* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2003); Hanhardt, *Safe Space;* Philadelphia: Marc Stein, *City Of Sisterly And Brotherly Loves*: *Lesbian and Gay Philadelphia, 1945-1972* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2004); Elizabeth Kennedy and Madeline Davis, *Boots of Leather, Slippers of Gold: The History of a Lesbian Community* (New York: Penguin, 1994); Los Angeles: Moira Rachel Kenney*, Mapping Gay L.A.: The Intersection of Place and Politics* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2001); Lillian Faderman and Stuart Timmons, *Gay L. A.*: *A History of Sexual Outlaws, Power Politics, and Lipstick Lesbians* (New York: Basic Books, 2006); San Francisco: Kath Weston, *Families We Choose,* rev. ed. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997); Nan Alamilla Boyd, *Wide-Open Town: A History of Queer San Francisco to 1965* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005); Hanhardt, *Safe Space;* Detroit: Enke, *Finding the Movement*; Marlon M. Bailey, *Butch Queens Up in Pumps: Gender, Performance and Ballroom Culture in Detroit* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2013); Kansas City: David W. Jackson, *Changing Times: Almanac and Digest of Kansas City's Gay and Lesbian History* (Kansas City, MO: The Orderly Pack Rat, 2011);

LGBTQ experiences in smaller cities and towns, such as Reno and Boise, have been largely overlooked by researchers (Figure 2).[31] In contrast, much has been written on vacation towns and places frequented by LGBTQ visitors. With limited resources and places to gather through the twentieth century, LGBTQ people desired an elsewhere to go and be among like-minded people. Towns like Northampton and Provincetown, Massachusetts; and Cherry Grove and Fire Island Pines, New York have been LGBTQ oases in the vast national sea of homophobia from the 1930s through the present.[32] Other vacation towns include Asheville, North Carolina; Ogunquit, Maine; Saugatuck, Michigan; Guerneville, California; and Key West, Florida. Other LGBTQ tourist venues that are more transient as well: Pensacola Beach, Florida, on Memorial Day; Gay Days at Walt Disney World Resort and Disneyland Park in Orlando, Florida,

---

Minneapolis: Enke, *Finding the Movement*; Twin Cities: GLBT Oral History Project, *Queer Twin Cities* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2010); Stewart Van Cleve, *Land of 10,000 Loves*: *A History of Queer Minnesota* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2012); Milwaukee: Enke, *Finding the Movement*; The History Project, *Improper Bostonians*: *Lesbian and Gay History from the Puritans to Playland* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1998); Washington, D.C.: Kwame Holmes, "Chocolate to Rainbow City: The Dialectics of Black and Gay Community Formation in Postwar Washington, D.C., 1946-1978," PhD diss., University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 2011; Miami: Susana Peña, *Oye Loca*: *From the Mariel Boatlift to Gay Cuban Miami* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2013); and Chicago: Tracy Baim, *Out and Proud in Chicago: An Overview of the City's Gay Community* (Chicago: Agate Surrey, 2008); St. Sukie de la Croix and John D'Emilio, *Chicago Whispers: A History of LGBT Chicago before Stonewall* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2012); and Amin Ghaziani, *There Goes the Gayborhood?* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2014).

[30] Michael Brown, "Gender and Sexuality II: There Goes the Gayborhood?" *Progress in Human Geography* 38, no. 3 (June 2014): 457-465; and Ghaziani, *There Goes the Gayborhood?*

[31] Dereka *Rushbrook, "Cities, Queer Space, and the Cosmopolitan Tourist"; GLQ: A Journal of Lesbian & Gay Studies* 8, no. 1/2 (January 2002): 183; and Nan Alamilla Boyd, "San Francisco's Castro District: From Gay Liberation to Tourist Destination," *Journal of Tourism and Cultural Change* 9, no. 3 (September 1, 2011): 237-248. See Auer (this volume).

[32] Benjamin Forest, "West Hollywood as Symbol: The Significance of Place in the Construction of a Gay Identity," *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 13, no. 2 (1995): 133-157; and Esther Newton, *Cherry Grove Fire Island: Sixty Years in America's First Gay and Lesbian Town* (New York: Beacon Press, 1995); Karen Christel Krahulik, "Cape Queer?: A Case Study of Provincetown, Massachusetts," *Journal of Homosexuality* 52, no. 1/2 (December 10, 2006): 185-212.

and Anaheim, California, respectively.[33] Tourist places privilege the middle and upper classes in that they can afford the travel, time away, and costs associated with such trips. The towns, especially, catered to white LGBTQ populations who possessed the privileged ability to move more freely about the United States and congregate without police agitation. Also, given men's increased incomes, LGBTQ tourism has primarily targeted gay men. Locations once shared by word of mouth became part of the central advertising focus of the increasingly visible LGBTQ media outlets of the 1990s and this still continues today.

Heteronormativity, or the privileging of male and heterosexual identities and relations while casting all others as deviant or lesser than, became the norm post-World War II, the same period of mass suburbanization. As a result, LGBTQ people were often discouraged from finding a way to make a home in the suburbs through the 2000s.[34] However, many suburbs are seeing a rise in LGBTQ populations as increased legal protections and social tolerance allows for a greater range of living options.[35] Karen Tongson's recent work on Los Angeles suburbs upsets the rural/urban dichotomy.[36] She pays special attention to the growing body of LGBTQ people of color in suburban landscapes, indicating a profound shift in these areas. Tongson especially brings to light the experience of LGBTQ people of color in suburbs as these areas diversify racially across the United States.

After decades of media and popular culture painting the rural as backwards or hateful, understandings of rural queer life have begun to shift in the public eye.[37] Historically, LGBTQ people remained closeted in rural environments or relied on upper-class status and white privilege to bend gender and sexual norms.[38] Until recently, conservative politics largely sided with anti-same-sex marriage bills by claiming LGBTQ people are deviant or undesirable in small tightly-knit communities, namely as a push against cosmopolitanism.[39] The violent murders of Brandon Teena in 1993 in his home in Humboldt, Nebraska, and of Matthew Shepard in 1998 in Laramie, Wyoming—as well as the films, television specials, and plays developed from their stories—brought national attention to the experiences of LGBTQ people in rural environments.[40] As shows like "Queer Eye for the Straight Eye" took off to national acclaim only a few years later in 2003, the American tendency toward cosmopolitanism as "chic" and rurality as "backward" became profound.

---

[33] See Petra L. Doan, *Queerying Planning* (London: Ashgate, 2011).

[34] Gill Valentine, "Negotiating and Managing Multiple Sexual Identities: Lesbian Time-Space Strategies," *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers,* New Series, 18 no. 2 (1993): 237-248; and Petra L. Doan, "The Tyranny of Gendered Spaces - Reflections from Beyond the Gender Dichotomy," *Gender, Place & Culture: A Journal of Feminist Geography* 17, no. 5 (2010): 635-654.

[35] See Doan, *Queerying Planning*.

[36] Karen Tongson, *Relocations*: *Queer Suburban Imaginaries* (New York: NYU Press, 2011).

[37] Jon Binnie and Gill Valentine, "Geographies of Sexuality - a Review of Progress," *Progress in Human Geography* 23, no. 2 (June 1999): 175-187.

Of course, many LGBTQ people have made happy homes in rural environs.[41] Unlike cities that afford visible difference, processes of kinship and community override private sexual practices in longtime rural, working-class communities.[42] The internet, social media, and mobile apps developed into a means of connection, support, and education for these more dispersed, rural populations, just as they have for urban residents.[43] LGBTQ people in non-urban communities also use and appropriate the resources they have available to them: anthropologist Mary Gray writes of white, working class LGBTQ youth in rural Kentucky embodying their genders and sexualities by performing drag in their local Wal-Mart in the 2000s. The documentary "Small Town Gay Bar" (2006) charts the dispersed, close-knit, and mid-sized community of LGBTQ people in rural

---

[38] James T. Sears, *Lonely Hunters: An Oral History of Lesbian and Gay Southern Life, 1948-1968* (Boulder, CO: Basic Books, 1997).

[39] Claire E. Rasmussen, "We're No Metrosexuals: Identity, Place and Sexuality in the Struggle over Gay Marriage," *Social & Cultural Geography* 7, no. 5 (October 2006): 807-825.

[40] Judith Halberstam, *Female Masculinity* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1998) and *In a Queer Time and Place: Transgender Bodies, Subcultural Lives* (New York: NYU Press, 2005); E. Cram, "(Dis)locating Queer Citizenship: Imagining Rurality in Matthew Shepard's Memory," In *Queering the Countryside: New Frontiers in Rural Queer Studies*, eds. by Mary L. Gray, Colin R. Johnson, and Brian J. Gilley (New York: NYU Press, 2016), 267–289.

[41] Mary L. Gray, Colin R. Johnson, and Brian J. Gilley, eds. *Queering the Countryside: New Frontiers in Rural Queer Studies* (New York: NYU Press, 2016).

[42] Mary L. Gray, *Out in the Country: Youth, Media, and Queer Visibility in Rural America* (New York: NYU Press, 2009); Herring, *Another Country*; and Colin R. Johnson, *Just Queer Folks: Gender and Sexuality in Rural America* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2001).

[43] Shaka McGlotten, *Virtual Intimacies: Media, Affect, and Queer Sociality* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2013).

Mississippi.[44] In many of these studies and histories, gender plays out differently in these areas, and masculinity in both men and women is generally accepted.[45] In all of these examples, however, most attention is paid to white experience and paints rural LGBTQ people of color still having less support and infrastructure to claim and enact physical space.

Neighborhoods and Territories

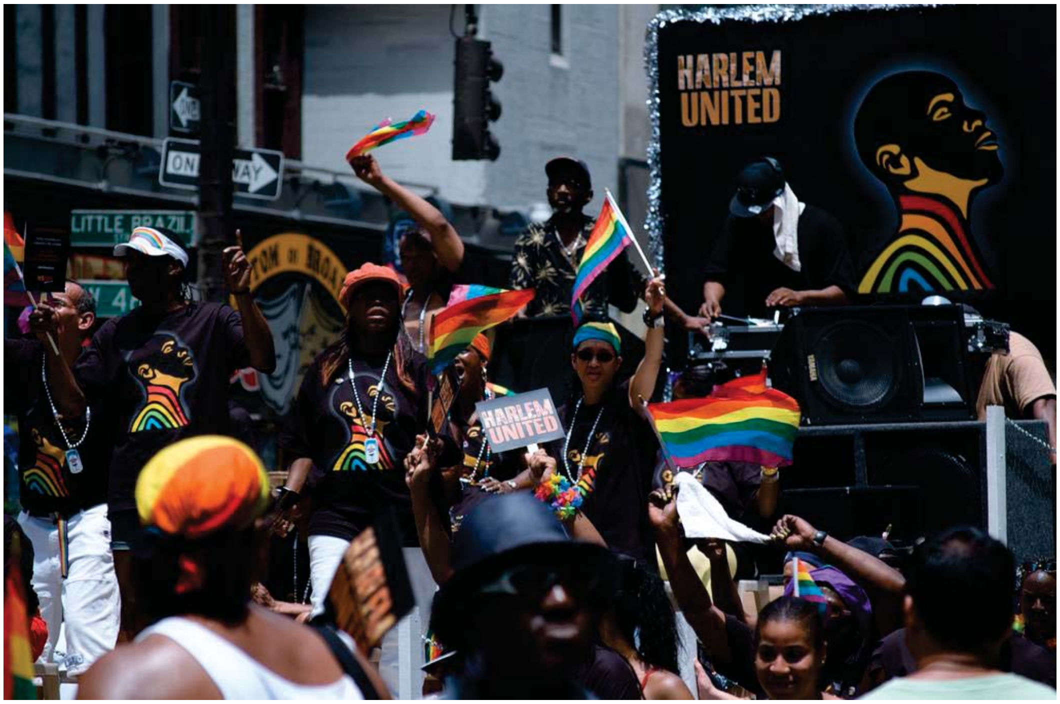


Figure 3: Harlem United provides help and advice for people in the community with HIV/AIDS. Since 1988 it has provided health and housing related services in the Harlem neighborhood of New York City, New York. Photo taken at New York City Pride by Tadekk, 2008.[46]

Throughout the twentieth century, LGBTQ people have developed physical enclaves in the form of territories in suburban or rural settings or ghettos and/or neighborhoods within cities. These spaces afford more navigable areas within those larger landscapes from which to create and share community, culture, politics, rituals, and economies. LGBTQ neighborhoods hold an iconic place in literature and popular media as a space (real or imagined) of total community, collectivity, and prosperity.[47] It is essential that any study of a LGBTQ neighborhood, ghetto, territory, or enclave be situated within the cultural, political, and economic context of the city in which it is located. For example, for gay men in New York City at the turn of the twentieth century: “the emergence of gay speakeasies and drag balls…can be understood only in the context of and more general changes in the social geography of the city,” so that while neighborhoods like the West Village and Harlem (Figure 3) afforded spatial community, these changes related heavily to the spirit of the city itself.[48] The best-known American LGBTQ neighborhoods are the Tenderloin and Castro Districts in San Francisco (Figure 4), Washington, DC's Dupont Circle, and the Greenwich Village and Chelsea neighborhoods of New York City, all of which are often used as a measure of what is or is not a LGBTQ neighborhood; as always, context matters. Other well-established LGBTQ neighborhoods include Los Angeles County's West Hollywood (California), Philadelphia's Gayborhood (Pennsylvania), Chicago's Boystown (Illinois), Houston's Montrose (Texas), San Diego's Hillcrest (California), Midtown Atlanta (Georgia), Miami Beach (Florida), and San Jose's St. Leo neighborhood (California).

---

[44] Malcolm Ingram, *Small Town Gay Bar*. Documentary, 2006.

[45] Kazyak, "Midwest or Lesbian?"

[46] License: CC BY 2.0. https://www.flickr.com/photos/tadekk/4184079836/in/album-72157622972335626

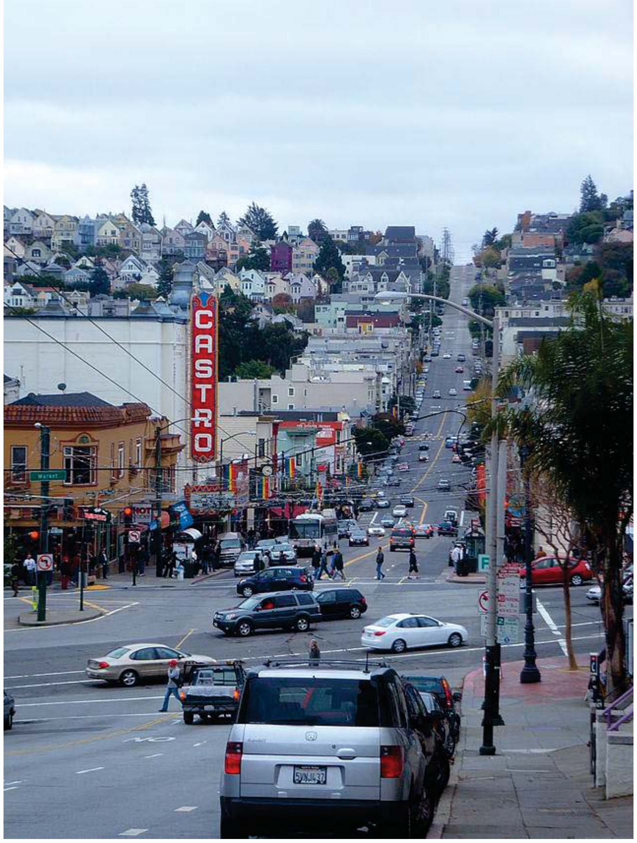


Figure 4: Castro Street, San Francisco showing the Castro Street Theatre, 429 Castro Street, San Francisco, California. Photo by Jamezcd, January 2009.[49]

---

[47] Brown, “Gender and Sexuality II.”
[48] Chauncey, *Gay New York*, 1994, 28.

Since the 1920s, LGBTQ spaces have been understood as being neighborhoods or territories.[50] A neighborhood is "dominated by residential uses," "walkable" in scale, and has a (physical) territory that is often conflated with the (social) communities that live within it.[51] LGBTQ neighborhoods are also referred to more globally as "gay villages" or, in the United States, under the colloquial term "gayborhoods."[52] These neighborhoods grew as key public establishments, public meeting grounds and centers, businesses, and residences were knit together through LGBTQ people's repeated gathering in these spaces over time. These neighborhoods form, shift, and dissolve as political economies and social and commercial networks change over time. Similar to the dissolution of other ethnic enclaves such as Chinatowns or Little Italys, the intensified gentrification, tourism, and financialization in San Francisco, for example, has rendered the Castro unrecognizable to many long-term residents and more a tourist hub.[53]

LGBTQ people in the 1970s, primarily white and middle class, developed more formal spatial concentrations in urban residential areas which eventually coalesced as "gay ghettos."[54] The term "ghetto" evokes both the broader public sense of unwanted enclaves of LGBTQ people and the margins on which they lived in society; despite this, the term has become common parlance within LGBTQ discourse as a term of recognition of overcoming such marginalization. The term "gay neighborhood," in contrast, evokes white individuals in cities, mimicking idyllic small-town life.[55] Manuel Castells argued that gay men in San Francisco's Castro District were living not in a ghetto but in a *neighborhood* based on the confluence of their unique production of

---

[49] License: CC BY-SA 3.0. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Castro_street_theatre.JPG
[50] Chauncey, *Gay New York*, 1994; and Weston, "Get Thee to a Big City."
[51] Derek Gregory et al*., The Dictionary of Human Geography,* 5th ed. (Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009); see also Monica Colombo, Cristina Mosso, and Norma De Piccoli, "Sense of Community and Participation in Urban Contexts," *Journal of Community & Applied Social Psychology* 11, no. 6 (2001): 457-464.
[52] Brown, "Gender and Sexuality II."
[53] Boyd, "San Francisco's Castro District."
[54] Martin P. Levine, *Gay Men: The Sociology of Male Homosexuality* (New York: HarperCollins, 1979).
[55] Jane Jacobs, *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* (New York: Random House, 1961).

culture, economy, and physical spaces.[56] Still today the common narrative of the LGBTQ neighborhood is a utopian one: those LGBTQ people who lived in or used these spaces often experienced a reprieve from isolation and grew communities from which to work toward social and political gains.[57] The term LGBTQ-friendly neighborhood, in comparison, refers to areas where LGBTQ business and people are in the minority, but openly welcomed, or are areas that target LGBTQ tourists.[58] The use of "ghetto" or "neighborhood" usually changed over time but also relates to an LGBTQ person's connection with that area relative to when the change in terminology happened. In more recent years, the idea of a "creative class" extols the role of LGBTQ people and artists in "improving" the conditions of cities.[59] Yet, this viewpoint is narrow.[60] As early as the 1970s, it was clear that LGBTQ people's territorial gains at society's "margins" were at the expense of a loss of space for working-class people and people of color—including LGBTQ people, making LGBTQ people key players in processes of gentrification.[61]

Due to their decreased economic and political power, it is much more difficult, if not impossible, for people of color, the poor, and women to sustain formal LGBTQ neighborhoods. Gay and queer men's bars and informal territories often dissipate and then come together again through intermittent instances of hate crimes and practices of cruising, respectively. This dissolve-rebuild pattern can be seen, for example, in communities of Latino and South Asian men in the Jackson Heights neighborhood in Queens, New York.[62] Perhaps the only neighborhoods to lay claim to the title "lesbian neighborhoods" are Park Slope in Brooklyn, New York, Andersonville in Chicago, Illinois, and the Mission or Valencia of San Francisco, California.[63] Unlike gay men's neighborhoods or cruising grounds, lesbians and queer women possess "spatial concentrations" because they are rarely known to possess and retain urban territories.[64]

---

[56] Manuel Castells, "Cultural Identity, Sexual Liberation and Urban Structure: The Gay Community in San Francisco," in *The City and the Grassroots: A Cross-Cultural Theory of Urban Social Movements* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983), 138-172.

[57] Knopp, *Homo Economics*; Sarah Elwood, "Lesbian Living Spaces: Multiple Meanings of Home," in *From Nowhere to Everywhere: Lesbian Geographies*, ed. Gill Valentine (Binghamton, NY: Harrington Park Press, 2000), 11-28; and Enke, *Finding the Movement*.

[58] Andrew Gorman-Murray and Gordon Waitt, "Queer-Friendly Neighbourhoods: Interrogating Social Cohesion Across Sexual Differences in Two Australian Neighbourhoods," *Environment and Planning A* 41, no. 12 (2009): 2855-2873; Boyd, "San Francisco's Castro District."

[59] Richard Florida, *The Rise of the Creative Class--Revisited: 10th Anniversary Edition,* rev. ed. (New York: Basic Books, 2012).

[60] Tiffany Muller Myrdahl, "Queerying Creative Cities," in *Queerying Planning*, 157-168.

[61] Hanhardt, *Safe Space*.

This distinction is based largely on the ever persistent gender pay gap and women's lesser power and authority, which leads them to rent longer and buy later as house prices continue to climb.[65] Lesbians' sexual practices also do not require or claim public cruising spaces like those of gay men, which also adds to their invisibility.[66] Most invisible are lesbians and queer women of color whose neighborhood-like areas may be intentionally less visible in neighborhoods of color.[67] An expectation that LGBTQ people are able to territorialize and own their spaces privileges the viewpoint of elite, white capitalist society. As a result, special attention must be paid to those spaces which may not have been owned by LGBTQ people.

Scholars have noted that gentrifiers who possess less wealth—namely women and people of color—are eventually economically displaced by later, more economically stable waves of gentrification.[69] Much has been made of the 2000 and 2010 census data on the location of same-sex couples which has been interpreted as showing the waning of LGBTQ neighborhoods throughout the United States.[70] As many LGBTQ people do not have the means to form full neighborhoods, some LGBTQ people are grouping together in smaller enclaves or clusters of residences rather than full neighborhoods with commercial and residential elements. Still, across races and classes, LGBTQ neighborhoods matter to people across gender

---

[62] Martin F. Manalansan IV, "Race, Violence, and Neoliberal Spatial Politics in the Global City," *Social Text* 23, no. 3/4 (Fall 2005): 41-55.

[63] See Tamar Y. Rothenberg, "'And She Told Two Friends': Lesbians Creating Urban Social Space," in *Mapping Desire: Geographies of Sexualities*, eds. David J. Bell and Gill Valentine (New York: Routledge, 1995), 165-181; Ghaziani, *There Goes the Gayborhood?*; and Deborah Goleman Wolf, *The Lesbian Community* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979).

[64] Rothenberg, "And She Told Two Friends'"; Doan, *Planning and LGBTQ Communities*.

[65] S.Y. Adler and Johanna Brenner, "Gender and Space: Lesbian and Gay Men in the City," *International Journal of Urban & Regional Research* 16, no. 1 (1992): 24-34; Melissa W. Wright, *Disposable Women and Other Myths of Global Capitalism* (New York: Routledge, 2006); and Jen Jack Gieseking, "Crossing Over into Territories of the Body: Urban Territories, Borders, and Lesbian-Queer Bodies in New York City," *Area*, 2015.

[66] Jen Jack Gieseking, "Living in an (In)Visible World: Lesbians' and Queer Women's Spaces and Experiences of Justice and Oppression in New York City, 1983-2008," PhD diss., The Graduate Center, City University of New York, 2013, http://jgieseking.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/09/Gieseking-dissertation-Living-in-an-InVisible-World-2013.pdf

[67] Mignon R. Moore, *Invisible Families: Gay Identities, Relationships, and Motherhood among Black Women* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011); and Gieseking, "Crossing Over."

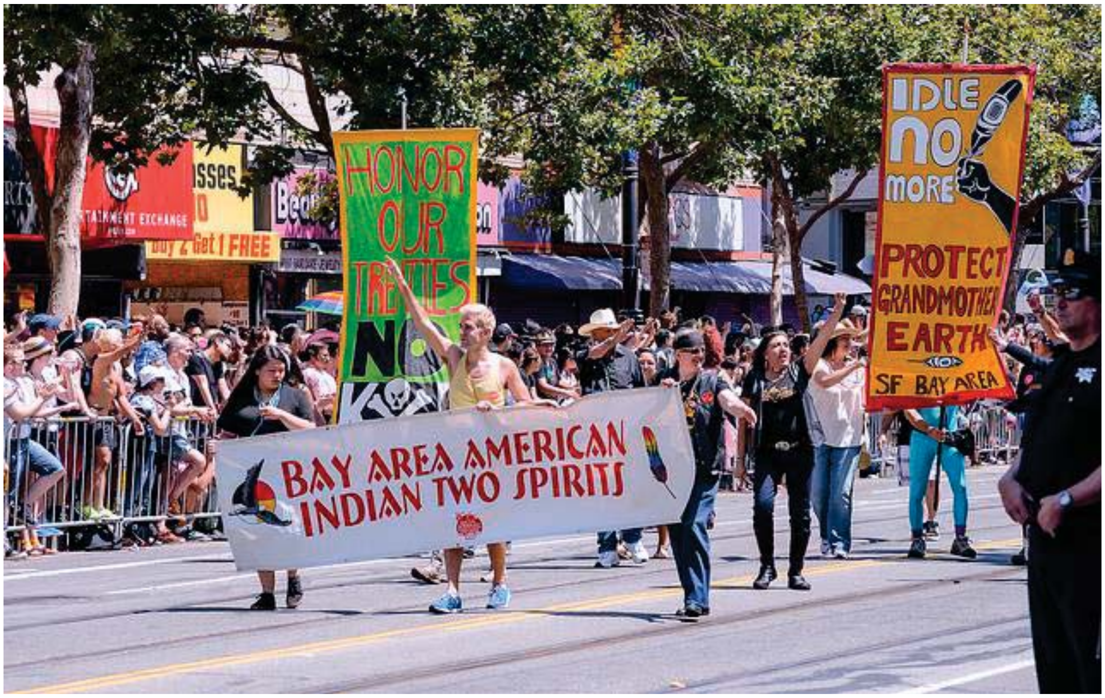

HONOR OUR TREATIES
IDLE NO MORE
PROTECT GRANDMOTHER EARTH
SF BAY AREA
BAY AREA AMERICAN INDIAN TWO SPIRITS
Buy 2 Get 1 FREE

Figure 5: The Bay Area American Indian Two Spirits march in the San Francisco Pride Parade. Photo by InSapphoWeTrust, 2013.[68]

---

[68] License: CC BY-SA 2.0. https://www.flickr.com/photos/skinnylawyer/9214887596

[69] Tiffany Muller Myrdahl, "Ordinary (small) Cities and LGBQ Lives," *ACME* 12, no. 2 (2009): 279-304; Petra L. Doan and Harrison Higgins, "The Demise of Queer Space? Resurgent Gentrification and the Assimilation of LGBT Neighborhoods," *Journal of Planning Education and Research* 31, no. 1 (March 2011): 6-25; and Gieseking, "Crossing Over."

[70] Gary Gates, Jason Ost, and Elizabeth Birch, *The Gay & Lesbian Atlas* (Washington, DC: Urban Institute Press, 2004); Michael Brown and Larry Knopp, "Places or Polygons? Governmentality, Scale, and the Census in the Gay and Lesbian Atlas," *Population, Space and Place* 12, no. 4 (July 1, 2006): 223-242; and Amy L. Spring, "Declining Segregation of Same-Sex Partners: Evidence from Census 2000 and 2010," *Population Research and Policy Review* 32, no. 5 (October 2013): 687-716.

and sexual identities—who see these spaces as a place to meet, mingle, and mark history.[71]

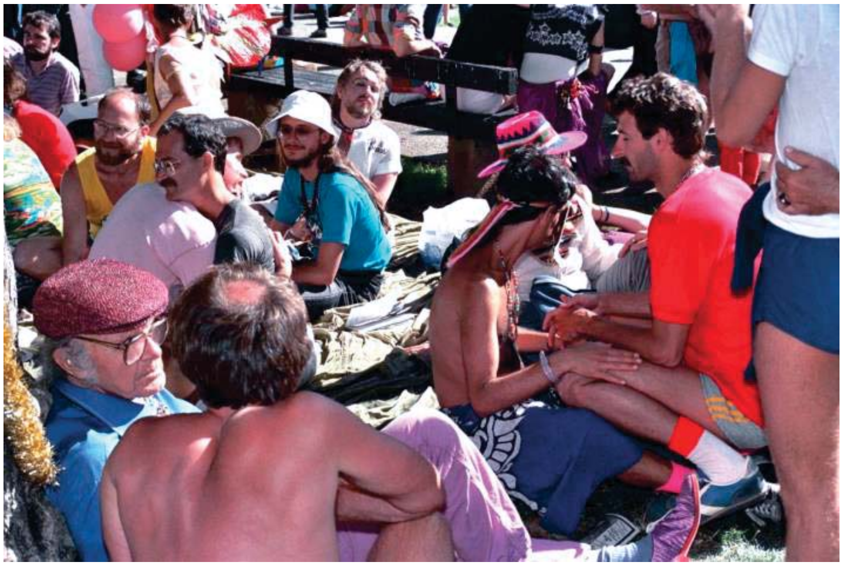


Figure 6: Harry Hay (lower left, in the cap), one of the founders of the Radical Faeries, at San Francisco Pride—likely with other Faeries. Photo by Alan Light, June 1986.[72]

The concept of territories is best applied to areas carved out by LGBTQ people in urban public spaces or within rural spaces. From the 1890s through the 1920s, gay men in New York City claimed the most remote and unwanted spaces of the city as cruising grounds for public sex, friendship, conversation, and recognition. Cruising grounds included public spaces the likes of waterfronts, beaches, bathrooms, bathhouses, and parks such as the Ramble in Central Park in Manhattan and Riis Beach in Queens, New York.[73] Such areas are still used today by men and transgender people across races and classes, despite intensified policing and gentrification that have made them difficult to sustain.[74]

---

[71] Nathaniel M. Lewis, "Moving 'Out,' Moving On: Gay Men's Migrations Through the Life Course," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 104, no. 2 (March 2014): 225-233; and Gieseking, "Crossing Over."

[72] License: CC BY 2.0. https://www.flickr.com/photos/alan-light/1929106169

[73] Chauncey, "Stud". Central Park was listed on the NRHP on October 15, 1966 and designated an NHL on May 23, 1963. Riis Beach, part of Jacob Riis Park, is part of the Jamaica Bay Unit of the NPS's Gateway National Recreation Area. Jacob Riis Park Historic District was listed on the NRHP on June 17, 1981. Other cruising spaces include The Block (bounded by First, Franklin, Main, and Foushee Streets in Richmond, Virginia) a gay cruising area in the 1940s; and Pershing Square (South Olive Street, Los Angeles, California), known from the 1920s-1960s as "The Run," a cruising place for men that included the Central Library (listed on the NRHP on December 18, 1970), bathrooms in the Subway Terminal Building (Hill and Olive Streets; listed on the NRHP on August 2, 2006; now used as residences), and the bar at the Biltmore Hotel (506 South Grand Avenue).

[74] Delany, *Times Square Red, Times Square Blue*; and McGlotten, "A Brief and Improper History of Queerspaces and Sexpublics in Austin, Texas."

In rural environments, LGBTQ people have created their own loosely-knit residential communities.[75] On reservations, and beyond, Native Americans who identify as two-spirit organize and gather (Figure 5).[76] Other rural territories have been established driven by gender separatism and a need to escape the mass of city denizens and social expectations. In the 1970s, lesbian feminists created their own Lesbian Nation, territories away from mainstream patriarchal society in the form of "women's land" or the "landdyke movement."[77] These territories include Sugarloaf Women's Village in the Florida Keys, Florida, and the Wisconsin Womyn's Land Co-op in Monroe County, Wisconsin. Fewer women are

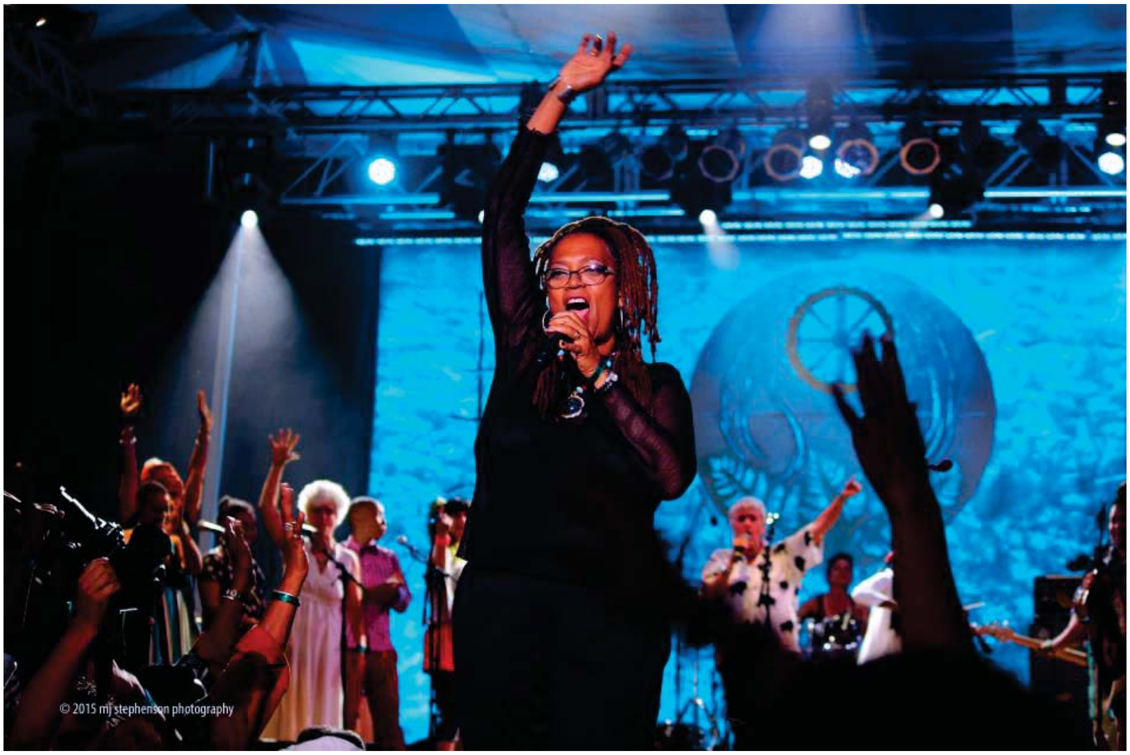


Figure 7: Judith Casselberry singing "Amazon/Rise Again" at the opening celebration of the final Michigan Womyn's Music Festival in 2015. Pictured in the background (left to right) are the following Amazons: Shelley Nicole, Gina Breedlove, Cree Breedlove McClellan, Gretchen Phillips, Hanifah Walidah, Bitch, Cris Williamson, Allison Miller (drums), and Aleah Long. Photo courtesy of photographer MJ Stephenson.

---

[75] See Kate Davis, *Southern Comfort*, 2001.

[76] See Will Roscoe, *The Zuni Man-Woman,* reprint ed. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1992); Scott Lauria Morgensen, *Spaces between Us*: *Queer Settler Colonialism and Indigenous Decolonization,* (Minneapolis: University Of Minnesota Press, 2011). For more information on Native American experiences, see Roscoe (this volume).

[77] Faderman, *Odd Girls and Twilight Lovers*; Gill Valentine, "Making Space: Lesbian Separatist Communities in the United States," in *Contested Countryside Cultures: Rurality and Socio-Cultural Marginalisation*, eds. Paul Cloke and Jo Little (New York: Routledge, 1997), 105-117.

moving to these lands and with few children and a refusal to permit men on the land, many of these matriarchal communities, including the Alapine Village in northeastern Alabama, are starting to fade.[78] Men also have created separate spaces for themselves in rural areas. While now a multigender group, the Radical Faeries have been practicing rituals of men-loving-men in eleven rural "sanctuaries" across the United States (Figure 6).[79] In 1979, the Radical Faeries had their first gathering at Sri Ram Ashram Ranch, located outside Benson, Arizona. The Camp Trans campground in Monroe County, Wisconsin, was formed in opposition to and outside of the women-born-women-only policy of the Michigan Womyn's Music Festival, and affords a space for people across genders who support and respect transgender people. The MichFest, as it was informally known, ran for forty years from 1976 to 2015 and afforded freedom and security for tens of thousands of cis-gendered women in rural Michigan that they previously could not imagine (Figure 7).

A Range of LGBTQ Places

Across cities, suburbs, and rural settings, and within and beyond territories and neighborhoods, LGBTQ places evoke the practices that define this group and vice versa. Contrary to the idea of place as merely fixed coordinates on a map, place is dynamic; it is always becoming.[80] Attachments to and memories of place contribute to forming identities and navigating experiences.[81] In this section, places are examined by the primary practices that form them. Because LGBTQ people often have fewer resources and access to capital, many LGBTQ places are impermanent and temporary—for example, rented, or borrowed spaces for meetings. This impermanence, however, does not necessarily lessen the importance of these places.

---

[78] Sarah Kershaw, "My Sister's Keeper," *New York Times*, February 1, 2009, http://www.nytimes.com/2009/02/01/fashion/01womyn.html?scp=1&sq=kershaw%20keeper&st=cse

[79] Morgensen, *Spaces between Us*.

[80] Harold Proshansky, Anne K. Fabian, and Robert Kaminoff, "Place-Identity: Physical World Socialization of the Self," *Journal of Environmental Psychology* 3 (1983): 57–83; and Tim Cresswell, *In Place/Out of Place: Geography, Ideology, and Transgression,* Minnesota Archive Editions (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996).

[81] Dolores Hayden, *The Power of Place: Urban Landscapes as Public History* (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 1997).

Since the 1920s, one type of space, bars, has been most closely associated with LGBTQ communities by both society at large and LGBTQ individuals.[83] Bars were the only spaces that afforded socializing and "prepolitical" gatherings in the 1930s to 1960s, places where those of varying genders, sexualities, and races could mix. These were predominantly working-class establishments.[84] While smaller cities and towns have fewer places where all LGBTQ people can gather, LGBTQ bars in cities are often highly segregated by race and class because greater numbers of people allowed for places where specific groups can congregate.

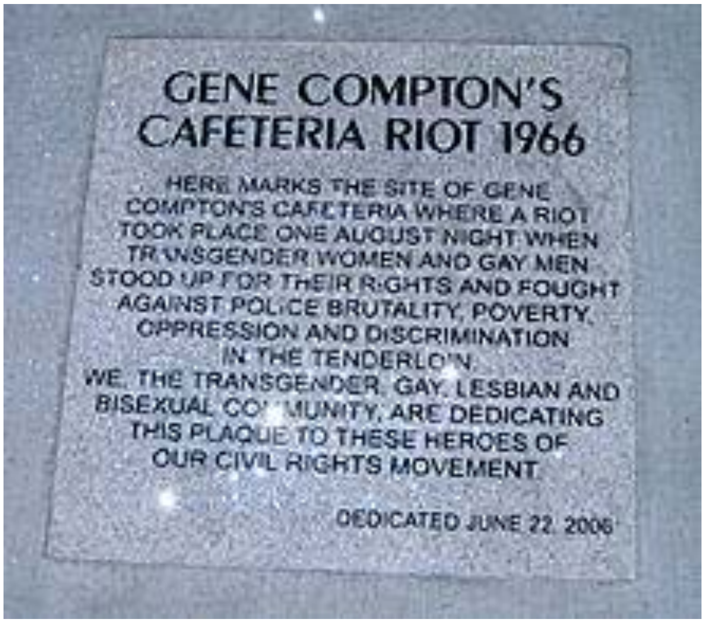

GENE COMPTON'S
CAFETERIA RIOT 1966
HERE MARKS THE SITE OF GENE COMPTON'S CAFETERIA WHERE A RIOT TOOK PLACE ONE AUGUST NIGHT WHEN TRANSGENDER WOMEN AND GAY MEN STOOD UP FOR THEIR RIGHTS AND FOUGHT AGAINST POLICE BRUTALITY, POVERTY, OPPRESSION AND DISCRIMINATION IN THE TENDERLOIN.
WE, THE TRANSGENDER, GAY, LESBIAN AND BISEXUAL COMMUNITY, ARE DEDICATING THIS PLAQUE TO THESE HEROES OF OUR CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT.
DEDICATED JUNE 22, 2006

Figure 8: Plaque commemorating the Compton's Cafeteria riot of 1966, located at the corner of Taylor and Turk Streets, San Francisco, California. Photo by GayleSF, June 2006.[82]

In a recent study of transgender people's experience of LGBTQ place, female-to-male transgender people often are not welcome or feel unwelcome in women-only lesbian or male-only gay bars, and seek out queer bars instead, which welcome a broad spectrum of genders.[85] Male-to-female transgender people and drag queens more often find community in gay men's bars.[86] Intensifying gentrification and rising rents and property values have played a role in the closing of many LGBTQ bars today; the last lesbian bars in San Francisco (the Lexington Club) and in Washington, DC (Phase One) closed early in 2015, and the oldest continuing black LGBTQ bar in New York City, the Starlite Lounge, closed in 2011 after fifty-two years in business.[87]

---

[82] Image in public domain. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Plaque_commemorating_Compton's_Cafeteria_riot.jpg

[83] See Joseph Harry, "Urbanization and the Gay Life," *The Journal of Sex Research* 10, no. 3 (August 1, 1974): 238–247; D'Emilio, *Sexual Politics, Sexual Communities*; Kennedy and Davis, *Boots of Leather, Slippers of Gold*; Joan Nestle in *Queers in Space*, 61-68; and Wolfe in *Queers in Space*, 301-324.

[84] Kennedy and Davis, *Boots of Leather, Slippers of Gold*; see also D'Emilio, *Sexual Politics, Sexual Communities*.

[85] Nash, "Trans Experiences in Lesbian and Queer Space."

In addition to bars, LGBTQ people are often associated with political spaces and spaces of protest because of the strong visibility of the LGBTQ movement. Bold activist protests have been hallmarks of the movement. In 1966, a group of LGBTQ hustlers and drag queens refused to acquiesce to police brutality at Compton's Cafeteria in the Tenderloin District of San Francisco and, for the first time in recorded history, fought back against police (Figure 8).[88] This event and others paved the way for a spontaneous riot against police brutality of LGBTQ individuals on June 27, 1969, at the Stonewall Inn, a predominantly gay bar with a smaller clientele of lesbians, transgender people, and bisexuals in New York City's Greenwich Village.[89] Since 1970, the Stonewall Riot has been marked and celebrated annually and internationally as the Pride March and Pride celebrations. Inspired by these uprisings and the radical movements of the 1960s and 1970s, a public gay and lesbian movement grew alongside and often in solidarity with other movements, often occupying homes, workplaces, campuses, and antiracist, anarchist, labor, and Marxist meeting spaces.[90] Examples include the first Latino/a LGBTQ rights organization, Gay Latino Alliance, founded in San Francisco in 1975, as well as the Community Building in Washington, DC.[91]

---

[86] Kale Bantigue Fajardo, "Queering and Transing the Great Lakes Filipino/a Tomboy Masculinities and Manhoods across Waters," *GLQ: A Journal of Lesbian and Gay Studies* 20, no. 1–2 (January 1, 2014): 115–140.

[87] Jen Jack Gieseking, "On the Closing of the Last Lesbian Bar in San Francisco: What the Demise of the Lex Tells Us About Gentrification," *Huffington Post*, http://www.huffingtonpost.com/jen-jack-gieseking/on-the-closing-of-the-las_b_6057122.html. The Lexington Club was located at 3464 Nineteenth Street, San Francisco, California; Phase One was located at 525 Eighth Street NE, Washington, DC; and the Starlite Lounge was at 1213 McDonald Avenue, Brooklyn, New York.

[88] Susan Stryker, "Transgender History, Homonormativity, and Disciplinarity," *Radical History Review*, no. 100 (2008): 144–157; and Susan Stryker, *Transgender History* (Berkeley, CA: Seal Press, 2008). Compton Cafeteria was located at 101 Taylor Street, San Francisco, California. It is a contributing element to the Uptown Tenderloin Historic District (listed on the NRHP on February 5, 2009).

[89] Martin Bauml Duberman, *Stonewall* (New York: Plume, 1994); and Karla Jay, *Tales Of The Lavender Menace: A Memoir Of Liberation*, new edition (New York: Basic Books, 2000). Stonewall, at 53 Christopher Street, New York City, was listed on the NRHP on June 28, 1999; designated an NHL on February 16, 2000; and declared the Stonewall National Monument (an NPS unit) on June 24, 2016.

[90] Stein, *Rethinking the Gay and Lesbian Movement*; and Hanhardt, *Safe Space*.

The eruption of the HIV/AIDS epidemic in the 1980s incited the growth of national and international in-your-face activist actions, confronting issues such as healthcare, childcare, harassment, racism, violence, and the gender pay gap.[92] These groups took the fight to those who ignored their cries for help; the group ACT UP laid down during the archbishop's mass at St. Patrick's Cathedral on Fifth Avenue in New York City to protest the Vatican's dismissal of AIDS research and rejection of LGBTQ people in 1989 (Figure 9).[93] At the same time, thousands of small local organizations formed in cities, towns, colleges, and high schools across the country to address local injustices. In the 1990s, large rounds of defunding of the federal government led to the outgrowth of a nonprofit industrialization complex, absorbing nascent organizations into official nonprofit status and often dampening radical trajectories.[94] In the 2000s, the mainstream LGBTQ movement began to focus almost exclusively on obtaining same-sex marriage rights and overturning "Don't Ask, Don't Tell" policies in the military.[95] Conversations around "respectability politics," laying claim to being part of already dominant social norms like marriage, are now at the center of many LGBTQ debates and will likely define many

---

[91] Horacio N. Roque Ramirez, "That's My Place!: Negotiating Racial, Sexual, and Gender Politics in San Francisco's Gay Latino Alliance, 1975-1983," *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 12, no. 2 (April 2003): 224–258.
The key period of significance for the Community Center was 1971 to 1981. In the 1960s and early 1970s, this location, known as the Community Building, was a center of counterculture and antiwar activity. The site housed Earthworks and Lambda Rising and organized the first Gay Pride in 1975. The building also housed the Gay Switchboard, "Blade," "off our backs," Bread and Roses, The Black Panther Defense League, and other organizations. It was located at 1724 Twentieth Street NW, Washington, DC.

[92] Laraine Sommeila and Maxine Wolfe in *Queers in Space,* 407-438; and Hanhardt, *Safe Space*.

[93] Sommeila and Wolfe, *Queers in Space,* 407-438. St. Patrick's Cathedral was listed on the NRHP and designated an NHL on December 8, 1976.

[94] Max J. Andrucki and Glen S. Elder, "Locating the State in Queer Space: GLBT Non-Profit Organizations in Vermont, USA," *Social & Cultural Geography* 8 (February 2007): 89–104; and INCITE! Women of Color Against Violence, ed., *The Revolution Will Not Be Funded: Beyond the Non-Profit Industrial Complex* (Cambridge, MA: South End Press, 2009).

[95] Stein, *Rethinking the Gay and Lesbian Movement*, 20.

LGBTQ spaces in the future.[96]

Practices of socialization are a central element of all LGBTQ spaces and take many forms, ranging from churches to coffee shops, Women's National Basketball Association (WNBA) games to Pride parades, community centers to music festivals.[98] The sexual openness of the late 1910s and 1920s afforded a wider but still small swath of places with which to find one another.[99] As the twentieth century progressed, LGBTQ individuals and communities—and therefore their spaces—became more

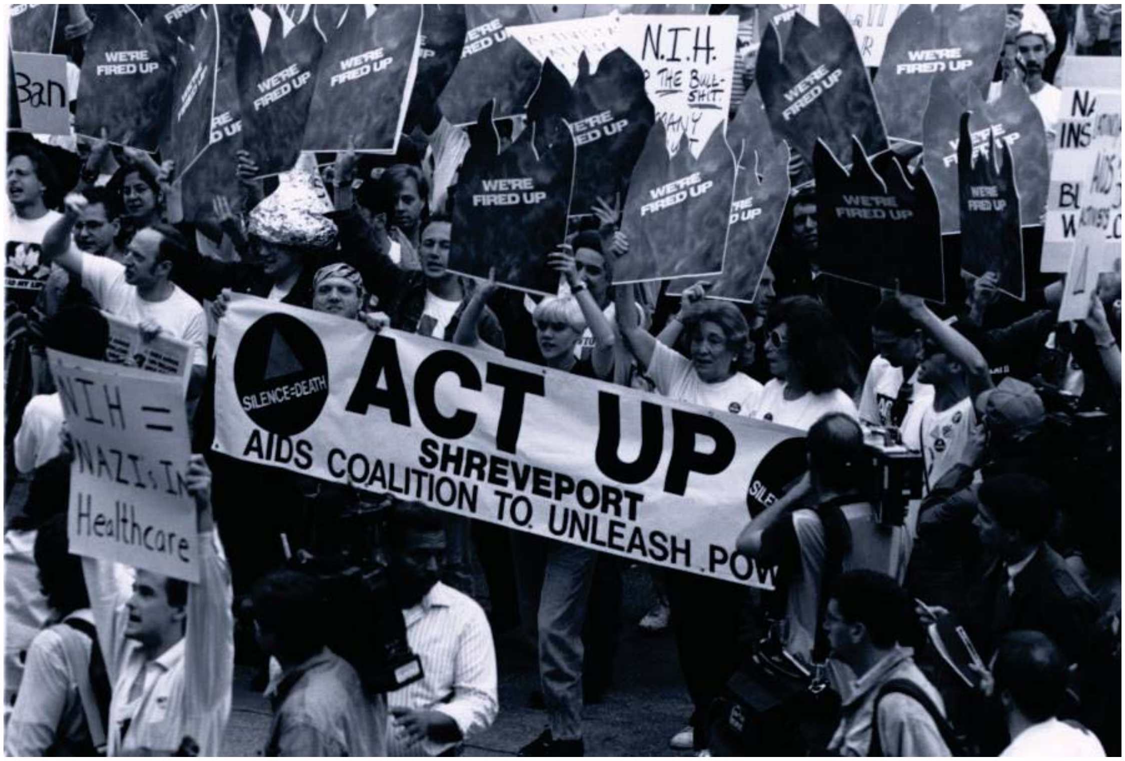


Figure 9: ACT UP demonstration, "Storm the NIH," at the National Institutes of Health on May 21, 1990. These demonstrations included various ACT UP groups from different parts of the United States; this photo shows the Shreveport, Louisiana ACT UP group. Photo from the Branson Collection, NIH.[97]

---

[96] Melinda Chateauvert, *Sex Workers Unite: A History of the Movement from Stonewall to SlutWalk* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2014).

[97] License: CC BY-NC-SA 2.0. https://www.flickr.com/photos/nihlibrary/5489664922/in/photostream/

[98] See Gill Valentine, "Creating Transgressive Space: The Music of k. d. Lang," *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, New Series, 20, no. 4 (1995): 474–485; Retter in *Queers in Space*; Wolfe in *Queers in Space*, 199; Neil Miller, *Out of the Past: Gay and Lesbian History from 1869 to the Present* (New York: Advocate Books, 2008); and Tiffany Muller Myrdahl, "Lesbian Visibility and the Politics of Covering in Women's Basketball Game Spaces," *Leisure Studies* 30, no. 2 (2011): 139–156.

[99] Chauncey, *Gay New York*, 1994.

and more visible. In recent decades, this turning sociopolitical tide has included religious spaces.[100] Founded by Reverend Troy Perry and others in 1969 in his private residence in Huntington Park, California, the now international Metropolitan Community Church (MCC) gave many LGBTQ people a home when other churches rejected them.[101] By the late twentieth century, LGBTQ leisure spaces maintained specific roles "as sites of safety, community, political power and identity formation."[102] For example, WNBA games across the United States are particularly welcoming spaces for lesbians.[103]

Cultural institutions including museums, universities, archives, libraries, and theaters have traditionally provided spaces for LGBTQ people to gather and express themselves. Artists pushed boundaries and brought to light difficult issues. In 2010, gay artist David Wojnarowicz's artwork was removed from a National Portrait Gallery show in Washington, DC after the second outcry about its profanity; the first negative responses came in 1989 when the work was first shown.[104] This event also recalled the 1989 debates over gay artist Robert Mapplethorpe's art not being shown at the Corcoran Gallery of Art after it was shown, along with Wojnarowicz's work, at the Institute of Contemporary Art in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.[105] LGBTQ archives have become cutting-edge research sites located across the country. Some examples include: the ONE National Gay & Lesbian

---

[100] For more information on the role of religion in LGBTQ spaces, see Bourn (this volume).

[101] Jenell Williams Paris and Rory E. Anderson, "Faith-Based Queer Space in Washington, DC: The Metropolitan Community Church-DC and Mount Vernon Square," *Gender, Place & Culture: A Journal of Feminist Geography* 8, no. 2 (June 2001): 149–168.

[102] Kath Browne and Leela Bakshi, "We Are Here to Party? Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Trans Leisurescapes beyond Commercial Gay Scenes," *Leisure Studies* 30, no. 2 (April 2011): 179-196.

[103] Tiffany Muller Myrdahl, "Lesbian Visibility."

[104] Holland Cotter, "As Ants Crawl Over Crucifix, Dead Artist Is Assailed Again," *New York Times*, December 10, 2010, http://www.nytimes.com/2010/12/11/arts/design/11ants.html. The National Portrait Gallery is located in the Old Patent Office Building at Eighth Street NW and F Street NW, Washington, DC. It was listed on the NRHP on October 15, 1966 and designated an NHL on January 12, 1965. The Institute of Contemporary Art is located at 118 South Thirty-Sixth Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

[105] Judith Tannenbaum, "Robert Mapplethorpe: The Philadelphia Story," *Art Journal* 50, no. 4 (December 1, 1991): 71–76; The Corcoran Gallery, which closed in 2014, was located at Seventeenth Street NW at New York Avenue, Washington, DC. It was listed on the NRHP on May 6, 1971 and designated an NHL on April 27, 1992. For more information on this topic, see Burk (this volume). See also Helen Molesworth, *This Will Have Been: Art, Love, and Politics in the 1980s* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2012), 369-373.

Archives at the University of Southern California and older LGBTQ archives like the Buffalo Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender Archives now at SUNY Buffalo; the Black Queer Studies Collection at the University of Texas at Austin; the June Mazer Lesbian Archives; the Gay and Lesbian Archive of Mid-America at the University of Missouri-Kansas City; the Transgender Archives at the Transgender Foundation of America; and the Lesbian Herstory Archives.[106] Some of the archives remain in private holdings in private homes, although many have become part of public archives.[107]

Queer economies are as complicated and diverse as the people themselves. The concept for LGBTQ people to "Buy gay!" emerged from Harvey Milk's 1977 campaign in San Francisco's Castro District as a response to the heterosexuals who would not sell to LGBTQ people.[108] LGBTQ publicly-owned and run businesses like restaurants, cafes, food co-operatives, bars, bookstores, and sex toy stores have played an essential role in the survival and community of this group. Like most LGBTQ businesses—once a central part of the American urban landscape from the 1970s through the 2000s—LGBTQ bookstores (and presses and publishers) are steadily disappearing.[109] Like other key businesses before them, one of the oldest and best-known bookstores, Women & Children First serves as a hub for Chicago's LGBTQ neighborhood of Andersonville, and Charis Books and More serves as a hub for the Candler Park neighborhood in Atlanta, Georgia.[110] LGBTQ communities and areas built up around certain places.[111] Much of LGBTQ culture and many LGBTQ spaces have been commodified because of what is read as their cosmopolitanism or through processes of gentrification.[112] The country's first LGBTQ bookstore, Giovanni's Room recently reopened as a thrift- and bookstore.[113] This change in business focus is due to processes of gentrification as well as the shift to online book buying. At the same time, many LGBTQ people seek to fight against capitalist practices that work hand-in-hand with patriarchal, racist, colonial, and heterosexist oppressions by producing more diverse and less hierarchical economic practices.[114]

---

[106] See Ann Cvetkovich, *An Archive of Feelings: Trauma, Sexuality, and Lesbian Public Cultures* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2003); and Rachel Wexelbaum, ed., *Queers Online: LGBT Digital Practices in Libraries, Archives, and Museums* (Sacramento, CA: Litwin Books, 2015). The ONE National Gay & Lesbian Archives are located at 909 West Adams Boulevard, Los Angeles, California; the Buffalo Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender Archives are located at 1300 Elmwood Avenue, Buffalo, New York; the June Mazer Lesbian Archives are located at 626 North Robertson Boulevard, West Hollywood, California; the Gay and Lesbian Archive of Mid-America is at 800 East Fifty-First Street, Kansas City, Missouri; the Transgender Archives are located at 604 Pacific Street, Houston, Texas; the Lesbian Herstory Archives was founded and housed for many years in the apartment of Joan Nestle on 92nd Street before moving to 484 14th Street, Brooklyn, New York.

[107] For more information on archival preservation, see Koskovich (this volume).

[108] Alexandra Chasin, *Selling Out: The Gay and Lesbian Movement Goes to Market* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2001). Milk ran his campaign from his shop, Castro Camera, at 573-575 Castro Street, San Francisco, CA.

[109] See for example the ever dwindling numbers of bookstores at "LGBT Bookstores," Lambda Literary Foundation website, accessed June 2, 2015, http://www.lambdaliterary.org/resources/bookstores.

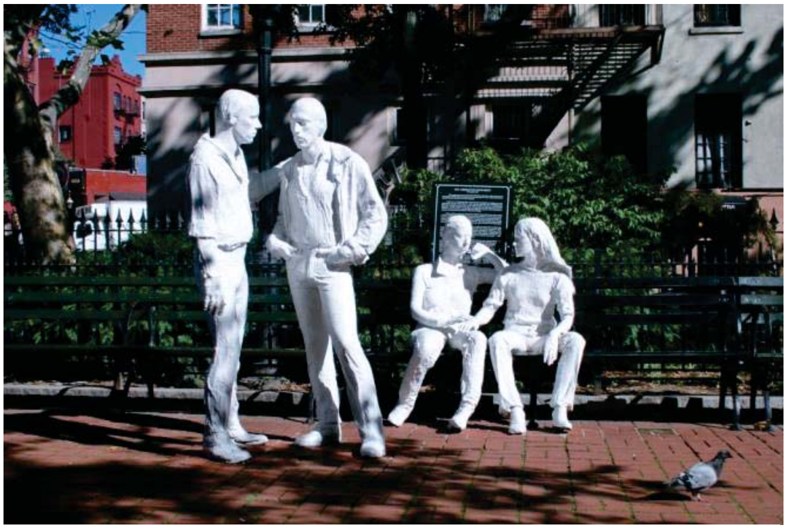


Figure 10: *The Gay Liberation Monument* (1980) by artist George Segal, located in Christopher Park, across the street from the Stonewall Inn, New York City. Photo by Raphael Isla, August 2013.[115]

While many view home as a refuge, many LGBTQ people have experienced unsafe circumstances, domestic violence, and/or being unwelcome in their family homes (Figure 10).[116] In the early twentieth century, some upper-class women lived together in what were called "Boston marriages." Whether these women were physically intimate together is often unknown, but their relationships were described as "romantic friendships."[117] Meanwhile, gay men in the late twentieth century redefined gender stereotypes while claiming spaces of domesticity.[118] Home ownership—a key component of the American dream—is an unreachable goal for many LGBTQ people. In general, women earn less money than men; people of color earn less and have higher unemployment rates than whites; and transgender people are disproportionately out of work.[119] It is, therefore, important to consider an individual's identity as well as their geography, education, and occupation when considering the possibilities of their access to different types of spaces.

---

[110] Women & Children First is located at 5233 North Clark Street, Chicago, Illinois; Charis Books and More is located at 1189 Euclid Avenue NE, Atlanta, Georgia.

[111] For example, Hula's Bar and Lei Stand, 2103 Kuhio Avenue, Honolulu, Hawai'i. The opening of this bar in the 1970s drew other gay businesses to the area. The district (known as the Kuhio District) was redeveloped in the late 1990s, with one developer noting that the removal of the area's "alternative-type places" would improve the economic viability of the area. Hula's moved to the Waikiki Grand Hotel.

[112] Chasin, *Selling Out*; Boyd, "San Francisco's Castro District."

[113] Giovanni's Room is located at 345 South Twelfth Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

[114] Michael Brown, "Thinking beyond Homonormativity: Performative Explorations of Diverse Gay Economies," *Environment and Planning A* 41, no. 6 (2009): 1496–1510.

[115] License: CC BY-SA 4.0. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Gay_Liberation_Monument.jpg

[116] Elwood, *From Nowhere to Everywhere*; Lynda Johnston and Gill Valentine, "Wherever I Lay My Girlfriend, That's My Home: The Performance and Surveillance of Lesbian Identities in Domestic Environments," in *Mapping Desire*, 66-74.

Spaces of sex and sexuality are not limited to public places like parks or to private residences, but also include those associated with the study of sexuality at places like the Kinsey Institute in Indiana; performances of drag shows and burlesque; and private or semi-private places for sex like sex parties, dark rooms, peep booths, and backrooms.[120] Public displays of affection, like kissing and hand-holding, still mark LGBTQ places, and in many areas are still perceived as acts of resistance.[121]

Preservation, memorialization, and monumentalization are more unusual than common in LGBTQ spaces and history. Only recently are LGBTQ histories, spaces, and places being honored and remembered rather than attacked or excluded (Figure 11).[122] One powerful example is the Names Project AIDS Memorial Quilt. Conceived of and first housed at the Jose Theater Building in San Francisco, the quilt was first displayed in its entirety in October 1987 on the National Mall in Washington, DC.[123] Now too large to be seen at once, with over 48,000 panels and 94,000 names, the quilt tours in parts throughout the United States. While not a specifically LGBTQ space, the State of Pennsylvania commemorates the Annual Reminders at Independence Hall, indicating that many key spaces of preservation are not wholly permanent.[124] LGBTQ people often recall and share their history with walking tours, which can be found in places including Washington, DC, San Francisco and Los Angeles, California, and New York City.

---

[117] Faderman, *Odd Girls and Twilight Lovers*.

[118] Andrew Gorman-Murray, "Reconciling Self: Gay Men and Lesbians Using Domestic Materiality for Identity Management," *Social & Cultural Geography* 9, no. 3 (May 2008): 283–301.

[119] Adler and Brenner, "Gender and Space"; and Desiree Fields and Sabina Uffer, "The Financialisation of Rental Housing: A Comparative Analysis of New York City and Berlin," *Urban Studies*, July 31, 2014, 0042098014543704.

[120] Karen Winkler, "Kinsey, Sex Research, and the Body of Knowledge: Let's Talk About Sex," *Women's Studies Quarterly* 33, no. 3/4 (October 1, 2005): 285–313; Jose Esteban Muñoz, *Cruising Utopia: The Then and There of Queer Futurity* (New York: NYU Press, 2009); Martin J. Downing, "Perceptions of Risk, Sexual Behaviors, and HIV Prevention in Commercial and Public Sex Venues: A Study of MSM Venue Attendees," PhD diss., The Graduate Center, City University of New York, 2010; and Margot Weiss, *Techniques of Pleasure: BDSM and the Circuits of Sexuality.* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press Books, 2011). The Kinsey Institute for Research in Sex, Gender, and Reproduction is located at the University of Indiana, Morrison Hall, 1165 East Third Street, Bloomington, Indiana.

[121] Phil Hubbard, "Kissing Is Not a Universal Right: Sexuality, Law and the Scales of Citizenship," *Geoforum* 49 (October 2013): 224-232.

We cannot talk about LGBTQ spaces and places without noting their absence. Scholars suggest that LGBTQ people also experience a sense of placelessness that occurs when they feel intense pressures and expectations to disavow their true selves.[125] Some placelessness is rooted in larger patterns of inequality; some in isolation; and some in a mismatch between personal and official identity. For example, both gay men and lesbians often experience an “absence” of more permanent physical places.[126] Isolated queer white men in the mid-twentieth century in the Midwest required and were able to make use of their mobility and travel to

---

[122] Stonewall Inn and the Henry Gerber House are the only NHLs at the time of writing this chapter.

[123] Peter S. Hawkins, “Naming Names: The Art of Memory and the NAMES Project AIDS Quilt,” *Critical Inquiry* 19, no. 4 (July 1, 1993): 752–779. The Jose Theater Building is located at 2362 Market Street, San Francisco, California. The National Mall in Washington, DC was listed on the NRHP on October 15, 1966; it was incorporated into the NPS’s National Mall and Memorial Parks Unit in 1965.

[124] Independence Hall in Philadelphia is part of Independence National Historical Park, a unit of the NPS created on June 28, 1948. The park, including Independence Hall, was designated an NHL District on October 15, 1966.

[125] Lawrence Knopp, “Ontologies of Place, Placelessness, and Movement: Queer Quests for Identity and Their Impacts on Contemporary Geographic Thought,” *Gender, Place & Culture: A Journal of Feminist Geography* 11, no. 1 (March 2004): 121–134.

[126] Rothenberg, “‘And She Told Two Friends’: Lesbians Creating Urban Social Space”; Knopp, “Ontologies of Place, Placelessness, and Movement”; and Gieseking, “Queering the Meaning of ‘Neighbourhood’".

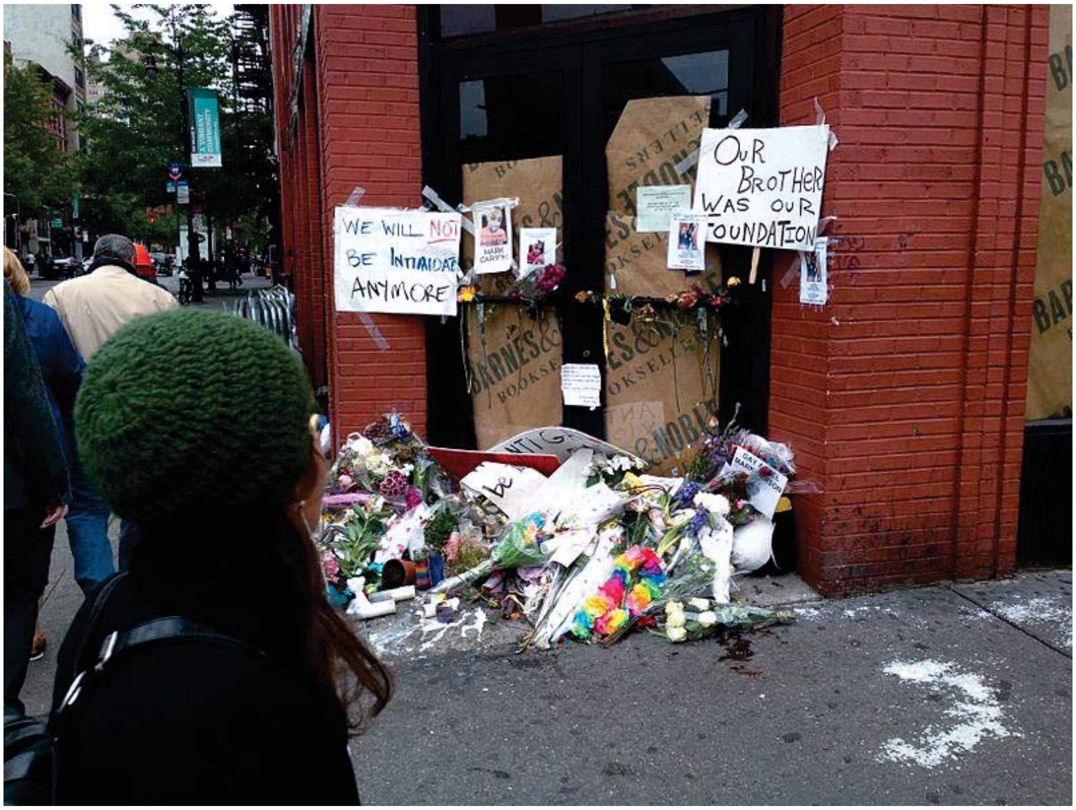


Figure 11: Memorial to Mark Carson, a 32-year old black gay man murdered in a hate crime in New York City's Greenwich Village, May 2013. Photo by David Shankbone, May 2013.[127]

find one another.[128] In situations ranging from natural disasters to everyday bathroom usage or crossing borders or boarding planes, LGBTQ people often have no place to turn, particularly transgender people whose identification documents may not "match" their gender presentation.[129] The difficulty in memorializing such absences speaks to the challenge of preserving and commemorating LGBTQ spaces. Further, while there is an excitement to marking history, preservation efforts may also lead to the unintentional and problematic effects of increasing gentrification and tourism that have eaten away at LGBTQ neighborhoods. The work toward preserving LGBTQ history requires recognition of all of these peoples, places, and spaces.

---

[127] License: CC BY 3.0. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Mark_Carson_Gay_Murder_New_York_Memorial_West_Village_2013_Shankbone.JPG

[128] Nicholas L. Syrett, "Mobility, Circulation, and Correspondence Queer White Men in the Midcentury Midwest," *GLQ: A Journal of Lesbian and Gay Studies* 20, no. 1–2 (January 1, 2014): 75–94.

[129] Andrew Gorman-Murray, Scott McKinnon, and Dale Dominey-Howes, "Queer Domicide: LGBT Displacement and Home Loss in Natural Disaster Impact, Response, and Recovery," *Home Cultures* 11, no. 2 (July 2014): 237–261; Dean Spade, *Normal Life: Administrative Violence, Critical Trans Politics and the Limits of Law* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2015).

Summary

The invisibilization of LGBTQ spaces and places has often required workarounds to laws, policies, mores, and attitudes that would otherwise restrict their behavior and identity. By addressing LGBTQ people through the lens of the geographic scale of their spaces and places—area, neighborhood, place—this document provides a working document with which to understand the range and import of LGBTQ spaces and places.

15

MAKING COMMUNITY: THE PLACES AND SPACES OF LGBTQ COLLECTIVE IDENTITY FORMATION

Christina B. Hanhardt

Introduction

In the summer of 2012, posters reading "MORE GRINDR=FEWER GAY BARS” appeared taped to signposts in numerous gay neighborhoods in North America—from Greenwich Village in New York City to Davie Village in Vancouver, Canada.[1] The signs expressed a brewing fear: that the popularity of online lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and queer (LGBTQ) social media—like Grindr, which connects gay men based on proximate location—would soon replace the bricks-and-mortar institutions that had long facilitated LGBTQ community building. The owner of Quest, a popular gay bar that hosted drag nights in Baltimore’s Highlandtown neighborhood for almost fifteen years, blamed the bar's closure in 2014 on, among other changes, the popularity of gay "hook up" apps like Grindr.[2] There are no studies that definitively prove what, if any, role online technology has played in the number of LGBTQ bars still remaining. But the concern that one social environment would replace the other points not only to the continued growth of LGBTQ virtual life—which has been an important means of exchange across boundaries of geography, accessibility, and age since the 1990s—but also to the historically significant role of bars and other sites of leisure in fostering LGBTQ sociality and of the key role of communication networks in the history of LGBTQ community formation.[3]

---

[1] Steve Weinstein, “Nightlife Suffers as Gay Men Move Online,” *Village Voice*, June 2012; the signs in Vancouver are noted by Amin Ghaziani in *There Goes the Gayborhood?* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2014).

Historian John D'Emilio was among the first scholars to theorize the origins of self-identified lesbian and gay *community*. In his famed 1983 essay "Capitalism and Gay Identity," D'Emilio contended that the rise of a system of wage-based labor had allowed for individuals to detach from their prescribed roles within heterosexual families.[4] By the middle of the twentieth century, the continued growth of the industrial city and the rise of single-sex environments central to wartime economies, would together help to provide the conditions of possibility to transform the often isolated experiences of same-sex sex and desire into lesbian and gay collective identities. Each decade that followed would bring about the continued birth and loss of bars, clubs, workplaces, parks, community centers, parade routes, commercial markets, protest sites, and other institutions formal and not, that would be claimed—and, at times, disavowed—in the name of LGBTQ community.

---

[2] Kevin Rector, "Looking Out: Quest Bar in Highlandtown to Close This Weekend After Last Hurrah," *Baltimore Sun*, August 7, 2014. Quest Bar was located at 3607 Fleet Street, Baltimore, Maryland near Brewer's Hill and was popular with regulars from there and the nearby suburb of Dundalk. See Michael Farley, "Leaving the Gayborhood," *City Paper*, June 10, 2014.

[3] For an excellent history of communication networks in fostering the growth of lesbian and gay communities see Martin Meeker, *Contacts Desired: Gay and Lesbian Communications and Community, 1940s-1970s* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006). For a study of the vexed uses of early gay online networks see John Edward Campbell, "Virtual Citizens or Dream Consumers: Looking for Civic Community on Gay.com," in *Queer Intersections: Revisiting Online Media and Queer Sexualities,* eds. Kate O'Riordan and David J. Phillips (New York: Peter Lang, 2007). See also Johnson, Hutchins, and Schweighofer (this volume).

[4] John D'Emilio, "Capitalism and Gay Identity," in *Powers of Desire: The Politics of Sexuality*, eds. Ann Snitow, Christine Stansell, and Sharon Thompson (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1983), 100-113.

Social theorist Miranda Joseph has critiqued the concept of *community* as one that universalizes difference and thus obscures the power dynamics of social relations. She argues that claims to community are often romanticized, and that this dynamic risks masking conflict and minimizing the role of the marketplace. These claims can also assume that visions of community are shared when they often are not. Joseph grounds her analysis in a case study of Theatre Rhinoceros in San Francisco, a nonprofit association dedicated to theater by and about gay people that was founded in 1977. She shows how some members of the theater company used the terms of "community" in ways that excluded or marginalized other members, in particular people of color, bisexuals, and transgender people. [5]

Today Theatre Rhino (as it is best known) describes itself as "the world's oldest continuously producing professional queer theater."[6] From 1981 to 2009, the theater was located in the Redstone Building, also known as the San Francisco Labor Temple, which has housed many labor and nonprofit groups and was the first home to the San Francisco Bay Area Gay and Lesbian Historical Society (now the GLBT Historical Society).[7] The Redstone Building was landmarked by San Francisco in 2004 for its role in that city's labor history, including for its status as a key site of organizing for the 1934 General Strike.[8]

The commemoration of the Redstone Building's role in labor history combined with Joseph's analysis of how internal social hierarchies can be legitimized reminds us that any claims to *community*—be that by Theatre Rhino or by historic preservation—can actually be quite vexed. The process of "making community" in US LGBTQ history, in neighborhoods and homes, in bars and parks and on softball fields, in community centers and via newsletters, and in ever-expanding online networks is always in process and changing over time and place. And the ideal of community is defined not only by whom it includes, but also by whom it leaves out; by shifting definitions of lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and queer identity; and by conflicts over the best or appropriate use of place and of the value of LGBTQ visibility. In this chapter, other aspects of identification and difference including race, gender, class, ability, and location are also understood to shape the form and the function of the diverse places in which sexual and gender minorities have made, asserted, and challenged collective identities.

---

[5] Miranda Joseph, *Against the Romance of Community* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2002).

[6] "San Francisco Professional Queer Theater," Theatre Rhinoceros website, accessed July 17, 2015, http://www.therhino.org/history.html.

[7] The Redstone Building is located at 2926-2948 Sixteenth Street, San Francisco, California.

[8] San Francisco Landmark #238, San Francisco Labor Temple, a.k.a. Redstone Building, 2926-2948 Sixteenth Street at Capp, built in 1914 and expanded in 1939, "San Francisco Landmarks," NoeHill in San Francisco website, http://noehill.com/sf/landmarks/sf238.asp.

Neighborhoods

It is no accident that the signs announcing the doom promised by online sites like Grindr would be posted in so-called *gayborhoods*—areas that are known as historically home to a large number of LGBTQ residents and/or businesses. These include well-known areas of major cities such as New York's Greenwich Village (especially the part known as the West Village), San Francisco's Castro District, and Chicago's East Lakeview (also called Boystown). There are also the gay-identified neighborhoods of other cities, such as Hillcrest in San Diego (California), Dupont Circle in Washington (District of Columbia), Midtown in Atlanta (Georgia), Old Towne East in Columbus (Ohio), Montrose in Houston (Texas), the French Quarter in New Orleans (Louisiana), plus whole towns unto themselves like Northampton and Provincetown in Massachusetts, Rehoboth Beach in Delaware, and West Hollywood in California.[9] In these places, the presence of rainbow flags, public displays of same-sex affection, same-sex parent families, and businesses catering to LGBTQ markets are all seen as among the signs that mark an area as welcoming to LGBTQ people.

---

[9] For a history of Los Angeles, see Lillian Faderman and Stuart Timmons, *Gay L.A.: A History of Sexual Outlaws, Power Politics, and Lipstick Lesbians* (New York: Basic Books, 2006); for Chicago see Timothy Stewart-Winter, *Queer Clout: Chicago and the Rise of Gay Politics* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2016); for Washington, DC, see Genny Beemyn, *A Queer Capital: A History of Gay Life in Washington DC* (New York: Routledge, 2014) and Kwame Holmes, "Chocolate to Rainbow City: The Dialectics of Black and Gay Community Formation in Postwar Washington, D.C., 1946-1978," PhD diss., University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 2011; for Atlanta see Wesley Chenault, "Atlanta Since Stonewall, 1969-2009: A Local History," (a collaborative project between the Atlanta History Center

While some of these areas have longstanding reputations as popular amongst lesbian and gay people, the concept of a gay enclave as it is best known today—as a place of LGBTQ residence, leisure, and business—is a product of the late 1960s and 1970s. Prior to then, sexual and gender minorities were most associated with those places also home to a mix of other social outsiders, be that in bohemian or artist districts (such as New York's Greenwich Village or San Francisco's North Beach) or in the seedy streets of those cities' vice districts and so-called skid rows (such as New York's Times Square or San Francisco's Tenderloin). By the late 1960s, things began to change, and gay tenants—in particular white and middle-class ones—were increasingly seen as desirable tenants.[10]

This corresponded with the growth of a mass movement following the Stonewall uprisings (discussed later in this chapter) that put the goal of lesbian and gay visibility further into the mainstream, and, in turn, neighborhoods were increasingly seen to be a primary expression of collective identity and pride. Here, lesbian and gay claims to place—as sites of residence and business and communal public life—would replace ideas of neighborhood based in uses deemed illegal or illicit or assumed private. As one journalist explained in late 1969, vice districts that were associated with public and commercial sex could not be called gay

---

and the Auburn Avenue Research Library on African American Culture and History), accessed July 21, 2015, Outhistory.org; and Wesley Chenault, "An Unspoken Past: Atlanta Lesbian and Gay History, 1940-1970," PhD diss., University of New Mexico, 2008; for New Orleans see Lawrence Knopp, "Gentrification and Gay Neighborhood Formation in New Orleans: A Case Study," in *Homo Economics: Capitalism, Community, and Lesbian and Gay Life*, eds. Amy Gluckman and Betsy Reed (New York: Routledge, 1997); for Columbus, Ohio see the film *Flag Wars*, directed by Linda Goode Bryant and Laura Poitras (New York: Praxis Films, 2003); for Provincetown, see Karen Krahulik, *Provincetown: From Pilgrim Landing to Gay Resort* (New York: NYU Press, 2005).

[10] David Rothenberg, "Can Gays Save New York City?" *Christopher Street,* September 1977, 6-10.

neighborhoods, since their "gay legions are transient rather than permanent."[11]

In the 1970s and 1980s, the idea of lesbian and gay *community* in gay enclaves would, at least in part, begin to consolidate into what would become by the 1990s a niche market. Historic preservation efforts led by gay men were variably touted as, on the one hand, leading to the improvement of neighborhoods in decline while providing community for those often exiled from family, or, on the other hand, as a kind of vanguard for the profit-driven redevelopment of areas abandoned by the state and capital years before.[12] In this context, shops, restaurants, and clubs catering to lesbians and gay men increasingly helped to transform certain consumer practices into community claims (and community expressions into consumer goods).[13] In some places, such as San Francisco, this corresponded with political redistricting that facilitated the election of gay-identified politicians in areas with significant gay populations. Among the most famous example was in San Francisco's Castro District, where Harvey Milk—one of the country's first out, gay politicians—played a key role in making that neighborhood into a vibrant gay enclave.[14] His camera shop, Castro Camera—where Milk worked prior to election, and then later based his campaigns—functioned as a kind of community center, where gay men, some lesbians, and many of their political and personal allies would gather for both social and political action.[15]

---

[11] Hector Simms, "New York Gay Ghettos," *Gay,* December 15, 1969, 4-5.

[12] For more detailed analysis of the history of and debates about gay neighborhood growth, see Christina B. Hanhardt, *Safe Space: Gay Neighborhood History and the Politics of Violence* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2013). See also Dubrow (this volume).

[13] See Jeffrey Escoffier, "The Political Economy of the Closet: Notes Toward an Economic History of Gay and Lesbian Life Before Stonewall," in *Homo Economics: Capitalism, Community, and Lesbian and Gay Life*, eds. Amy Gluckman and Betsy Reed (New York: Routledge, 1997); and Alexandra Chasin, *Selling Out: The Gay and Lesbian Movement Goes to Market* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2000). See also Johnson (this volume).

[14] The first ever openly gay or lesbian candidate to win political office in the United States was Kathy Kozachenko who was elected to city council in Ann Arbor, Michigan in 1974.

[15] For a history of the neighborhood that emphasizes its function in gay political community formation see Manuel Castells, "City and Culture: The San Francisco Experience," in *The City and the Grassroots: A Cross-Cultural Theory of Urban Social Movements* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983), 97-172; for one that also considers the role of Harvey Milk, see Timothy Stewart-Winter, "The Castro:

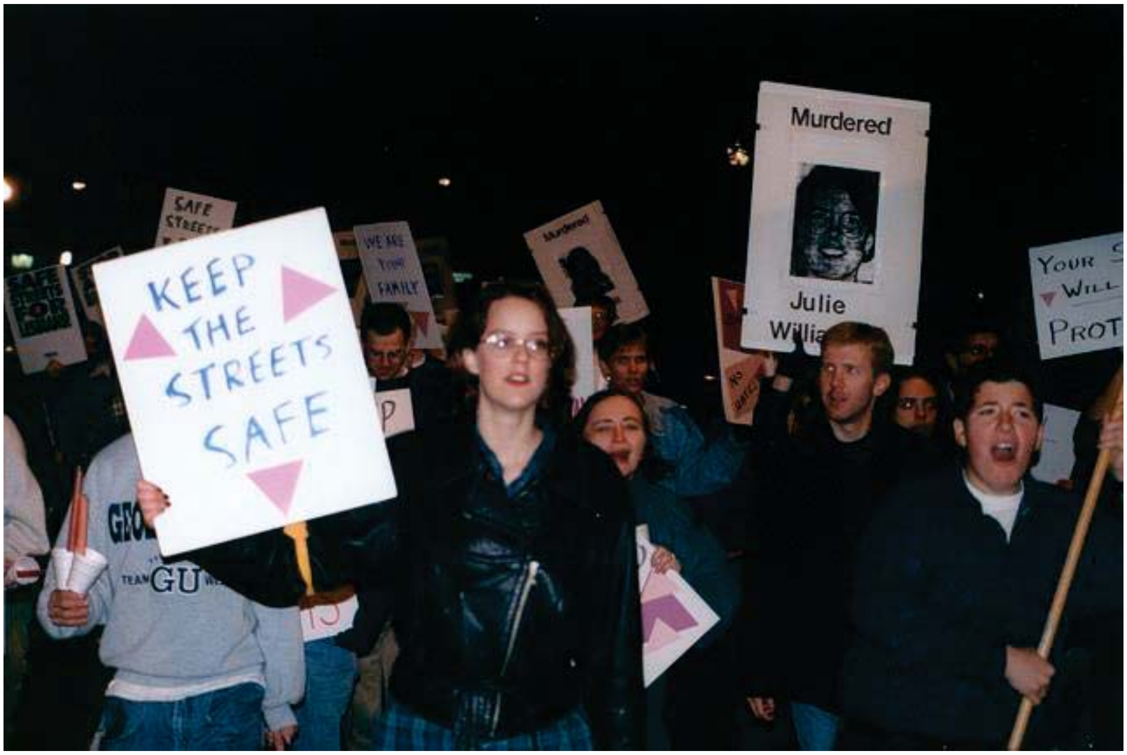


Figure 1: Walk Without Fear March from DuPont Circle north along Connecticut Avenue NW, Washington, DC, November 9, 1997. Safe streets programs continued into the 1990s. The Walk Without Fear was an annual event to galvanize the community to fight violence. Photo by Elvert Barnes.[16]

Although inclusive in many ways, not all LGBTQ people were treated as a part of the "imagined community" of these new gay neighborhoods, and conflicts about who belonged on their streets—as well as within their local businesses, homes, and institutions—would be debated then and for years to come.[17] For example, in the late 1970s and early 1980s gay "safe streets" patrols walked the boundaries of many gay neighborhoods providing protection from anti-gay threats; nonetheless, at times, activists' sense of who was or was not LGBTQ would trade in stereotypical assumptions that correlated LGBTQ identity with whiteness and middle-

---

Origins to the Age of Milk," *Gay and Lesbian Review*, January-February 2009, 12-15. In 2000, the building that housed both Milk's apartment and camera store, located at 575 Castro Street, was designated a San Francisco city landmark.

[16] License: CC BY-SA 2.0. https://www.flickr.com/photos/perspective/25520469563

[17] The concept of an "imagined community" comes from Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1983).

class status (Figure 1).[18] Moreover, during these years, transgender people remained most identified with vice districts and other areas associated with practices still considered illicit. By the 1990s and 2000s, real estate in gay enclaves such as the West Village, Castro, and Boystown had reached such high market values, that wealthy residents (gay and not) increasingly targeted nonresident LGBTQ youth of color who socialized in these areas, calling them undesirable outsiders, and undermining young people's claims to these neighborhoods as historically gay havens.[19] Throughout all of these years, one of the most contested sites of belonging would also be one of the most celebrated places in LGBTQ community history: the bar.

Bars and Clubs

Since before the emergence of formal gay neighborhoods, bars and nightclubs have played an important role in building LGBTQ community and in some places functioned as an anchor for later residential concentration. Indeed, long before the LGBTQ movement had taken form, bars provided a place where LGBTQ people could openly express affection, socialize with friends, and network with others without fear of punishment or shame. For all of these reasons and more, many scholars argue that gay bars should be considered among the first LGBTQ activist spaces, emphasizing that their patrons and owners often advocated on behalf of the most stigmatized and despised. For example, historian Nan Alamilla Boyd tells the story of places like the Paper Doll and the Black Cat, both in San Francisco, where the development of a shared language and culture helped to forge community. As she describes:

> .... [they] functioned as community centers where gay, lesbian, and transgender people could make friends, find lovers, get

---

[18] Hanhardt, *Safe Space*. This was also a feature of the popularity of the so-called "clone look" among white gay men, that cast those with different styles and aesthetics as outsiders. See Martin P. Levine, *Gay Macho: The Life and Death of the Homosexual Clone*, ed. Michael S. Kimmel (New York: New York University Press, 1998). Safe streets patrols picked up again in the very late 1980s and early 1990s; examples include the San Francisco Street Patrol, Pink Panthers in New York, and Q-Patrol in Seattle.
[19] Hanhardt, *Safe Space*.

> information, or plan activities. As a result, San Francisco's queer bar-based community was able to pool its resources, strengthen its ties, and ultimately, develop a foundation for its own brand of political mobilization.[20]

This was by no means restricted to San Francisco, and scholars have shown this to also be the case in bars from the Midwest to the South, which provided protection along with pleasure (Figure 2).[21]

But as was the case in gay neighborhoods in later years, nightlife leisure reflected many of the dominant divisions clearly visible during

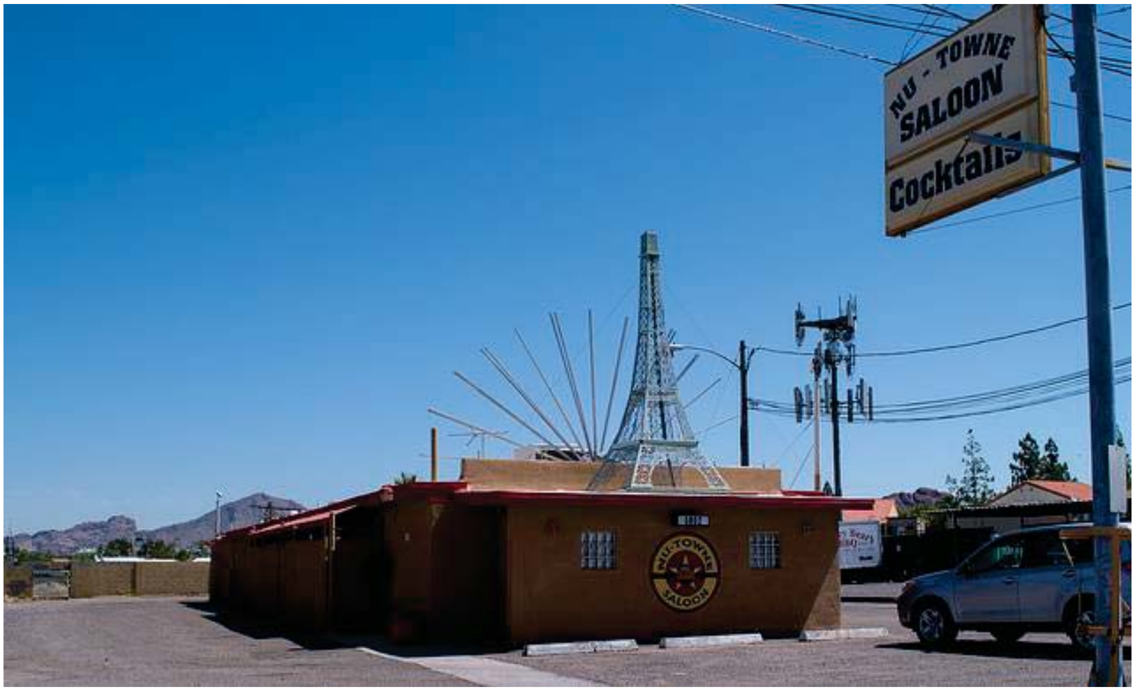


Figure 2: The Nu-Towne Saloon in Phoenix, Arizona opened in 1971. A fire in 2010 gutted the interior; the owners restored it, and the bar reopened a year later. It remains in business. Photo by Don Barrett, 2014.[22]

---

[20] Nan Alamilla Boyd, *Wide-Open Town: A History of Queer San Francisco to 1965* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003), 61. The Paper Doll was located at 524 Union Street; the Black Cat at 710 Montgomery Street, San Francisco, California. The Black Cat Club is a contributing element (but not for LGBTQ history) to the Jackson Square Historic District, listed on the NRHP on November 18, 1971.

[21] Ibid. Also see John D'Emilio, *Sexual Politics, Sexual Communities: The Making of a Homosexual Minority in the United States, 1940-1970*; John Howard, *Men Like That: A Southern Queer History* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999). See also Graves and Watson, Shockley, Capo, Herczeg-Konecny, and Auer (this volume).

[22] License: CC BY-NC-ND 2.0. https://www.flickr.com/photos/donbrr/14687483338. The Nu-Towne Saloon is located at 5002 East Van Buren Street, Phoenix, Arizona.

daylight hours. For example, during the first half of the twentieth century in New York City, the Oak Room at the Plaza Hotel was popular with "respectable" white gay men who would quietly gather among other businessmen, while the various Automats in the Times Square area were known as raucous environments enjoyed by self-identified "fairies" whose gender expressions and behaviors were often stigmatized by other gays as too feminine or sexual.[23] The Supreme Court ruling that prohibited formal racial discrimination in Washington, DC, restaurants in 1953 did not stop the tacit whites-only policy of places like the Lafayette Chicken Hut; instead, bars like Nob Hill enjoyed great popularity among African American patrons for many years.[24] (In fact, when it closed in 2004, Nob Hill had been the city's oldest, continuously running gay bar.) Moreover, both Chicken Hut and Nob Hill catered to more middle-class patrons; black working-class gay men and lesbians as often socialized in mixed bars or at house parties, held in people's homes.[25]

Men dominated the scene of early gay bar culture more than women for many reasons. These included men's greater financial access to the public sphere and independence from domestic obligation as well as their stronger sense of safety on the streets, especially after business hours. But lesbian and bisexual women, too, found community in bars, sometimes sharing space with gay men, other times in places of all-women. Sometimes one type of bar would become the other; for example, A. Finn Enke describes how owner Emmet Jewell had opened the Town House in St. Paul, Minnesota as a straight bar in 1969, but by 1970 had converted it into a gay bar and by 1975 the Town House was known as "*the* women's bar" of that region.[26] The fact that it had its roots in a bar of mixed clientele is significant. In fact, many working-class lesbians socialized in what Elizabeth Kennedy and Madeline Davis have called "street bars," that catered to those active in a range of criminalized economies.[27] That is not to say that there were no women-only bars; for example, Detroit's Sweetheart Bar opened in 1939 and had a special back room that catered to lesbians in particular; it was followed ten years later in that city by the Palais, which not only served drinks, but also hosted the kinds of community-making events that women in same-sex relationships were often excluded from or denied by their biological families, like birthday parties and wedding celebrations.[28]

---

[23] George Chauncey, *Gay New York: Gender, Urban Culture, and the Making of the Gay Male World, 1890-1940* (New York: Basic Books, 1994). The Plaza Hotel is located at 768 Fifth Avenue, New York City, New York. It was listed on the NRHP on November 29, 1978 and designated an NHL on June 24, 1986.

[24] Beemyn, *A Queer Capital.* The Lafayette Chicken Hut (now demolished) was located at 1720 H Street NW, Washington, DC. Nob Hill, at 1101 Kenyon Street NW, Washington, DC, opened in 1953. Since 2004, this has been the location of the Wonderland Ballroom.

[25] Beemyn, *A Queer Capital*.

[26] A. Enke, *Finding the Movement: Sexuality, Contested Space, and Feminist Activism* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2007), 38, 45. The Town House remains open at 1415 University Avenue West, St. Paul, Minnesota.

The important role played by bars in early LGBTQ community formation also accounts for their significance in early LGBTQ activism. In 1966, members of the first, nationwide gay organization (then known as a "homophile" organization), the Mattachine Society, staged a "sip in" at Julius' Bar in New York City, protesting laws that prohibited serving liquor to homosexuals.[29] A year earlier, in 1965, transgender women were among those who fought back against police harassment at Compton's Cafeteria, a late-night hangout in San Francisco's Tenderloin District.[30] Philadelphia and Los Angeles also saw high profile bar- and cafeteria-based conflicts that predated what would become the most famous of them all—the three-day riot outside the Stonewall Inn, New York City.[31] The protests were in response to the police raid of Stonewall—then a regular occurrence at gay bars—and they helped to further radicalize the LGBTQ movement and bring it greater visibility and militancy in the years following.[32]

---

[27] Elizabeth Lapovksy Kennedy and Madeline D. Davis, *Boots of Leather, Slippers of Gold: The History of a Lesbian Community* (New York: Routledge, 1993).

[28] Roey Thorpe, "The Changing Face of Lesbian Bars in Detroit, 1938-1965," *Creating a Place for Ourselves: Lesbian, Gay, and Bisexual Community Histories*, ed. Brett Beemyn (New York: Routledge, 1997). The Sweetheart Bar was located at 3928 Third Street, Detroit, Michigan. Opened in 1939, it has since been demolished. The Palais was located at 655 Beaubien Street, also in Detroit; it was open from 1949 through 1975.

[29] John D'Emilio, *Sexual Politics, Sexual Communities.* Julius' Bar is located at 159 West 10th Street, New York City. It was added to the NRHP on April 21, 2016.

[30] See Susan Styker, *Transgender History* (Berkeley: Seal Press, 2008) and *Screaming Queens: The Riot at Compton's Cafeteria,* directed by Susan Stryker and Victor Silverman (San Francisco: Frameline, 2005). Compton's Cafeteria was located at 101 Taylor Street, San Francisco, California. The building is a contributing element to the Uptown Tenderloin Historic District, listed on the NRHP on February 5, 2009.

[31] On Philadelphia, see Marc Stein, *City of Sisterly and Brotherly Loves: Lesbian and Gay Philadelphia, 1945-1972* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000). On Los Angeles, see Faderman and Timmons, *Gay L.A.* The Stonewall Inn is located at 51-53 Christopher Street, New York City. Stonewall, which includes the area in front of 51-53 Christopher Street and Christopher Park where the riots took

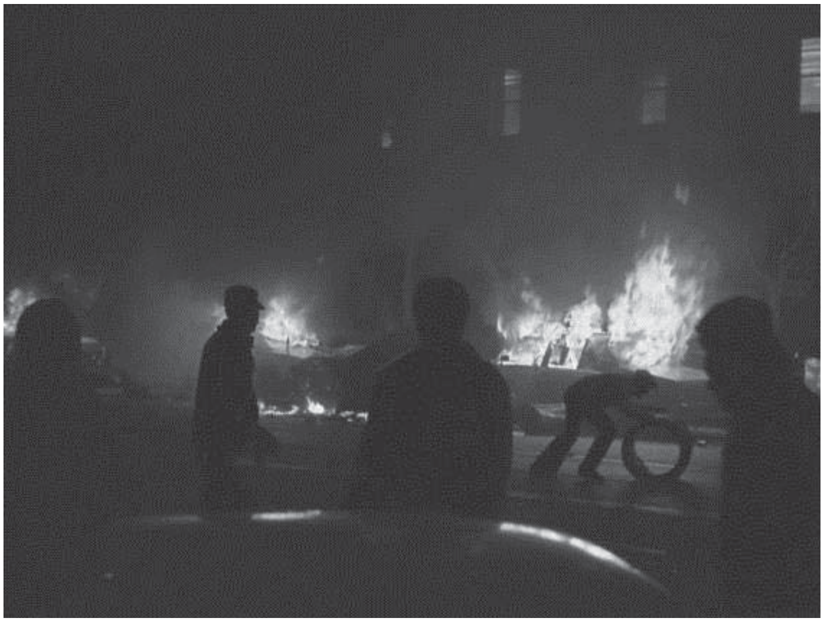


Figure 3: Activists at the San Francisco Civic Center Plaza during the White Night riots, May 1979. Burning police cruisers are in the background. Photo by Daniel Nicoletta.[33]

Even in what is often referred to as the post-Stonewall period, bars played an important role in galvanizing community action, especially in smaller, less well-known contexts, and continued police attacks on bars were often understood as direct assaults against the gay and lesbian community in general. For instance, in 1979, police beat patrons and smashed the windows of the Elephant Walk, a bar in the Castro District in San Francisco, in retaliation for gay activist protests against the manslaughter (rather than murder) verdict given to Dan White, who had killed Harvey Milk (Figure 3).[34] Earlier that year, police had also reportedly assaulted two lesbians leaving Amelia's, a women's bar in San Francisco's Mission District; soon after,

---

place from June 28 through July 3, 1969 was listed on the NRHP on June 28, 1999; designated an NHL on February 16, 2000; and declared the Stonewall National Monument (an NPS unit) on June 24, 2016.

[32] On Stonewall, see Martin Duberman, *Stonewall* (New York: Plume, 1993).

[33] License: CC BY-SA 3.0. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:White_Night_riots.jpg. The San Francisco Civic Center Historic District was added to the NRHP on October 10, 1978 and designated an NHL on February 27, 1987.

[34] Randy Shilts, *The Mayor of Castro Street: The Life and Times of Harvey Milk* (New York: St. Martin's Griffin, 1988). The Elephant Walk, a mixed gay and lesbian bar open from 1974 through 1996, was located at 500 Castro Street, San Francisco, California; this is currently the location of Harvey's, a gay bar and restaurant that opened in 1996. The police violence was part of the White Night riots.

women gathered to organize against police violence more generally.[35] In 1982, over eleven hundred people organized in response to the police raid of Blue's, a historically black and Latino gay bar in New York's Times Square.[36] This conjoined the continued harassment of lesbian bars in New York, which were targeted for removal by city administrative strategies; both the Duchess and Déjà Vu, the latter of which had a large clientele of women of color, were denied liquor licenses despite a lack of official complaints in this same period.[37] Activists also protested police sweeps that profiled transgender women of color for suspected prostitution in Greenwich Village, especially near the piers at the end of the historic Christopher Street and up along the west side of Manhattan to the Meatpacking District (itself part of the Gansevoort Market Historic District).[38]

During the 1980s and 1990s, LGBTQ activists protested multiple ID door entry and other policies that limited access to bars by their owners; many of these actions were coordinated by organizations such as Black and White Men Together (in cities all across the country; now part of the National Association of Black and White Men Together, which also includes the groups Men of All Colors Together and People of All Colors

---

[35] Hanhardt, *Safe Space.* Amelia's, one of the nation's first woman-only bars, opened in 1978 at 647 Valencia Street, San Francisco, California. It closed circa 1991, when it was replaced by the Elbo Room.

[36] "Marchers Protest Raid on 43rd Street Bar," *New York Times*, October 16, 1982; Eric Lerner, "Militant Blues Rally Draws 1,100," *New York Native*, November 8-21, 1982; Sarah Schulman, "Who Wants to Drive Blues Out of Business," *Womannews,* November 1982 (included in her book *My American History: Lesbian and Gay Life During the Reagan Years* (New York: Routledge, 1994). For a more detailed analysis of the broader significance of the raid on Blue's, see Christina B. Hanhardt, "Broken Windows at Blue's: A Queer History of Gentrification and Policing," in *Policing the Planet*, eds. Christina Heatherton and Jordan Camp (New York: Verso Press, 2016). Blue's was located at 264 West 43rd Street, New York City.

[37] The Duchess was located at 101 Seventh Avenue South, New York City.

[38] See Dykes Against Racism Everywhere, Open Letter/Undated Statement (circa 1983), DARE File, Lesbian Herstory Archives, Brooklyn, NY. The Gansevoort Market Historic District was added to the NRHP on May 30, 2007. For more information on the Meatpacking District, see the web page of the Greenwich Village Society for Historic Preservation: http://www.gvshp.org/_gvshp/preservation/gansevoort/gansevoort-main.htm. Pier 45 has long been a meeting place and refuge for gay men, LGBTQ youth, transgender women, and many members of the mostly African American ballroom community. Tragically, the body of transgender activist Marsha P. Johnson was recovered from the waters off Pier 45 in the early 1990s. The Zoo, at 421-425 West 13th Street, New York City, opened in 1970 and was the first gay nightclub to open in the Meatpacking District. It is within the Gansevoort Market Historic District.

Together) and by Dykes Against Racism Everywhere and Salsa Soul Sisters in New York, among other groups.[39] Racial segregation and class divisions not only shaped who went where due to explicit or subtle practices of exclusion, but were also influenced by the broader political and economic geography. The presence of bars with large LGBTQ clientele in black neighborhoods meant that some African Americans avoided these places, since they had a higher risk of exposure to family and neighbors who might pass by or drop in. Vacation communities, such as Cherry Grove on New York's Fire Island, could provide anonymity and seclusion, but were mostly accessible only to the intimate circles of the middle-class and wealthy men and women who could afford to own homes.[40] As a result, public spaces—parks, playgrounds, beaches, and other waterfront spaces—among many others, have served as key spaces of informal and free community building, especially for the most marginalized of LGBTQ people.

Parks and Fields and Open Spaces

For some LGBTQ people, bars have held too many risks of exposure, or have not been accessible because of *de facto* or *de jure* racial segregation, hostility to women, or exclusions based on ideas of appropriate class, gender, or sexual expression. Although forgotten in the telling of many, much of the energy behind the famed riots at Stonewall was fueled not only by bar *patrons* but also by LGBTQ street youth, who hung out at Christopher Park (also known as Sheridan Square), across the street from the bar at the intersection of Christopher, Grove, and West 4th Streets, right off of Seventh Avenue.[41] Many youths participated in sexual economies—due in mixed measures to circumstance and choice—and as a result, their role has been played down in popular histories.[42] But it is exactly those kinds of unrecognized—and, more importantly, unregulated—spaces of collective gathering and exchange that have played a key role in bringing the broadest mix of LGBTQ people together. And, as scholars Michael Warner and Lauren Berlant have argued, most, if not all, formal gay institutions are at least somewhat indebted to a history of sexual commerce, be it in the form of sex work, public sex, or sex-themed shops (from video stores to peep shows).[43]

---

[39] For a brief history of such protests in San Francisco, see Don Romesburg, "Racism and Reaction in the Castro – A Brief, Incomplete History," written for IsBadlandsBad.com in 2004 and now posted at https://www.academia.edu/9677965/Racism_and_Reaction_in_the_Castro_A_Brief_Incomplete_History, accessed July 23, 2015. For a history of New York based protests, see Abram J. Lewis, "'Within the Ashes of Our Survival': Lesbian and Gay Antiracist Organizing in New York City, 1980-1984" *Thinking Gender Papers*, UCLA Center for the Study of Women, 2010, https://escholarship.org/uc/item/4zr1v4bq, accessed July 23, 2015. Also see Sarah Schulman's commentary in *My American History*, esp. 55-56.

[40] Esther Newton, "The 'Fun Gay Ladies': Lesbians in Cherry Grove, 1936-1960," in *Creating a Place for Ourselves*; Esther Newton, *Cherry Grove, Fire Island: Sixty Years in America's First Gay and Lesbian Town* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, [1993] 2014).The Carrington House in Cherry Grove, New York was listed on the NRHP on January 8, 2014. The Cherry Grove Community House and Theater, 180 Bayview Walk, Cherry Grove, New York was listed on the NRHP on June 4, 2013. Both of these locations were listed for their importance in the creation of Cherry Grove as an early LGBTQ haven.

Indeed, it has often been outside—on the street, in the park, in a public field—sometimes under different auspices than assumed and at other times under the cover of foliage that LGBTQ people have found each other. As scholars have shown, the search for what is often called *public sex* should not be considered simply some kind of furtive means of fulfilling bodily urges, but an effective mode of building social networks for supportive and sometimes lasting purposes. Some of these places were well known—often because they were patrolled by the police and arrests then publicized in the press—and others were only made familiar through hushed word of mouth and an often tacit acceptance by authorities.

These places have included Lafayette Square in NW Washington, DC, with a history extending back at least to the 1890s; the so-called Meat Rack on Fire Island (that connects the Pines and Cherry Grove areas); and the Ramble in New York City's Central Park; it also has included rest stops along highways, such as Roadside Park No. 75 along US Highway 45 and various other parks along Interstate 59 in Mississippi.[44] But it also includes places that are semipublic: toilets and changing rooms in those same parks but also in schools and department stores. It might also include bathhouses, from the Turkish Baths in lower Manhattan in the early twentieth century, to the St. Marks Baths in that city's East Village in the middle of that century, the latter of which conducted voter registration, public health education, and held holiday parties (Figure 4).[45]

---

[41] David Carter, *Stonewall: The Riots that Sparked the Gay Revolution* (New York: St. Martin's Griffin, 2004).
[42] By sexual economies, I refer to a variety of modes by which both sexual services—from sex acts to sexual entertainment—are exchanged for money or other resources, legally or not.
[43] Lauren Berlant and Michael Warner, "Sex in Public," *Critical Inquiry* 24, no. 2 (1998): 563.

As historian John Howard shows, some of the places most associated with anti-gay and lesbian sentiment—such as churches or schools—would

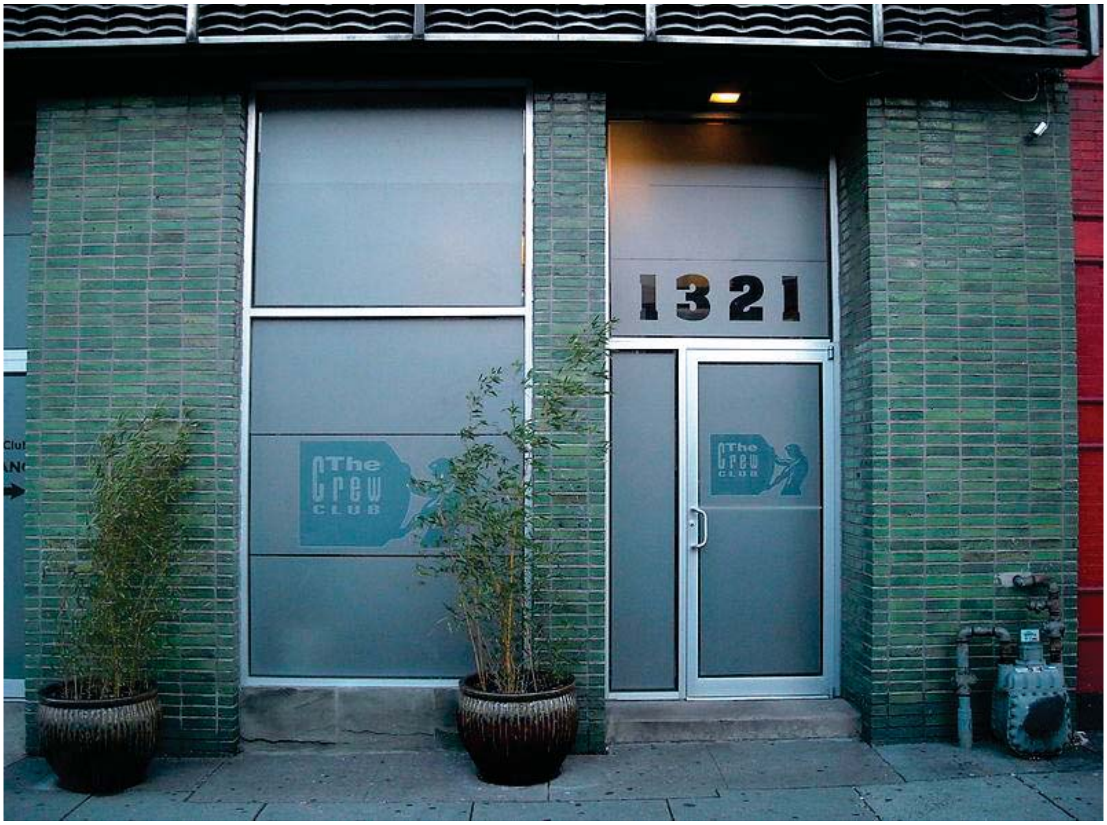


Figure 4: The Crew Club, a gay bathhouse in Washington, DC, 2009. Photo by AgnosticPreachersKid.[46]

---

[44] On the Ramble, see Lisa W. Foderero, "In Central Park, a Birders' Secluded Haven Comes with a Dark Side," *New York Times,* September 13, 2012. On Mississippi, see Howard, *Men Like That*, 111. Central Park was added to the NRHP on October 15, 1966 and designated an NHL on May 23, 1963.

[45] Allen Bérubé, "The History of Gay Bathhouses," in *Policing Public Sex: Queer Politics and the Future of AIDS Activism*, ed. Dangerous Bedfellows (Boston: South End Press, 1996). Bathhouses were also common in places like Chicago, San Francisco, Washington, DC, and others.

[46] License: CC BY-SA 3.0. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Crew_Club_-_Washington,_D.C..JPG. The Crew Club is located at 1321 Fourteenth Street NW, Washington, DC. The building is a contributing property to the Fourteenth Street Historic District, added to the NRHP on November 9, 1994.

also host some of the most sustained and intimate forms of gay sexual communion.[47] In these contexts, sex became far from a private practice, but became an act that could be explicitly partnered with education (such as about public health) and facilitate the distribution of collective community resources (i.e. housing information). This is also the argument writer Samuel Delany has made about the theaters of Times Square in New York City. He shows how informal sexual exchanges between men from a wide range of race and class backgrounds in Times Square constituted social contact that provided short-term and lasting interpersonal and material benefits. But as Delany also points out, not all of the sexual exchanges were *gratis* and some involved the exchange of sex for money.[48] In fact, places of public and commercial sex have not always been separate, and often coexist within a local community or economy.

One example is along waterfronts—piers, ports, and docks—where numerous economies, be they maritime, industrial, or sexual, have flourished alongside each other. George Chauncey describes the rich mix of activities at the Newport, Rhode Island Army and Navy YMCA in the early twentieth century, a place that functioned as a kind of gay "headquarters" for sexual and social exchanges throughout the seaport town.[49] One of the better-known sites is the waterfront alongside New York City's west side of Manhattan, especially the stretch of piers that extend from what today is Battery Park to the sections north of the Chelsea neighborhood. In the 1970s and 1980s, deindustrialization had led to the abandonment of warehouses in the area as well as parts of the piers themselves, which then became active sites of public and commercial sex. The geography of sexual and social communities was often divided not only along lines of commerce, but also race and gender; white gay men often gathered in the areas at the end of Christopher Street, and transgender people of color gathered north, closer to the Meatpacking District (Figure 5).

---

[47] Howard, *Men Like That.*

[48] Samuel R. Delany, *Times Square Red, Times Square Blue* (New York: New York University Press, 1999).

[49] George Chauncey, "Christian Brotherhood or Sexual Perversion? Homosexual Identity and the Construction of Sexual Boundaries in the World War One Era," *Journal of Social History* 19, no. 2 (1985): 189-211. The Army-Navy YMCA was located at 50 Washington Square, Newport, Rhode Island. It was listed on the NRHP on December 29, 1988.

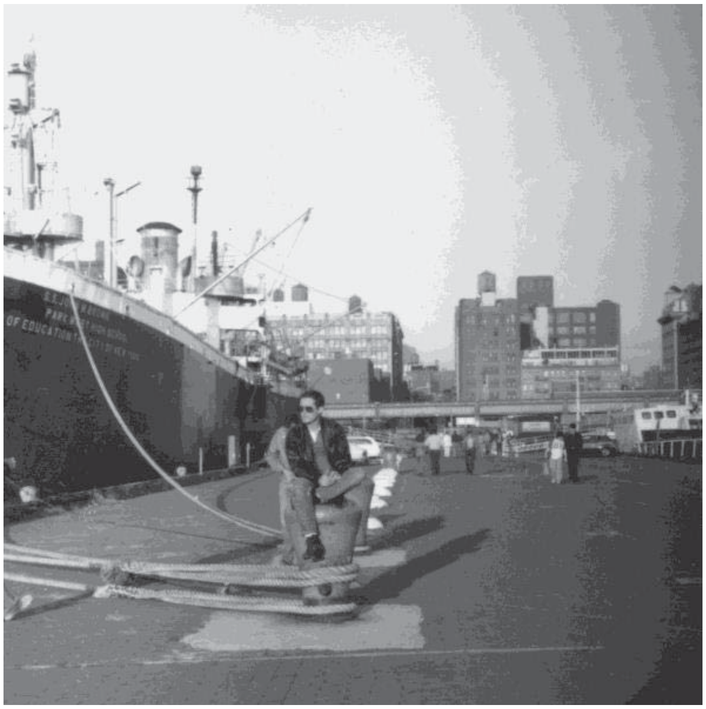


Figure 5: Morton Street Pier, Greenwich Village, New York City, New York, 1981. Photo courtesy of Richard C. Wandel.

In the 1980s and 1990s, the increased policing of other public spaces in New York, such as Washington Square Park, moved informal social gatherings of LGBTQ people of color, many youth, to the waterfront, which had been neglected for years. During this time, a community of transgender women also made a home amongst the city's parking and storage area for salting trucks (used in the winter for de-icing); their efforts to maintain dignity and a viable life are captured by the documentary *The Salt Mines.*[50] By the start of the twenty-first century, the area at the end of the famed Christopher Street had become an active gathering place for LGBTQ people of color *and* an active investment site for real estate. The eventual redevelopment of the derelict piers into a public park brought into sharp focus debates between residents (gay and straight, renters and homeowners) and nonresident users of the area, drawn to it for its historic role as a community gathering place, that are still ongoing today.[51]

---

[50] *The Salt Mines*, directed by Susana Aikin and Carlos Aparicio (San Francisco: Frameline, 1990.)

[51] See Hanhardt, *Safe Space.* Hanhardt notes here that the historic preservation of the Stonewall Inn and its environs (listed on the NRHP in 1999 and designated an NHL in 2000) was invoked by residents in order to block expansion of exits from the PATH train which connects the historically black and Latino working-class cities of Newark and Jersey City (in New Jersey) to the neighborhood.

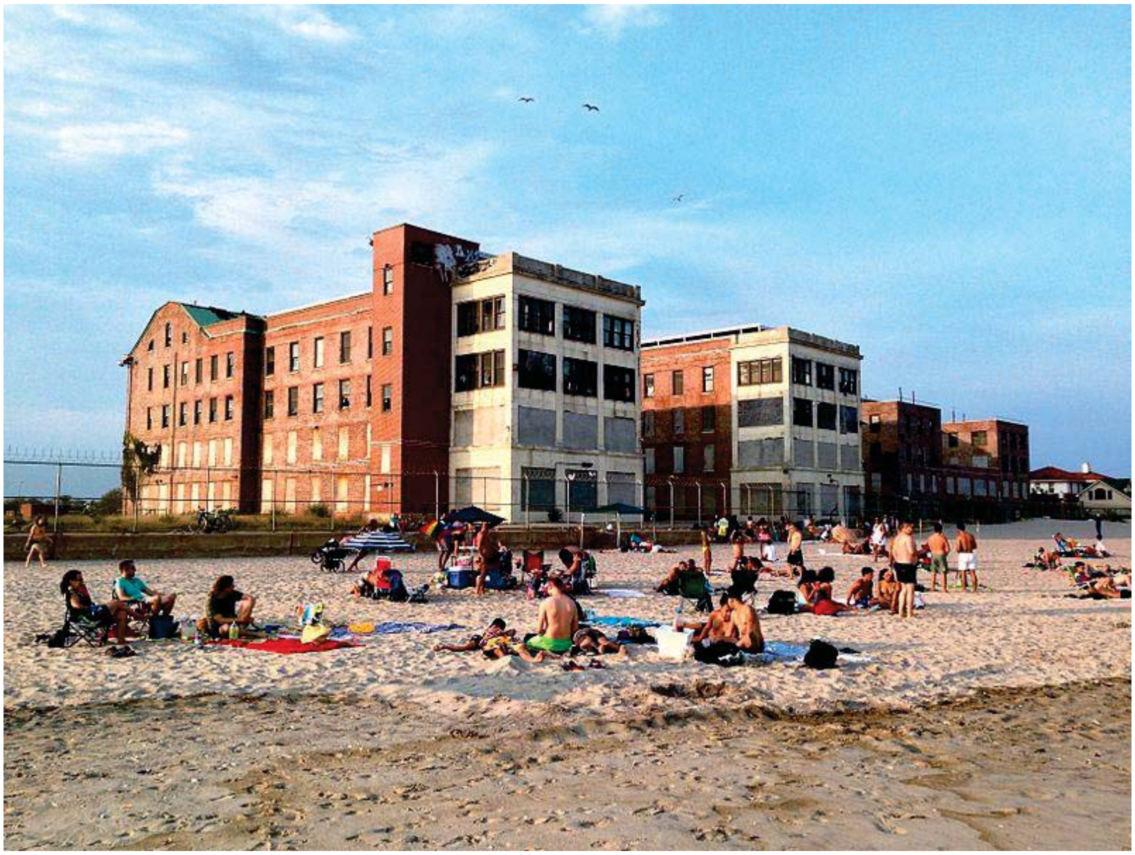


Figure 6: The area of Jacob Riis Park in Queens, New York near the abandoned tuberculosis hospital has traditionally been where the LGBTQ community has congregated. Photo by David Shankbone, 2013.[52]

For lesbians, the geography of known spots for public sex between women has been sparser, but places like Riis Beach in New York's Rockaways most certainly have been charged erotic sites where people would often find companionship for a lifetime, or just one night (Figure 6).[53] As Joan Nestle wrote of waiting for the bus on Flatbush Avenue to make the final public transportation leg to the beach in "Lesbian Memories 1: Riis Park, New York City, ca. 1960," "There were hostile encounters, the usual stares at the freaks, whispered taunts of faggot, lezzie, is that a man or a woman, but we did not care. We were heading to the sun, to our piece of the beach where we could kiss and hug and enjoy looking at each other." She continues to describe a scene as rich with desire as it is self-aware of its vulnerability, and committed to finding protection in community.[54]

---

[52] License: CC BY 3.0. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Abandoned_Tuberculosis_Hospital_Jacob_Riis_Beach_Rockaways_New_York_2013_Shankbone.JPEG. Jacob Riis Park is part of the Gateway National Recreation Area, a unit of the NPS. It was established on October 27, 1972.

[53] Joan Nestle, "Restriction and Reclamation: Lesbian Bars and Beaches of the 1950s," in *Queers in Space: Claiming the Urban Landscape*, eds. Gordon Brent Ingram, Anne-Marie Bouthillette, and Yolanda Retter (New York: Bay Press, 1997). Jacob Riis Beach Historic District was listed on the NRHP on June 17, 1981. It was incorporated into the Gateway National Recreation Area, a unit of the NPS, on October 27, 1972. Here it is worth noting that women sex workers include lesbian and bisexual women, and that the public sites available for sexual exchanges with men are considerably more plentiful.

Lesbians also have pursued other forms of collective physical activity. Softball was one popular sport; in Oakland, California the group Gente was an all-woman-of-color softball team that included lesbian poet Pat Parker. They organized in part in response to the racism of white lesbian bars, but they also saw softball as a way to affirmatively forge community that might extend far beyond the softball field. In an interview with the lesbian magazine the *Tide*, the members of Gente said:

> There's a lot of third-world sisters out there that don't have anything to do with sports. But it's going to come time when we're going to hook up with each other. The only way we can do that is to get together when we can on some common ground. Right now the common ground is softball. But we're not going to be limited by that.[55]

In fact, it was common that the public spaces of softball teams might facilitate political activity; in other examples from that same period, the softball team the Wilder Ones in Minneapolis was explicitly identified as lesbian feminist, and the socialist feminist Chicago Women's Liberation Union's outreach group (called "Secret Storm," also the name of their newsletter) was forced to address issues of sexuality as they coordinated political work alongside softball games in public parks in Chicago like Horner and Kosciuscko Parks.[56]

---

[54] Joan Nestle, "Lesbian Memories 1: Riis Park, New York City, ca. 1960," *Common Lives, Lesbian Lives* (Summer 1983): 14-16.

[55] sudi mae, "We Have to Be Our Own Spark: An Interview with 'Gente' Third-World Lesbian Softball Team," *Tide*, July 1974.

[56] Enke, *Finding the Movement.*

But, as many scholars have noted, gender, race, and class have stratified different LGBTQ people's access to *both* public and private space, and tracing the sites of community building can be difficult for those who have limited access to private property or for whom visibility on the street can correlate with an increased risk of violence. As a result, spaces were also more ephemeral—a favorite stoop on which transgender women would hang out, a home in which lesbians held regular potlucks, or a rotating set of bars, clubs, and houses that would host parties that might be used as a way to raise money for that month's rent or a communal need or collective project. Many of these places cannot be recorded in the history of community preservation, but some, especially in the 1970s and 1980s, would begin to formalize in the form of community centers.

Community Centers

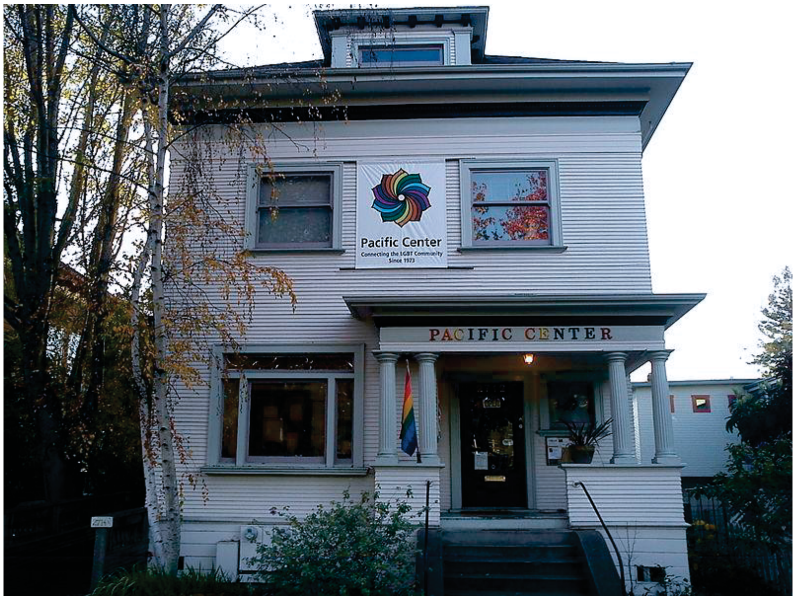


Figure 7: The Pacific Center for Human Growth, Berkeley, California. Photo by Rina Herring, 2011.[57]

Since 1971, the Women's Building in San Francisco—located first on Brady Street and then soon after (and ever since) at 3543 Eighteenth Street—has been a community center that served as political meeting hall, switchboard, collective meeting site, shelter, and organizational home to many lesbian and LGBTQ-centered efforts. The Pacific Center for Human Growth in Berkeley, California soon followed in 1973 and was also well known in the area for its therapy services and self-help groups (Figure 7).[58] All across the country small and large community centers have provided vital services and social gathering places for a diverse cross section of the LGBTQ community—from HIV testing to social dances, from meetings for Alcoholics Anonymous to those for ACT UP direct action planning, from crafts clubs to youth groups. Some have been held in church basements and municipal recreation halls; others have worked collectively to buy buildings, incorporating as nonprofit (and, even, on occasion for-profit) organizations (Figure 8).[59]

---

[57] License: CC BY-SA 3.0. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Front_of_Pacific_Center_for_Human_Growth_2011_1_19.jpg

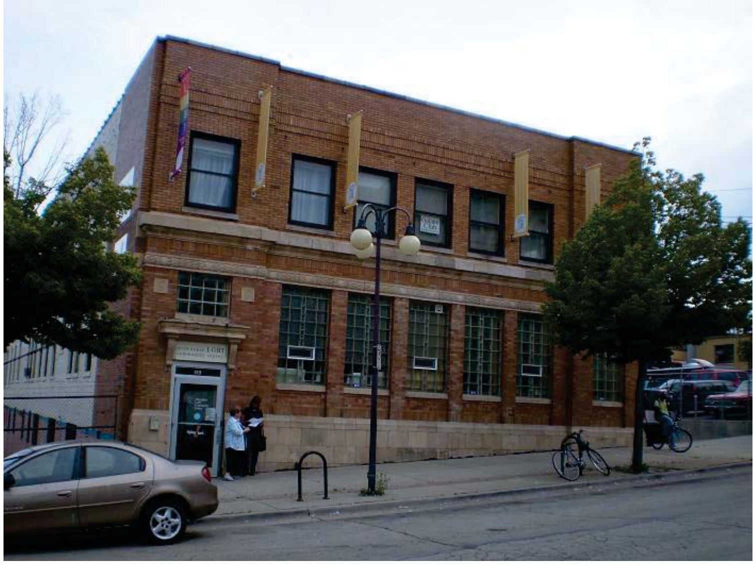


Figure 8: Home of the Milwaukee LGBT Community Center, Milwaukee, Wisconsin from 2002 to 2011. Photo by BlowSky, 2007.[60]

Today the biggest LGBTQ center is in Los Angeles. The Los Angeles LGBT Center dates its origins to services first provided in 1969; it now spreads out over no fewer than six locations in the region, and is run by 450 employees and over 3,000 volunteers who, the organization self-reports, "provide services to more LGBT people than any other organization in the world."[61] Opened in 1970, the Pride Center of the Capital Region in Albany,

---

[58] The Pacific Center for Human Growth is located at 2712 Telegraph Avenue, Berkeley, California.

[59] Enke maps an impressive variety of formal and informal gathering places in *Finding the Movement.*

[60] License: Public Domain. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:MilwaukeeLGBTCommunityBuilding.JPG. The community center was located at 315 West Court Street, Milwaukee, Wisconsin.

[61] See "About," Los Angeles LGBT Center website, accessed August 14, 2015, http://www.lalgbtcenter.org/about. For a critical look at the vexed history of the center's inclusions and exclusions, see Jane Ward, *Respectably Queer: Diversity Culture in LGBT Activist Organizations*

New York is the oldest LGBTQ community center in the United States still operating from their original location.[62] Other large LGBTQ community centers include the Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender Community Center (The Center) in New York City which also hosts health services, a coffee shop, archive, and computer services; the San Francisco LGBT Center, which provides services as diverse as financial, housing, and health, and also includes a gallery with rotating exhibits; the Phillip Rush Center in Atlanta which provides meeting spaces for LGBTQ-themed groups in that city; the Montrose Center in Houston, Texas which provides support groups and health services alongside cultural and social events; this is also the case for the Q Center in Portland, Oregon. In fact, the list is much longer than many would expect, and includes centers in places as diverse as Pocatello, Idaho; Missoula, Montana; White Plains, New York; Wichita, Kansas; Highland, Indiana; and Port St. Lucie, Florida.[63]

Bookstores, Newsletters, Magazines, and Online Networks

Although the list of locations with LGBTQ community centers is much longer than that of the aforementioned cities, it is also the case that in smaller places the idea of a community center can take a wide variety of forms. In smaller municipal and rural regions and even in some urban neighborhoods, places with other *official* purposes can take on dual identities, with local businesses functioning as de facto centers for members of the LGBTQ community, broadly defined. These include the

---

(Nashville, TN: Vanderbilt University Press, 2008). The Los Angeles LGBT Center was previously known as the Los Angeles Gay and Lesbian Center.

[62] The Pride Center of the Capital Region is located at 332 Hudson Avenue, Albany, New York.

[63] The Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender Center (The Center) opened in 1983 and is located at 208 West 13th Street, New York City; San Francisco's LGBT Center, incorporated in 1996, is located in the Fallon Building at 1800 Market Street; the Phillip Rush Center is located at 1530 Dekalb Avenue NE, Atlanta, Georgia; the Montrose Center in Houston, Texas was founded in 1996, and is currently in its third location at 401 Branard Street (from 1998 through 2003, it was located at 803 Hawthorne Avenue, Houston; from 2003 through 2010 it operated out of 3400 Montrose Boulevard, Houston); the Q Center in Portland, Oregon is located at 4115 North Mississippi Avenue. A detailed list of centers can be found on the website for Centerlink: The Community of LGBT Centers at: http://www.lgbtcenters.org/Centers/find-a-center.aspx.

backrooms of cafes, school groups for LGBTQ students and their allies, barbershops and beauty salons, or a range of self-help or neighborhood-based tenant groups. This was certainly the case with Harvey Milk's camera shop mentioned earlier in this chapter. The 1991 documentary *DiAna's Hair Ego* shows how a South Carolina hairdresser made her salon into an open space to discuss HIV-AIDS and sexuality in general among a wide variety of clients; over a decade earlier, the Chelsea Gay Association was a neighborhood group that provided support to lesbians and gay men in New York before the founding of that city's community center.[64] It is also worth noting that today many LGBTQ centers or large LGBTQ organizations have marketed themselves into the commercial landscape of neighborhoods. The organization the Human Rights Campaign (HRC) has stores in Provincetown, Massachusetts and San Francisco, California that sell clothing and other merchandise adorned with the HRC logo and/or rainbow flags, in essence using the market place as an explicit way to build community claims.[65]

This is despite the fact that the rainbow flag, now considered by many an international symbol of LGBTQ community and flown by businesses, community centers, and activists alike, was designed by artist Gilbert Baker in San Francisco as part of that city's 1978 Gay Freedom Day Parade (Figure 9).[66] To be sure, artists have been central to the process of LGBTQ community-making—be that in the shared love for certain musical anthems (say, the popularity of the song *You Make Me Feel [Mighty Real]* by the gay disco singer and songwriter Sylvester, also from 1978);[67] the

---

[64] *Diana's Hair Ego*, directed by Ellen Spiro (New York: Women Make Movies, 1990); on the Chelsea Gay Association, see Hanhardt, *Safe Space.*

[65] The two existing stores can be found at 209-211 Commercial Street in Provincetown and 575 Castro Street (previously the location of Harvey Milk's Castro Camera) in San Francisco (see: http://shop.hrc.org/hrc-store-locations). There previously had been a store located at 1633 Connecticut Avenue NW in Washington DC, but it has since closed. For a more detailed discussion of the marketing of identity and growth of LGBTQ-themed niche markets see Chasin, *Selling Out.*

[66] See Linda Rapp, "Rainbow Flag," in *The Queer Encyclopedia of Visual Arts,* ed. Claude J. Summers (San Francisco: Cleis Press, 2004), 268-270.

[67] See Joshua Gamson, *The Fabulous Sylvester: The Legend, The Music, The Seventies in San Francisco* (New York: Picador/Holt, 2005).

Figure 9: Rainbow flags representing the LGBTQ community, as well as flags for the bear and leather self-identified subcultures, 2016. Photo courtesy of Eva C. Hageman.

long legacy of gay theater and the varied venues in which performances are staged, from Theatre Rhino (named in this chapter's introduction) to the feminist WOW Café Theatre in New York;[68] the wide mix of comedy clubs, drag show performances, and cabaret lounges (such as the former Valencia Rose and Josie's Cabaret and Juice Joint in San Francisco from the 1980s and 1990s, Club Heaven in Detroit during that same time, or the various East Village bars and clubs that hosted Kiki and Herb performances in New York in the 1990s and 2000s);[69] or the galleries, exhibit spaces, and other sites that cross, challenge, and reconstruct the boundaries between commercial, nonprofit, and community-based practices.

---

[68] Holly Hughes, Carmelita Tropicana, and Jill Dolan, eds. *Memories of the Revolution: The First Ten Years of the WOW Café Theater* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 2015). WOW Café Theater was founded in 1980 and located at 330 East 11th Street, New York City, New York by 1981; since 1984 it has had a home at 59-61 East 4th Street, New York City, New York.

[69] For a study of queer performance venues that cites Josie's Cabaret and Juice Joint, see Tim Miller and David Roman, "Preaching to the Converted," *Theater Journal* 47, no. 2 (May 1995): 169-188; on later ball culture in Detroit, see Marlon Bailey, *Butch Queens Up in Pumps: Gender, Performance and Ballroom Culture in Detroit* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2013); on the performance duo Kiki and Herb, see Shane Vogel, "Where Are We Now? Queer World Making and Cabaret Performance," *GLQ: A Journal of Lesbian and Gay Studies* 6, no. 1 (2000): 29-59. For a longer history of queer cabaret performance see Shane Vogel, *The Scene of Harlem Cabaret* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009). Club Heaven had been located at 19106 Woodward Avenue, Detroit, Michigan and closed by the mid-1990s.

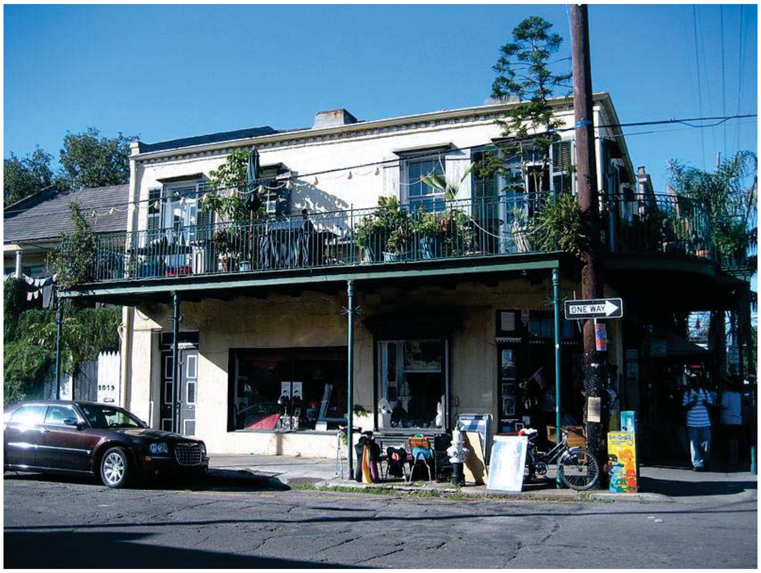


Figure 10: LGBTQ bookstore, Faubourg Marigny Art and Books (FAB), New Orleans, Louisiana. FAB opened in 1977 and remains in business. Photo by Infrogmation, 2008.[70]

One of the most common types of businesses to function as community center has been the gay, lesbian, and LGBTQ bookstore. Be that A Different Light in San Francisco and West Hollywood, Washington DC's Lambda Rising, New York City's Oscar Wilde Bookshop, or Outwrite in Atlanta—all of which are now gone—or Giovanni's Room in Philadelphia—which was recently threatened with closure—these bookstores have served as meeting places for reading groups and activist organizations and as social hangouts before and after events, or while shopping or browsing (Figure 10).[71] This practice has been particularly strong in the history of lesbian feminist community building around women's bookstores. Women's bookstores have functioned as incubators for activism, research, and writing, as networks for interpersonal support, and as a place to distribute feminist theories and ideas.[72] Many women's bookstores were explicitly or tacitly lesbian in their focus; this included Mama Bears Bookstore in Oakland, which closed in 2003 after twenty years; Old Wives Tales in San Francisco, which lasted for almost twenty years before closing in 1995; and Charis Books and More, which is still operating in Atlanta, having first opened in 1974.[73]

---

[70] License: CC BY-SA 2.0. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:ChartresFrenchmenBooksOct08.jpg. FAB is located at 600 Frenchmen Street, New Orleans, Louisiana.

[71] The first location of A Different Light Bookstore was at 4014 Santa Monica Boulevard, Los Angeles, California from 1979 through 1992. The last Different Light Bookstore, at 489 Castro Street, San Francisco, closed in 2011. See also Johnson (this volume). Lambda Rising first opened in 1974 in the Community Building at 1724 Twentieth Street NW, Washington, DC. In 1979, it moved to 2001 S Street NW, and in 1984 moved to 1625 Connecticut Avenue NW, Washington, DC; it closed in 2010. The Oscar Wilde Bookshop, which was located at 15 Christopher Street, New York City from 1973 through 2009 began as the Oscar Wilde Memorial Bookshop at 291 Mercer Street, New York City in 1967. Outwrite Bookstore and Coffeehouse in Atlanta was located at 991 Piedmont Northeast; opened in November of 1993, it closed in January 2012. Giovanni's Room opened in 1973 at 232 South Street, Philadelphia and moved in 1979 to its current location at 345 South Twelfth Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. Charis Books and More can be found at 1189 Euclid Avenue NE, Atlanta, Georgia; previously it was located at 419 Moreland Avenue in that same city.

Today people express concerns about the disappearance of LGBTQ bookstores much like they do bars, especially since, in earlier years, bookstores had provided some of the first formal gathering places for otherwise loose structures of community identity and affiliation. As historian Martin Meeker contends, among the earliest ways a unified "gay community" was forged was via the printed word. He traces the history of the publications of the early homophile movement in the 1940s-1960s, demonstrating how the exchange of newsletters—like the Mattachine Society's *ONE Magazine* or the Daughters of Bilitis' *The Ladder*—helped lesbian and gay people know that their experiences were not singular, and they were not alone.[74] The gay-owned Pan Graphic Press facilitated the distribution of many of these specific publications; gay presses also were key to the availability of pornography, pulp fiction, and dime store novels that created community through networks of readers.[75] This was particularly the case among lesbian feminists: Naiad Press, Diana Press, Kitchen Table: Women of Color Press, Persephone Press, Firebrand Books, and Seal Press are but a few examples.[76] And as the national LGBTQ movement gained momentum by the late 1980s, magazines, newsletters, and journals continued to be key forums in which individuals at the center of *and* at the margins of the mainstream movement communicated with each other—magazines like *The Advocate*, *Out*, and *Curve* found their way onto mainstream bookstore shelves while newsletters like *ONYX* and *Azalea*, both written by and for lesbians of color, created an alternative record of their experiences and ideas, often distributed by mail, by hand, or in local bookstores and with strikingly different kinds of commercial and personal ads.

---

[72] For a fuller discussion of women's bookstores, see Kristen Hogan, *The Feminist Bookstore Movement: Lesbian Antiracism and Feminist Accountability* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2016).

[73] Mama Bears Bookstore was located at 6536 Telegraph Avenue, Oakland, California from 1983 through 2003. Old Wives Tales in San Francisco opened on Hallowe'en day 1976 at 532 Valencia Street. In 1978, the shop moved to 1009 Valencia Street, where it remained until it closed in 1995.

[74] Martin Meeker, *Contacts Desired*; also see Craig Loftin, *Masked Voices: Gay Men and Lesbians in Cold War America* (Albany, NY: SUNY Press, 2012).

[75] Ibid; also see Julian Carter, "Gay Marriage and Pulp Fiction: Homonormativity, Disidentification, and Affect in Ann Bannon's Lesbian Novels," *GLQ: A Journal of Lesbian and Gay Studies* 15, no. 4 (2009): 583-609.

[76] Junko Onosaka, *Feminist Revolution in Literacy: Women's Bookstores in the United States* (New York: Routledge, 2006). Also see Julie R. Enszer, "Night Heron Press and Lesbian Print Culture in North Carolina, 1976-1983," *Southern Cultures* 21, no. 2 (Summer 2015): 43-56 and Julie Enszer, "The Whole Naked Truth of Our Lives: Lesbian-Feminist Print Culture from 1969 to 1989," PhD diss.,

By the 1990s, chat rooms and, later, blogs, social media, and other online networks, would supplement and even replace some of these publishing networks. Moreover, they would serve multiple purposes—as tools of dating, socializing, activist organizing, education, and much more. These would also be some of the main platforms on which new identities in the so-called alphabet soup of LGBTQ identity would be crafted and cultivated. As scholar Mary Gray shows, the Internet has played a key role in providing a sense of community belonging and knowledge among young people, especially in rural areas.[77]

But counter to the fears described in the introduction to this chapter, the Internet has functioned not only as a substitute for but also as a supplement to in-person interaction, both for dating and activism. One great example has been the use of digital applications for LGBTQ walking tours that guide people through the places of LGBTQ history to forge

---

University of Maryland, 2013. Naiad Press operated out of a private residence in Weatherby Lake, Missouri from 1973 through 1980, when the offices moved to Tallahassee, Florida; Diana Press was founded in 1972 and had offices at 12 West Twenty-Fifth Street, Baltimore, Maryland (now demolished) from 1974 through 1977 before moving to Oakland, California; Kitchen Table: Women of Color Press, was founded in Boston, Massachusetts in 1980 and moved to New York City in 1981; Persephone Press was founded in Watertown, Massachusetts in 1976 by Pomegranate Productions, a lesbian-feminist collective, and sold to Beacon Press in 1983; Firebrand Books had offices at 141 The Commons, Ithaca, New York from 1985 through 1994, when they were sold and moved to Michigan; Seal Press was founded in 1976 in Berkeley, California and continues to operate there today; Cleis Press was founded in 1980 in Minneapolis, Minnesota and is currently based in Berkeley.

[77] Mary Gray, *Out in the Country: Youth, Media, and Queer Visibility in Rural America* (New York: New York University Press, 2009).

community across generations.[78] Another example is the use of social media to reach out to LGBTQ communities for direct action activism; in fact, Patrisse Cullors, Alicia Garza, and Opal Tometi, the three women who founded #BlackLivesMatter, explicitly name queer politics as a part of their vision.[79]

In sum, the form of a community is less significant than the individuals who comprise it and ideals that motivate it. Be it online or on-the-ground, sustainable communities have been forged through the collective labor and love of those who consider themselves to be a part of them, even in the face of changing and challenging political, economic, and cultural forces. These contexts can provide opportunities for some as they foreclose chances for others, and what might seem like a time of progress might also include the repeal of already assumed wins. This dynamic can be seen in campaigns to challenge police raids of the Atlanta Eagle leather bar in November 2009, the threat of closure faced by Giovanni's Room Bookstore in 2013, the incrimination of those with HIV/AIDS, or the poverty and violence that so many transgender women of color continue to face, to name but a small handful of examples.[80]

Although the places and spaces of LGBTQ community formation are sure to shift, there is no doubt that they will still be found in physical and virtual spaces across scales, and in practices official and not. In this way, the landmarks of LGBTQ history will still remembered in parade routes down Christopher Street in New York City or memorials held along with the AIDS Quilt on the National Mall in DC, but they will also continue to be made in the informal gathering spots and stoops in central cities well known to LGBTQ youth before the police ask them to "move along" and in the small town institutions and rural economies that thrive even as they also remain marginal to so many national LGBTQ imaginaries.[81] And people will both gather under and reject, remake, and debate banners that read *homosexual*, *gay*, *lesbian*, *bisexual, femme*, *butch, queer*, *same-gender loving, transgender, nonbinary, aggressive, asexual, polysexual, intersex, leather*, and so much more.[82] It is in these collective efforts—artistic, activist, and every day, sometimes rife with conflict and often with internal contradictions—that LGBTQ community is and will continue to be made.

---

[78] Examples include the "Whose Streets Our Streets" walking tour of New York created by Wesley Flash and Anne Goodfriend, online at http://whosestreetsourstreets.org, and YesterQueer developed by Stewart Van Cleve for Minneapolis, see Rick Nelson, "A Local Archivist Offers a Guided Tour Through Minneapolis Gay History," *Star Tribune,* June 19, 2014, http://www.startribune.com/archivist-offers-guided-tour-through-minneapolis-gay-history/263685961.

[79] Alicia Garza, "A Herstory of the #BlackLivesMatter Movement," *The Feminist Wire,* October 7, 2014, http://www.thefeministwire.com/2014/10/blacklivesmatter-2.

[80] Information about the raid of the Atlanta Eagle, 306 Ponce De Leon Avenue NE, Atlanta, Georgia, which opened in 1987, and the federal lawsuits that followed can be found at "Police Raid at the Atlanta Eagle," http://atlantaeagleraid.com; for information on the saving of Giovanni's Room, see Connie Wu, "Nation's Oldest Bookstore Rescued from Closing," *Out Traveler*, July 25, 2014, http://www.outtraveler.com/destination-guide/philadelphia/2014/07/25/nations-oldest-lgbt-bookstore-rescued-closing; for an analysis of the racial and sexual politics of the criminalization of those with HIV see Steven Trasher, "A Black Body on Trial: The Conviction of HIV-Positive 'Tiger Mandingo,'" *Buzzfeed*, November 30, 2015, https://www.buzzfeed.com/steventhrasher/a-black-body-on-trial-the-conviction-of-hiv-positive-tiger-m; and information about the disproportionate poverty and violence experienced by transgender women of color, as well as strategies for collective action to change this, can be found in the resources collected by the Sylvia Rivera Law Project at http://srlp.org/resources.

---

[81] See Hanhardt, *Safe Space* for a discussion of the demands to "move along" in Greenwich Village; other examples of this dynamic can be found in Gallery Place in Washington, DC, and Boystown in Chicago. The National Mall in Washington, DC, was listed on the NRHP on October 15, 1966. It is part of the National Mall and Memorial Parks unit of the NPS, established in 1965. The urban focus on LGBTQ history is manifested by both the shape and content of this chapter and the study itself, thus marking a crucial direction for future research. Nonetheless, excellent work in LGBTQ rural studies already exists, and includes the previously mentioned John Howard, *Men Like That* and Mary Gray, *Out in the Country*, as well as new works, such as Colin Johnson, *Just Queer Folks: Gender and Sexuality in Rural America* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2013); Mary L. Gray, Brian J. Gilley, and Colin R. Johnson, eds. *Queering the Countryside: New Frontiers in Rural Queer Studies* (New York: NYU Press, 2016); Martin Manalansan, Chantal Nadeau, Richard T. Rodriguez, Siobhan Somerville, "Queering the Middle," special issue of *GLQ: A Journal of Lesbian and Gay Studies* 20, no. 1-2 (2014): 1-12, as but a few examples.

[82] For a study of the spatial influence of "post-gay" identities, see Amin Ghaziani, *There Goes the Gayborhood?*

16

LGBTQ BUSINESS AND COMMERCE

David K. Johnson

As the field of gay and lesbian studies first began to take shape in the 1980s, writer and activist Dennis Altman called attention to the central role that commercial enterprises played in the development of LGBTQ communities. “One of the ironies of American capitalism,” he observed, “is that it has been a major force in creating and maintaining a sense of identity among homosexuals.” While other minority groups depended on home and religious institutions to support their social and cultural practices, Altman observed that “for homosexuals, bars and discos play the role performed for other groups by family and church.”[1] As numerous historians have since demonstrated, LGBTQ communities first coalesced and became visible to themselves and the larger society in the early twentieth century largely in bars, rent parties, diners, bathhouses, and other commercial establishments.[2]

---

[1] Dennis Altman, *The Homosexualization of America: The Americanization of the Homosexual* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1982), 21.

[2] See Nan Alamilla Boyd, *Wide-Open Town: A History of Queer San Francisco to 1965* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003); George Chauncey, *Gay New York: Gender, Urban Culture, and the Makings of the Gay Male World, 1890-1940* (New York: Basic Books, 1994); and Elizabeth Lapovsky Kennedy and Madeline D. Davis, *Boots of Leather, Slippers of Gold: The History of a Lesbian Community* (New York: Routledge, 1993).

Commercial enterprises played a key role in the development of LGBTQ communities at both the local and national level. It was in such commercial establishments that gay, lesbian, bisexual, and transgender patrons could find lovers, make friends, form communities, and learn to navigate in a hostile environment. As historian Nan Boyd argues, such commercial spaces "facilitated the development of a shared public culture, a new language and lexicon of sexual meanings." When such important sites of community building became contested, raided, or otherwise closed to the LGBTQ community, they became important sites of community resistance to authority. Boyd calls them "politicized community center[s]."[3] Indeed the most iconic moment in LGBTQ history—now commemorated annually in LGBTQ Pride festivals all over the world—was the June 28, 1969 riot at the Stonewall Inn, a gay bar in New York City's Greenwich Village. It was the first LGBTQ site to be designated a National Historic Landmark.[4]

Hundreds of commercial sites figure prominently in the history of LGBTQ community formation and deserve recognition. Because of the regularity of police raids and crackdowns on such spaces, especially in the early twentieth century, many were short-lived. This essay will discuss those most iconic types of LGBTQ businesses that have gained recognition at the national scale, paying great attention to those that were the first of their kind, most enduring, or were the site of noteworthy events in LGBTQ history. Favoring the oldest LGBTQ sites, this essay primarily highlights pre-Stonewall/pre-1969 sites rather than the much larger number of places that eventually proliferated in the wake of gay and lesbian liberation. I will look at five types of businesses of historic significance to LGBTQ community formation: bars and rent parties; diners and cafeterias; bathhouses; book and clothing retailers; and media companies.

---

[3] Boyd, *Wide-Open Town*, 61–62.

[4] David Carter, *Stonewall: The Riots That Sparked the Gay Revolution* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2004). Stonewall at 51-53 Christopher Street, New York City, New York was added to the NRHP on June 28, 1999; designated an NHL on February 16, 2000; and declared Stonewall National Monument (an NPS unit) on June 24, 2016. Because The Stonewall Inn has already been designated an NHL, it is not detailed here.

Because the sites focused on here are commercial enterprises, they reflect the inherent biases of a capitalist economy. Both the founders and patrons of these businesses tended to be people with financial means; they were more often male then female and much more often white than they were people of color. Although I have attempted to be inclusive, documenting the history of commercial spaces tends necessarily to privilege white men. Gay bars in particular—like many drinking and eating establishments in the mid-twentieth century United States—often adhered to informal codes of racial exclusion. Lesbian-centered businesses tended to develop later than those targeting or founded by gay men. So while these commercial establishments fostered community, it was not always an inclusive one.[5]

The history of LGBTQ-centered businesses follows a fairly uniform trajectory. Early in the twentieth century, most such businesses were straight-owned sites that became important to the LGBTQ community through a process of spatial appropriation. Certain straight-owned bars, for example, became well-known sites where LGBTQ people gathered and socialized. After World War II, LGBTQ entrepreneurs began to open their own bars, bathhouses, magazines, and bookstores to cater to this growing market. In many cities, these businesses encouraged the formation of LGBTQ neighborhoods.[6] The postwar rise of LGBTQ entrepreneurs represented a clear manifestation of community empowerment, parallel to and often supportive of the community's political involvement. The story of Harvey Milk's political campaign to become an openly gay San Francisco city supervisor from his Castro Camera storefront perhaps most clearly embodies this process.[7] With increasing visibility, the gay market was discovered by mainstream advertisers, who began special niche marketing campaigns. As large corporations become more gay-friendly and as the LGBTQ community has won basic legal protections, such as marriage equality, there has been a decline in many LGBTQ-centered businesses due to a perceived process of assimilation. The historic ebb and flow of LGBTQ commercial enterprises underscores the need to commemorate such sites.[8]

---

[5] Amy Gluckman and Betsy Reed, *Homo Economics: Capitalism, Community, and Lesbian and Gay Life* (New York: Routledge, 1997).

[6] See Hanhardt (this volume).

[7] Castro Camera was located at 573-575 Castro Street, San Francisco, California.

Bars and Rent Parties

Bars have played a more central role in LGBTQ community formation than perhaps for any other social group.[9] Like the immigrant saloon or the African American barbershop, the gay bar created a sense of camaraderie and provided a space not only for personal intimacy but also to share gossip and exchange information. Ricardo J. Brown recalled what an important social setting the gay bar Kirmser's was to life in 1940s St. Paul, Minnesota, typical of bars across the nation. Run by a straight German couple, the working-class bar served as "a refuge, a fort in the midst of a savage and hostile population."[10] As a patron of Maud's summarized about her experience at the lesbian bar that closed in 1989 after over twenty years of business in San Francisco, "It was just home."[11] As a longtime bartender at Chicago's Lost and Found, a lesbian bar that served the community for over fifty years explained, "Everything happened here. It was the only place."[12] The 2006 documentary *Small Town Gay Bar* demonstrated the continuing vital role bars hold for LGBTQ citizens, particularly in rural America.[13]

---

[8] Randy Shilts, *The Mayor of Castro Street: The Life and Times of Harvey Milk* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1982); Moira Rachel Kenney, *Mapping Gay L.A.: The Intersection of Place and Politics* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2001); Mark Abrahamson, *Urban Enclaves: Identity and Place in the World* (New York: Worth Publishers, 2006); Amin Ghaziani, *There Goes the Gayborhood?* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2014).

[9] See Gieseking (this volume).

[10] Ricardo J. Brown, *The Evening Crowd at Kirmser's*: *A Gay Life in the 1940s* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2003), 7. Kirmser's was located at 382 North Wabasha Street, St. Paul, Minnesota.

[11] *Last Call at Maud's,* directed by Paris Poirier (San Francisco: Frameline, 1993). Maud's opened in 1966, and was located at 937 Cole, San Francisco, California. See "Maud's," *Lost Womyn's Space* (blog), March 30, 2011, http://lostwomynsspace.blogspot.com/2011/03/mauds.html. Former patrons of Maud's hold an annual reunion at Finnegan's Wake, the current bar in the old Maud's space. See San Francisco Bay Times Facebook page, "Maud's Reunion," May 11, 2016, https://www.facebook.com/SanFranciscoBayTimes/posts/1198052323547064.

[12] Marie Cartier, *Baby, You Are My Religion: Women, Gay Bars, and Theology Before Stonewall* (New York: Routledge, 2014), 10. Lost and Found, 3058 West Irving Park Road, Chicago, Illinois, was in business from 1965 through early 2008. "Lost & Found," *Lost Womyn's Space* (blog), March 21, 2011, http://lostwomynsspace.blogspot.com/2011/03/lost-found-chicago.html.

Before the advent of an organized political movement, such sites were one of the few places were LGBTQ people came together in public and began to develop a common sense of community. Even the early gay organization, the Mattachine Society, recognized their importance. When Mattachine established a press in the 1950s, the first novel it published was *Gay Bar*, the memoir of a straight owner of a bar on Los Angeles's Melrose Avenue and how she protected her gay male clients. Mattachine leaders hoped it would change the public's perception of gay bars as seedy pockets of immorality and see how they functioned as sanctuaries of support.[14] Such bars were not only important sites where mostly working-class gay men and women "pioneered ways of socializing together" but also where they began the struggle for public recognition. For example, in the years long before same-sex marriage was legal, they were sites for informal same-sex wedding ceremonies. As Elizabeth Kennedy and Madeline Davis showed in their study of Buffalo lesbian bars, they acted as "a crucible for politics."[15]

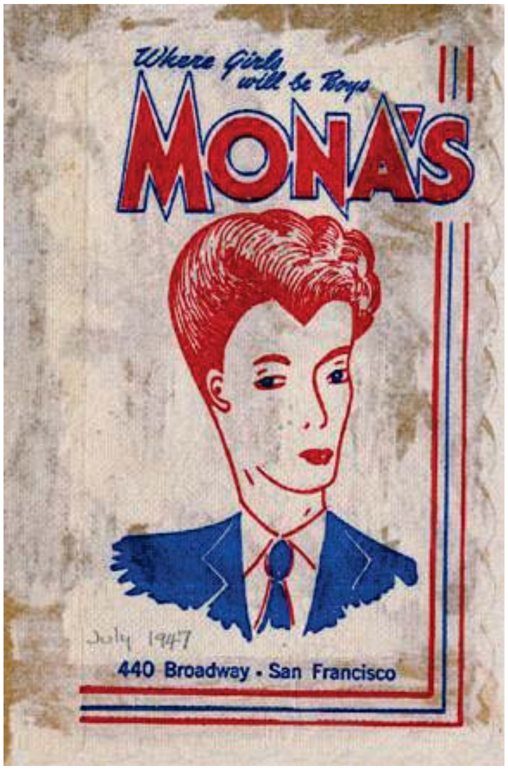


Figure 1: Mona's Where Girls will be Boys, Anonymous Artist, 1947. Printed Napkin, courtesy of the Kinsey Institute for Research in Sex, Gender, and Reproduction.

The first bars with an identifiable gay clientele date from turn-of-the-century New York City and were often associated with the world of prostitution. One of New York City's earliest commercial gathering spots for gay men was The Slide, a Greenwich Village basement dive bar popular in the 1890s with "fairies" and male prostitutes. The penny press derided it as "one of the most vile, vulgar resorts in the city." Waiters with rouged cheeks and falsetto voices would entertain guests with "filthy ditties." [16] A few blocks away was Columbia Hall, better known as "Paresis Hall" (paresis was a slang term for insanity associated with syphilis). Known as "the principal resort in New York for degenerates,"[17] it featured a small bar room, a back beer garden, and rooms to rent upstairs. Fairies would wait tables, entertain, and sometimes solicit customers. Owned by gangster James "Biff" Ellison, this was one of the few places working-class men attracted to other men could be themselves. Some of the fairies who frequented Paresis Hall formed a club called the Cercle Hermaphroditis "to unite for defense against the world's bitter persecution."[18]

---

[13] *Small Town Gay Bar,* directed by Malcolm Ingram (Red Envelope Entertainment, 2006).

[14] Helen P. Branson, *Gay Bar* (San Francisco: Pan-Graphic Press, 1957); Will Fellows and Helen P. Branson, *Gay Bar: The Fabulous, True Story of a Daring Woman and Her Boys in the 1950s* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2010).

[15] Kennedy and Davis, *Boots of Leather, Slippers of Gold*, 3, 29.

With the nationwide repeal of Prohibition in 1933, bars catering exclusively to gays and lesbians could be found in most major American cities. San Francisco's touristed vice district of North Beach was home to Mona's 440, an early lesbian nightclub that featured female waiters in tuxedos and entertainment by male impersonators, including noted African American lesbian blues singer Gladys Bentley (Figures 1 and 2). One of the first and most popular lesbian bars in the country, Mona's advertised itself as a place "where girls will be boys." Its success encouraged similar bars to open in the neighborhood, which became a well-known lesbian enclave.[19]

---

[16] Chauncey, *Gay New York*, 39. The Slide was located at 157 Bleecker Street, New York City, New York. Slide was a slang term used by prostitutes for an establishment where male homosexuals dressed as women and solicited men.

[17] Chauncey, *Gay New York*, 33. Columbia Hall was located first at 32 Cooper Square, then 392 Bowery, New York City, New York. See also Melissa Hope Ditmore, ed., *Encyclopedia of Prostitution and Sex Work*, vol. 2 (Westport, CT: Greenwood Publishing, 2006), 343–344.

[18] Ralph Werther, *The Female-Impersonators* (New York: The Medico-Legal Journal, 1922), 151.

[19] Boyd, *Wide-Open Town*, 63–76. From 1935 to 1938, Mona's Barrel House was located at 140 Columbus, San Francisco, California. In 1938, she opened Mona's 440 at 440 Broadway, San Francisco, California. It remained in business into the 1940s.

In the same North Beach neighborhood, the Black Cat attracted a large gay male clientele, who came to watch host and drag entertainer José Sarria, whose banter with the crowd always assumed everyone was queer.[20] Sarria instilled a sense of cultural pride in gay patrons by ending the night with an audience rendition of "God Save us Nelly Queens," a parody of "God Save the Queen." Beat poet Allen Ginsberg described it as "maybe the greatest gay bar in America."[21] As one woman patron recalled, "The Black Cat was not a bar. It was family. They were my friends. They took me in. They took care of me."[22] When the Black Cat lost its liquor license for being a "hangout for homosexuals," straight owner Sol Stoumen took the decision to court.[23] In 1951, in one of the first legal gay rights victories, the California Supreme Court found that homosexuals had

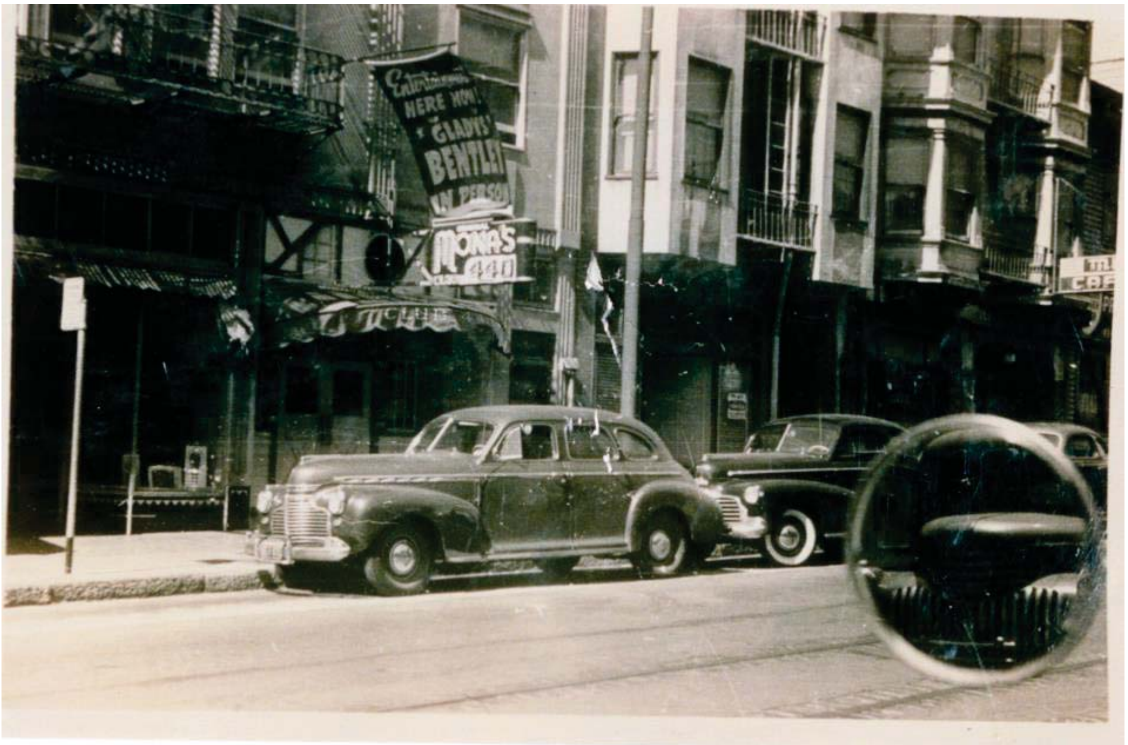


Figure 2: Mona's 440 Broadway, San Francisco. Photo courtesy of (Wide Open Town History Project Records 2003-05), Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender Historical Society.

---

[20] The Black Cat was located at 710 Montgomery Street, San Francisco, California. The Black Cat had enjoyed a reputation as a gathering spot for bohemians and other nonconformists in the 1910s, but it was the post-1933 location at 710 Montgomery that became predominately gay. It is a contributing property to the Jackson Square Historic District, listed on the NRHP on November 18, 1971.

[21] John D'Emilio, *Sexual Politics, Sexual Communities: The Making of a Homosexual Minority in the United States, 1940-1970* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983), 186–187.

[22] *Before Stonewall,* directed by Greta Schiller (New York: First Run Features, 1985).

[23] Boyd, *Wide-Open Town, 121-122;* Stoumen v. Reilly 234 P.2d 969 (Cal 1951).

the right to assemble in bars and restaurants. Sarria used his notoriety from the Black Cat to launch a run for San Francisco city supervisor in 1961, becoming the first openly gay candidate for public office. Garnering six thousand votes, Sarria succeeded in getting LGBTQ citizens to think of their identity in political terms. Under continual harassment by state and local authorities, who used undercover police officers to entrap patrons, the Black Cat closed in 1964. Sarria went on to found the International Imperial Court System, one of the largest LGBTQ organizations in the world. Court events raise money for charities while building community relationships.[24]

In the wake of World War II, gay and lesbian bars proliferated, becoming the primary gay social institution in cities of all sizes. As gay men like Ricardo Brown returned home from the war, they were pleased to discover that cities such as St. Paul, Minnesota, had their own gay bars.[25] The first underground gay bar guide from 1949 listed over seventy bars in cities from Albany to Seattle.[26] By the 1960s, the first commercial guides to gay bars boasted over one hundred pages of entries. As with any growing commercial market, bars began to specialize, with the opening of bars to serve African Americans, the leather community, and others.[27] They also began to organize. As Boyd argues, “The bar was the space where queers learned to resist police harassment and to demand the right to public assembly.”[28] After a particularly devastating 1961 police raid at the Tay-Bush Inn, an after-hours club that served a mixed clientele, bar owners organized to form the Tavern Guild, the first gay business association in the United States.[29]

---

[24] Boyd, *Wide-Open Town*, 56-60.

[25] Brown, *The Evening Crowd at Kirmser’s.*

[26] Hugh Hagius, *Swasarnt Nerf’s Gay Guides for 1949* (New York: Bibliogay Publications, 2010).

[27] Allan Bérubé, *Coming Out Under Fire: The History of Gay Men and Lesbians in World War II* (New York: The Free Press, 1990), 271; Hagius, *Swasarnt Nerf’s Gay Guides for 1949*; and Martin Meeker, *Contacts Desired: Gay and Lesbian Communications and Community, 1940s-1970s* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 2006), 201–224.

[28] Boyd, *Wide-Open Town*, 146.

[29] The Tay-Bush Inn (now demolished) was at 900 Bush Street, San Francisco, California. The Tavern Guild met at Suzy-Q, a gay bar at 1741 Polk Street, San Francisco, California. Boyd, *Wide-Open Town*, 213-216, 223-227.

In Washington, DC, black gay entrepreneur James E. Jones opened the Nob Hill in 1953 in the Columbia Heights neighborhood, not far from Howard University.[30] An upscale private dinner club, the Nob Hill opened as a public bar a few years later and continued to be patronized by middle-class African American men. Because in the early years jackets and ties were required for admittance, it earned the nickname "Snob Hill" by more working-class men. The oldest African American gay bar in Washington, and one of the oldest in the country, by the 1960s the Mattachine Society of Washington leafleted the bar to diversify its membership. By the 1970s it was offering a popular Sunday evening Gospel Hour featuring local singers. It remained a center of black gay life and a well-known drag performance space for fifty years, until its closure in 2004.[31]

For white gay men in the postwar years, the Chicken Hut located just two blocks from Lafayette Square (a well-known cruising area) was Washington DC's most popular bar.[32] On the second floor above Leon's restaurant, it was owned by a straight Italian couple and known affectionately as "the Hut." Gay patrons came to drink beer and sing along to pianist Howard Cooper and his renditions of show tunes and ballads with campy lyrics. Howard would close out the night with a rendition of the Yale "Whiffenpoof Song," with lyrics that invoked the solace of convivial drinking among a group of friends at their favorite watering hole. The owners kept a watchful eye on patrons, who could neither walk around the bar with a drink in hand nor dance. They hired only female servers, fearing gay male servers might lead to disreputable behavior. They turned away African American patrons by using "reserved" signs on tables.[33] Within several blocks of the Chicken Hut, other bars catered to a lively gay and lesbian clientele, including the men's bars in the Mayflower and Statler Hotels, and a lesbian bar known as the Redskin Lounge.[34]

---

[30] Nob Hill opened at 1101 Kenyon Street NW, Washington, DC. It was replaced by the Wonderland Ballroom.

[31] Genny Beemyn, *A Queer Capital: A History of Gay Life in Washington, D.C.* (New York: Routledge, 2014), 106; and Justin Moyer, "D.C.'s oldest gay bar keeps flying under the radar," *Washington City Paper*, October 29, 2007, accessed June 25, 2015, www.washingtoncitypaper.com/articles/21134/on-the-hill. The Nob Hill is recognized for its historic significance by both the National Trust for Historic Preservation and Cultural Tourism DC.

[32] The Chicken Hut (now demolished) was located at 1720 H Street, Washington, DC, from 1948 until 1970.

[33] David K. Johnson, *The Lavender Scare: The Cold War Persecution of Gays and Lesbians in the Federal Government* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004), 163–165; Beemyn, *A Queer Capital*, 102–106; Hagius, *Swasarnt Nerf's Gay Guides for 1949*. It is listed as the Lafayette Chicken

Julius' is one of the oldest, continuously operating gay bars in New York City and the site of a groundbreaking confrontation between the organized LGBTQ community and the New York State Liquor Authority.[35] In the heart of Greenwich Village, Julius' had developed a large gay male following in the 1950s and 1960s, but its liquor license was suspended in 1965 when an undercover police officer arrested a patron for solicitation—part of a periodic police crackdown. To avoid being closed as a "disorderly house," the management forced all patrons to face the bar, claiming it was state law. In 1966, members of the local Mattachine Society, inspired by the black civil rights movement, staged a "sip-in" at Julius' after several thwarted attempts at other locations. They wanted to assert that the assembling of homosexuals in a bar was a civil right, rather than evidence of a "disorderly house" subject to closure. "We are homosexuals and want service," declared the Mattachine representatives as the bartender began to pour. At their declaration, the bartender put his hand over the glasses and denied them service. Their protest received coverage in the *New York Times* and support from the city's Commission on Human Rights. Mattachine New York challenged the law in court, which ruled that homosexuals had the right to peacefully assemble—voiding the State Liquor Authority's contention that the mere presence of homosexuals was "disorderly." Julius' got their liquor license reinstated, establishing the precedent that gay bars were legal. Mattachine New York was also successful in getting the New York City police to stop entrapping gay men. This demonstrated how gay people were increasingly willing to defend

---

Hut in International Guild Guide 1965. It was not uncommon for mainstream restaurants to become gay bars at night. See Brown, *The Evening Crowd at Kirmser's*, xii.

[34] Redskin Lounge (formerly the Jewel Box and the "Maystat") was at 1628 L Street NW, Washington, DC, midway between the Mayflower Hotel at 1127 Connecticut Avenue NW and the Statler Hotel (now the Capital Hilton) at 1001 Sixteenth Street NW. The Mayflower Hotel was added to the NRHP on November 14, 1983.

[35] Julius' Bar remains in business at its original location at 159 West 10th Street, New York City, New York. It was added to the NRHP on April 21, 2016.

their right to assemble in bars and helped encourage legitimate business owners—rather than the mafia—to invest in such establishments (Figure 3).[36]

In Chicago, The Gold Coast, America's first and longest running leather bar, was also one of the first gay bars owned and operated by gay men.[37] Physique photographer Chuck Renslow owned Kris Studio, which he operated with his lover Don Orejudos, a physique artist. Connected to a growing population of gay men interested in leather, Renslow and Orejudos sought to create a place where the community could socialize.

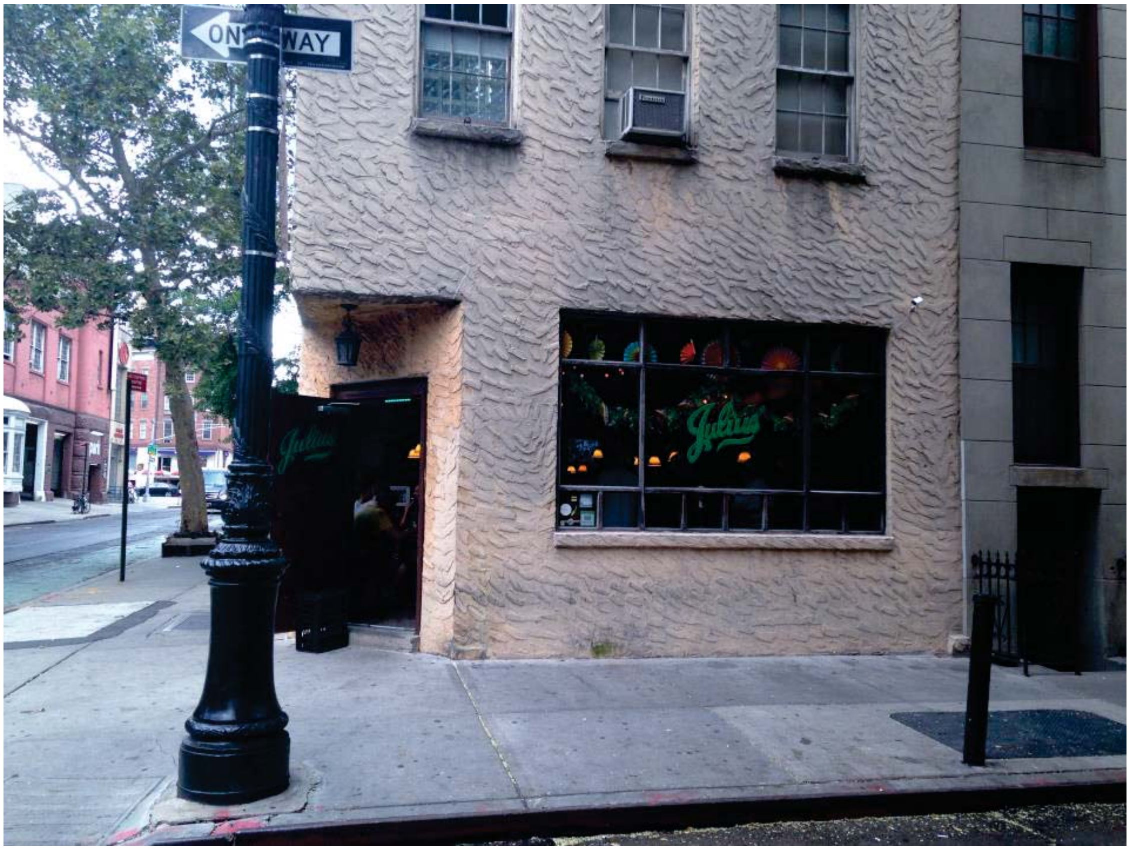
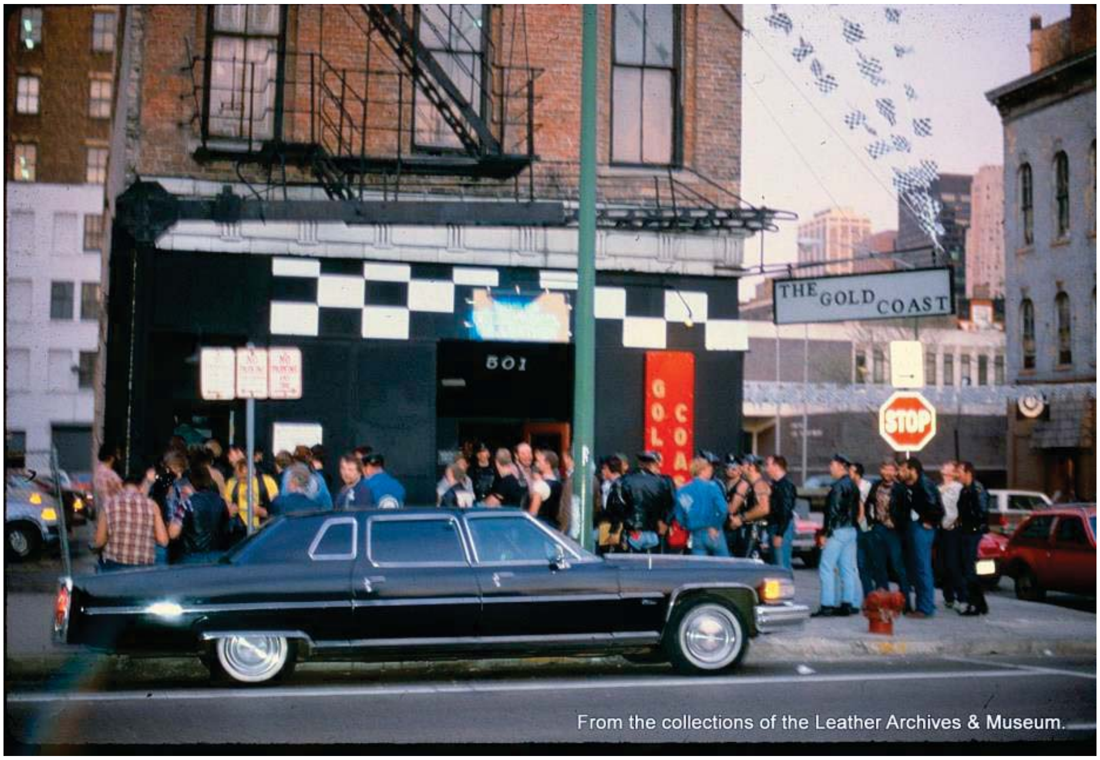


Figure 3: Julius', 159 West 10th Street, New York City, New York, 2015. Photo courtesy of David K. Johnson.

---

[36] Carter, *Stonewall*, 49–51; Martin Duberman, *Stonewall* (New York: Dutton, 1993), 114–117; James McCurrach, *Unrequited Time* (Indianapolis, IN: Dog Ear Publishing, 2001), 201; *New York Times*, April 22 and 26, 1966, March 9, May 11, and November 30, 1967, January 3, 2012; "Three Homosexuals in Search of a Drink," *The Village Voice*, May 5, 1966; Julius' was featured in the film *The Boys in the Band*, directed by William Friedkin (Hollywood, CA: Cinema Center Films, 1970).

[37] The original Gold Coast (1130 North Clark Street) later moved to 1110 North Clark Street and 2265 North Lincoln, but its longest location (1967-1993) was 501 North Clark Street, Chicago, Illinois.



From the collections of the Leather Archives & Museum.

Figure 4: Exterior photograph of the Gold Coast, 501 North Clark Street, Chicago, Illinois, 1980s. Photo from the Renslow Photograph Collection, courtesy of the Leather Archives & Museum, Chicago, Illinois.

They started meeting on weekend nights at bars without an established clientele, moving around the city until, by 1959, they found The Gold Coast Show Lounge, where the straight Italian owner welcomed their business. After Renslow and several partners bought it, Orejudos, (who painted under the name Etienne) decorated it with murals of leather men and women. Thursday night featured a spaghetti buffet and Sunday nights were highlighted with a film screening. On weekends, customers had to adhere to a strict leather dress code to descend into The Pit, which featured a second bar, a small leather shop, and catacombs. Renslow hired attractive gay bartenders—both black and white—and was known for providing health insurance and other benefits to his employees. By 1972 the bar was host to the Mr. Gold Coast contest, until it outgrew the bar space. It has since become the International Mr. Leather contest, which continues to attract thousands of leather men and women to Chicago every year in one of the largest LGBTQ events in the country. After relocating several times, the bar closed in 1988, by which time Renslow had expanded his businesses to include a gay bathhouse, disco, and newspaper (Figure 4).[38]

Beyond the bars described here, whose popularity and longevity is well documented, hundreds of other bars are worthy of historic recognition. Among the more notable are Café Lafitte in Exile (dating back to the early 1930s and still in operation)[39] and the UpStairs Lounge (site of a tragic anti-LGBTQ arson in 1973), both in New Orleans' French Quarter.[40] New York City's East Side in the 1950s was home to several bars known collectively as the "Bird Circuit" (the Blue Parrot, the Golden Pheasant, and the Swan).[41] The Atlantic House in Provincetown, Massachusetts has had a gay following since the 1950s and remains in operation.[42] Many major disco palaces from the 1970s, such as Studio One in Los Angeles and The Lost & Found in Washington, DC, also deserve attention.[43]

Not all men and women attracted to members of their own sex found solace in bars. For many African Americans and poorer members of the community (including many women, who made less money than men), rent parties, house parties, or "buffet flats" served a similar purpose. Because of both racial discrimination and the need for discretion, socializing in private homes has had a long tradition in black culture. These were often all-night or all-weekend affairs in private homes where admission was often charged and food and drinks were sold. After the bars closed, many patrons would join the festivities. And like gay bars, such parties often caught the attention of the police. This is another example of the community taking responsibility for creating its own social life despite the dangers involved.[44]

---

[38] Joseph W. Bean, ed., *Kris: The Physique Photography of Chuck Renslow* (Las Vegas: Nazca Plains Corporation, 2007); Tracy Baim and Owen Keehnen, *Leatherman: The Legend of Chuck Renslow* (Chicago: Prairie Avenue Productions, 2011).

[39] Café Lafitte in Exile is one of the oldest LGBTQ bars in the United States. It is located at 901 Bourbon Street, New Orleans, Louisiana. Café Lafitte in Exile is located within the Vieux Carre Historic Landmark District, designated an NHL on December 21, 1965. Frank Perez and Jeffrey Palmquist, *In Exile: The History and Lore Surrounding New Orleans Gay Culture and Its Oldest Gay Bar* (Hurlford, Scotland: LL-Publications, 2012).

[40] The UpStairs Lounge was located at 141 Chartres Street, New Orleans, Louisiana. Clayton Delery-Edwards, *The Upstairs Lounge Arson* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2014); *Upstairs Inferno,* directed by Robert L. Camina (Camina Entertainment, 2014).

[41] Charles Kaiser, *The Gay Metropolis: 1940-1996* (New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1997), 106.

[42] Karen Christel Krahulik, *Provincetown: From Pilgrim Landing to Gay Resort* (New York: New York University Press, 2005). The Atlantic House, located at 4-6 Masonic Place, Provincetown, Massachusetts, opened in the eighteenth century. The Provincetown Historic District was added to the NRHP on August 30, 1989.

[43] Studio One/The Factory is located at 661 North Robertson Boulevard, West Hollywood, California. Studio One opened in 1975 and closed in 1988 after a decline in popularity after allegations of racism, sexism, and homophobia were made. The building is currently home to The Factory. The Lost and Found was located at 56 L Street SE, Washington, DC. It opened in 1971, and was almost immediately picketed by the newly formed Committee for Open Gay Bars because of their carding policies designed to keep out African Americans, women, and people in drag. They closed in 1990.

Diners and Cafeterias

In many cities, certain cafeterias and diners became well-known LGBTQ hangouts because of their cheap prices, late hours, and proximity to nearby cruising areas or bars. These sites were particularly important for persons too young or too poor to socialize in gay bars that served alcohol and often had restrictive entrance policies. They also served as places to socialize once the bars closed. Sometimes the campy clientele turned the place into a tourist attraction, while other times managers found LGBTQ patrons an objectionable nuisance. In New York City, Childs cafeteria chain was a favorite place to socialize, especially the outlet on Columbus Circle, known campily as “Mother Childs.” Another Childs in the Paramount Theater Building on Times Square was generally taken over by hundreds of gay men after midnight.[45] As one Childs patron explained, he and his gay friends would “sit and have coffee and yak-yak and talk til three and four and five o’clock in the morning . . . that was the social thing to do.” One 1930s guide to New York said it “features a dash of lavender.”[46] In Chicago, Thompson’s Cafeteria on Michigan Avenue at

---

[44] Kennedy and Davis, *Boots of Leather*, 42-43; 123-131; Chauncey, *Gay New York*, 250. The locations of such parties has been lost to history.

[45] The Columbus Circle Childs (“Mother Childs”) was located at 300 West 59th Street, New York City, New York. The Paramount Theater Building in Times Square was located at 1501 Broadway, New York City, New York.

[46] Chauncey, *Gay New York*, 164-66.

Ohio Street served a similar function, becoming the most popular commercial rendezvous spot for young gay men.[47]

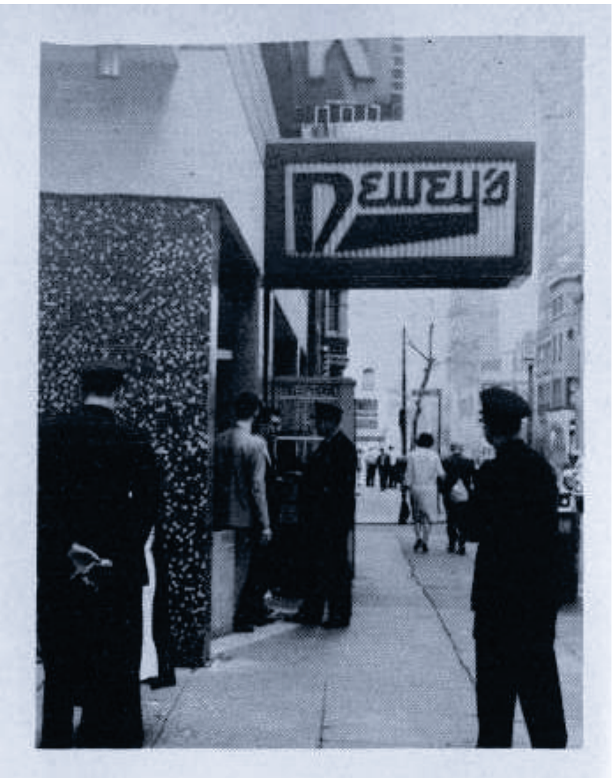


Figure 5: Dewey's Sit-in, April 1965, 219 South Seventeenth Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. Photo from *Drum* magazine, August 1965.

Dewey's was an all-night Philadelphia-based restaurant chain frequented by gay, lesbian, and transgender people in the Rittenhouse Square neighborhood.[48] In April 1965—four years before the Stonewall Riots—the management started to deny service to customers they perceived to be gay or gender nonconforming. One Sunday, LGBTQ patrons organized a protest, and after 150 people had been denied service, a group of teenagers refused to leave and were arrested and charged with disorderly conduct. The Janus Society, Philadelphia's homophile organization, began several days of leafleting the restaurant with fliers protesting the treatment.[49] At a subsequent sit-in the next Sunday, no arrests were made and the Janus Society claimed victory and an end to discriminatory practices at Dewey's. *Drum* magazine called it "the first sit-in of its kind in the history of the United States."[50] Although overshadowed in historical memory by the Mattachine-led picket in front of Independence Hall down the street that same year, this sit-in represented the claiming of public space by a younger and more gender nonconformist queer group (Figure 5).[51]

---

[47] David K. Johnson, "The Kids of Fairytown: Gay Male Culture on Chicago's Near North Side in the 1930s," in *Creating a Place for Ourselves: Lesbian, Gay and Bisexual Community Histories,* ed. Brett Beemyn (New York: Routledge, 1997), 103.

[48] Dewey's was located at 219 South Seventeenth Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; the location is now occupied by Little Pete's Restaurant.

[49] The Janus Society was based for many years at the Middle City Building, 34 South Seventeenth Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

[50] *Drum*, August 1965, 5–6.

Compton's Cafeteria, a twenty-four hour eatery, was part of a large San Francisco chain owned by Gene Compton.[52] Situated in the Tenderloin neighborhood of gay bars and bathhouses, Compton's was frequented by transgender people and young street hustlers, but not always welcome by the management, who increasingly harassed them. Vanguard, a group of street youths organized through the nearby Glide Memorial Methodist Church, picketed Compton's for discriminating against drag queens and hustlers.[53] Late one night in the summer of 1966, the management called the police on a particularly unruly table. When confronted by the police, one transgender customer threw her coffee in his face, and soon "general havoc was raised in the Tenderloin"—the fifty to sixty customers turned tables, smashed windows, fought the police, and burned a newsstand to the ground. It was one of the first transgender-led instances of militant queer resistance.[54]

The Dewey's protest and Compton's Cafeteria uprising demonstrate that LGBTQ direct action did not begin with Stonewall, nor was it centered only around bars. Such diners and cafeterias served as important sites of community formation and were fiercely defended by their LGBTQ patrons both before and after Stonewall. More recent scholarship is beginning to uncover similar stories in smaller cities with less well documented LGBTQ histories, including a sit-in at the Denny's in downtown Tampa, Florida, led by the Metropolitan Community Church in 1972.[55]

---

[51] Marc Stein, *City of Sisterly and Brotherly Loves: Lesbian and Gay Philadelphia, 1945-1972* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000), 245–247. Marc Stein, "The First Gay Sit-in happened 40 years ago," *History News Network*, May 9, 2005, accessed June 12, 2015, http://historynewsnetwork.org/article/11652.

[52] Compton's Cafeteria was located at 101 Turk Street, San Francisco, California. This building is a contributing element (but not for its LGBTQ history) to the Uptown Tenderloin Historic District, listed on the NRHP on February 5, 2009.

[53] Glide Memorial Church at 330 Ellis Street, San Francisco, California is a contributing building to the Uptown Tenderloin Historic District, added to the NRHP on February 5, 2009.

[54] Susan Stryker, *Transgender History* (Berkeley: Seal Press, 2008); *Screaming Queens: The Riot at Compton's Cafeteria,* directed by Victor Silverman and Susan Stryker (San Francisco: Frameline, 2005).

Bathhouses

Of the many commercial settings in which LGBTQ persons gathered in the early twentieth century, bathhouses were among the most important to gay men. According to historian George Chauncey, bathhouses were "the safest, most enduring, and one of the most affirmative" of such spaces. Initially opened for tenement-living immigrant communities in large American cities, Turkish bathhouses became sites that gay men appropriated. As the first exclusively gay private commercial spaces, they affirmed same-sex desire and offered an environment free from threat of blackmail or harassment. For legal reasons, most operated as private membership clubs. Even the occasional police raids themselves became part of gay folklore.[56]

One of the earliest known bathhouses with a substantial gay following was New York City's Ariston Hotel Baths.[57] A 1903 police raid resulted in numerous arrests ranging from disorderly conduct to sodomy, and a series of sensational trials. It was the earliest known raid of a gay bathhouse in the United States and twenty-five of those arrested were sent to prison. Another early twentieth-century bathhouse was The Lafayette, frequented by composer Charles Tomlinson Griffes and painter Charles Demuth—who painted a watercolor of himself and other patrons—until the locale was raided and closed in 1916.[58] The Mount Morris Turkish Baths in Harlem catered to black men who would have been denied entry to similar establishments elsewhere in New York City. Opened in 1893, the Mount Morris baths began attracting a gay and bisexual clientele in the 1930s, and continued to do so until 2003, having escaped the AIDS panic of the mid-1980s that resulted in most of New York City's bathhouses being forced to close.[59] But it was The Everard, in the heart of the city's Tenderloin entertainment district, which became the most popular gay bathhouse in New York City.[60] Founded as a Turkish bath in 1888 by financier James Everard in a former Romanesque revival church building, The Everard was known as the "safest" such establishment—rumor was that it was owned by the Patrolman's Benevolent Association. It served a worldwide gay male clientele—including luminaries Gore Vidal, Truman Capote, and Rudolph Nureyev—from World War I into the 1970s. Writer and frequent patron James McCourt was amazed that in its post-World War II glory days, "a whole culture's mating, food-finding, navigational and social behavior should

---

[55] Denny's was located at 102 Parker Street, Tampa, Florida. Stratton D. Nauman, "The Metropolitan Community Church goes to Denny's: Religion, Bar Culture, and the Origins of LGBT Activism in Tampa," *Tampa Bay History* 28 (2015): 1-24. On why Stonewall became the symbolic origin of gay liberation, see Elizabeth A. Armstrong and Suzanna M. Crage, "Movements and Memory: The Making of the Stonewall Myth," *American Sociological Review* 71 (October 2006): 724–751.

[56] Chauncey, *Gay New York*, 207–225; Allan Bérubé, "The History of Gay Bathhouses," in *Policing Public Sex: Queer Politics and the Future of AIDS Activism,* ed. Ephen Glenn Colter (Boston: South End Press, 1996), 187–220. On the history of gay bathhouses more generally, see Grey Pierce, "Throwing Open the Door: Preserving Philadelphia's Gay Bathhouses," Master's Thesis, University of Pennsylvania, 2015.

[57] The Ariston Hotel, with the baths in the basement, was located at 1732 Broadway, New York City, New York.

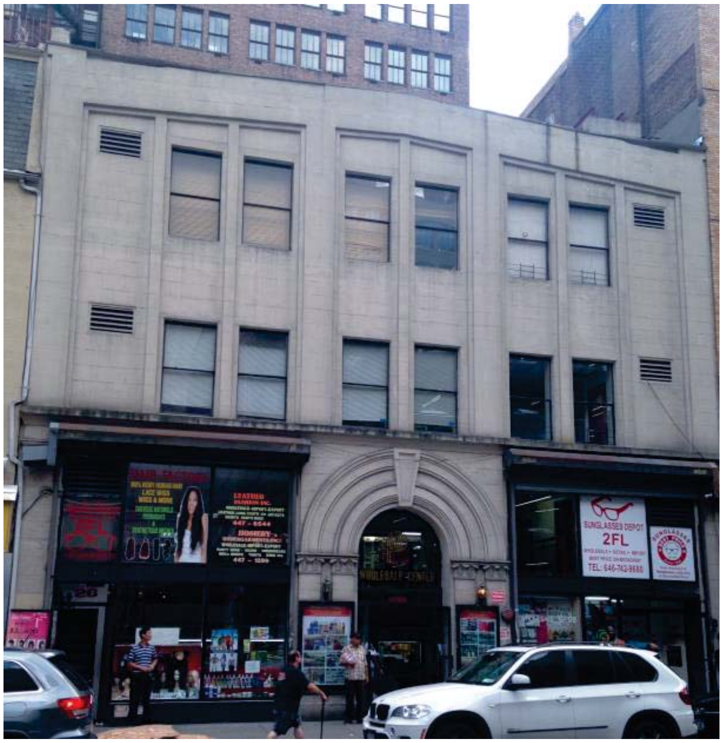


Figure 6: The Everard, 28 West 28th Street, New York City, New York, 2015. Photo courtesy of David K. Johnson.

---

[58] The Lafayette was located at 403-405 Lafayette Street, New York City, New York (now demolished).

[59] Aviva Stampfer, "Mt. Morris Turkish Baths (former)," Place Matters: Places That Matter website, July 2010, http://www.placematters.net/node/1368; Alan Feuer, "Mount Morris Journal; A Gay Bathhouse in Harlem? Hey, It's No Secret," *New York Times,* January 19, 2003.The Mount Morris Turkish Baths were at 1944 Madison Avenue, New York City, New York.

[60] The Everard Turkish Bathhouse was located at 28 West 28th Street, New York City, New York. The Romanesque façade of the building largely survives.

converge at a single point on West 28th Street in New York City."[61] Featured in classic gay novels *Dancer from the Dance* by Andrew Holleran and *Faggots* by Larry Kramer, the legendary Everard deteriorated in the 1970s and was almost destroyed by fire in 1977, when nine customers were killed. It reopened, only to be closed by the city of New York in 1986 in the midst of the AIDS crisis (Figure 6).[62]

In San Francisco, the first bathhouse to open specifically to cater to a gay clientele was The Club Turkish Baths in the Tenderloin, down the street from Compton's Cafeteria and a host of queer bars. A 1954 Mattachine Society convention guide to the city called it "plush." Referred to affectionately as "the Club Baths" in the 1968 Broadway play *Boys in the Band*, its name became an iconic symbol of gay male sexual culture. [63] In 1965, Jack Campbell and several partners purchased an old Finnish bathhouse in downtown Cleveland determined to bring the luxury and reputation of this San Francisco bathhouse to the rest of the country. Called The Club Baths, it included amenities such as a television room, Jacuzzi, and free weeknight buffets.[64] At the peak of its expansion in the 1980s, Campbell's Club Baths chain operated over forty bathhouses in the United States and Canada with several hundred thousand card-carrying members. After moving to Miami, Campbell became a leader in local LGBTQ politics and helped lead the charge against Anita Bryant's Save Our Children crusade to overturn a local gay rights ordinance.[65] With his considerable fortune, he supported not only the Miami LGBTQ community but national organizations such as the Metropolitan Community Church, the Gay Games, The National Gay and Lesbian Task

---

[61] James McCourt, *Queer Street: Rise and Fall of an American Culture, 1947-1985* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2005), 194.

[62] Chauncey, *Gay New York*, 207-225.

[63] The Club Turkish Baths, later Bulldog Baths, was located at 132 Turk Street, San Francisco, California until 1984. Allan Bérubé, "The History of Gay Bathhouses," indicates it opened in the 1950s, while the Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual and Transgender Historical Society suggests the 1930s. Matt Crowley, *The Boys in the Band: A Play in Two Acts* (New York: Samuel French, 1968), 29; *Ciao!* January–February 1973, 20; *Drummer* 4, no. 34 (1979): 74–75.

[64] The original building of the Club Baths at 1448 West Thirty-Second Street, Cleveland, Ohio is gone, but Club Cleveland, in a new building at 3219 Detroit Avenue, sits on the same block. See *Ciao!* January–February, 1974, 10, and the Club Cleveland website, accessed June 29, 2015, http://theclubs.com/page.cfm?location=Cleveland.

[65] See Capó (this volume).

Force, and the Human Rights Campaign.[66] Later, during the AIDS pandemic, he was a vocal advocate of turning bathhouses into health clubs that could educate members about safe sex.[67]

In 1968 in New York City, Steve Ostrow opened The Continental Baths and Health Club in the historic Ansonia Hotel building. The Baths were a modern pleasure palace featuring an Olympic swimming pool, color TV, rooftop sundeck, reading room, café, cabaret entertainment, and art exhibitions.[68] Rather than exploit customers, like many mafia-run LGBTQ businesses, Ostrow, a bisexual man, was determined to give his patrons a clean, full-service entertainment experience. Boasting nearly a thousand lockers, the Continental Baths offered a daily VD clinic and religious services on Friday and Sunday nights. The disco featured DJ Frankie Knuckles, who developed what became known as house music, while the cabaret acts featured then-unknown performers including Bette Midler and Barry Manilow. Gay Activists Alliance leaders Vito Russo and Arnie Kantrowitz considered the place a home away from home. During her first campaign for Congress in 1970, Bella Abzug, one of the first candidates to openly seek the gay vote, made a campaign stop at the Continental Baths. Growing popularity convinced Ostrow to admit straight customers which alienated the gay male clientele and led to its close in 1975.[69]

---

[66] Although many activists shunned him because of the source of his money, others found his financial support indispensable. Dudley Clendinen and Adam Nagourney, *Out for Good: The Struggle to Build a Gay Rights Movement in America* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1999), 293–295; Randy Shilts, *And the Band Played On: Politics, People, and the AIDS Epidemic* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1987), 180, 306.

[67] Steve Endean, *Bringing Lesbian and Gay Rights into the Mainstream: Twenty Years of Progress*, eds. Vicki Eaklor, Robert R. Meek and Vern L. Bullough (New York: Routledge, 2012), 244; "Saunas, Sex & Steam," *The Vital Voice*, September 1, 2012, accessed June 29, 2015, http://thevitalvoice.com/saunas-sex-a-steam; Campbell continues to own an interest in several bathhouses, such as Club Cleveland on the site of the original bathhouse that created his empire.

[68] The Continental Baths and Health Club were located at 2101-2119 Broadway at West 73rd Street, New York City, New York. The Ansonia Hotel, where they were located, was added to the NRHP on January 10, 1980.

[69] Frank Keating, "Pleasure Palace," *Queen's Quarterly*, Winter 1970, 8-12; *Continental*, directed by Malcolm Ingram (Blowhard Films, 2013); Steve Ostrow, *Live at the Continental: The Inside Story of the World-Famous Continental Baths* (Bloomington, IN: Xlibris, 2007); Michael Schiavi, *Celluloid Activist: The Life and Times of Vito Russo* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2011), 104–106; Suzanne Braun Levine and Mary Thom, *Bella Abzug: An Oral History* (New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 2007), 99. Among the many fictionalized accounts of the Continental are John Paul Hudson and Warren Wexler, *Superstar Murder? A Prose Flick* (New York: Insider Press, 1976) and *The Ritz*, directed by Richard Lester (Hollywood: Warner Brothers, 1976).

As gay male bathhouses were closing, lesbians began opening women-only communal bathhouses. Among the first and most long-lasting was Osento, a Japanese-style spa located along Valencia Street in San Francisco's Mission District. It was founded and operated by lesbian-feminist Summer Kraml who opened its doors in 1980. Osento was located in a Victorian townhouse with no sign outside—you had to know about it to find it. Inside was a large communal hot pool, two relaxation rooms, a bathroom, and a small kitchen. In the backyard were a showerhead, two small saunas, a cold plunge, and a deck that was secluded enough to permit nude sunbathing.[70] Unlike men's bathhouses, such lesbian enclaves often discouraged sexual contact and emphasized social bonding. Because its women-only policy excluded transgender women who had not had sexual reassignment surgery, Osento became the target of boycotts.[71] Other lesbian-feminist businesses on Valencia included Old Wives' Tales Bookstore and Amelia's, a lesbian bar.[72]

Bookstores and Book Clubs

Literature by and about LGBTQ people has been integral to the history of community formation. "The gay revolution began as a literary revolution," argues Christopher Bram, pointing to a slew of post-World War II books, such as Gore Vidal's *City and the Pillar* and James Barr's *Quatrefoil.*[73] While largely dependent on mainstream presses to publish these books, gay men and lesbians developed their own ways of selling and distributing them, first through mail-order book services and later through brick-and-mortar bookstores. Both helped demonstrate the market for LGBTQ literature and connect readers. Bookstores featured book signings, community bulletin boards, reading groups, and other activities that helped turn them into informal community centers. They served as resources for activists fighting for LGBTQ rights and anchors for burgeoning gay neighborhoods. Unlike gay bathhouses and some bars, LGBTQ bookstores were the most integrated of spaces across gender, sexuality, race, and class. The focus on literature and knowledge afforded LGBTQ people a space to unite in understanding themselves as a community with a shared history and culture.

---

[70] Osento closed in 2008 when the owner retired. The building is now a private residence.

[71] Josh Sides, *Erotic City: Sexual Revolutions and the Making of Modern San Francisco* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 115; and Stephanie J. Rosenbaum, "Osento, 1980-2008," *The Adventures of Pie Queen* (blog), accessed April 18, 2016, http://piequeen.blogspot.com/2008/08/osento-1980-2008.html.

[72] Old Wives' Tales opened in 1976 on Valencia at Sixteenth Street, San Francisco, California; it closed in 1995. Amelia's, open from ca. 1977 until 1991, was located at 647 Valencia Street, San Francisco, California. This is now the location of the Elbo Room. Kristen Hogan, *The Feminist Bookstore Movement: Lesbian Antiracism and Feminist Accountability* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2016); Robin, "The State of the Lesbian Bar: San Francisco Toasts to the End of an Era," *Autostraddle*, November 11, 2014, http://www.autostraddle.com/the-state-of-the-lesbian-bar-san-francisco-toasts-to-the-end-of-an-era-262072.

[73] Christopher Bram, *Eminent Outlaws: The Gay Writers Who Changed America* (New York: Twelve, 2012).

The man who founded both the first gay bookstore and the first gay mail-order service in the United States was Edward Sagarin, author of *The Homosexual in America*, the first nonfiction, insider account of the American LGBTQ community.[74] Writing under the pseudonym Donald Webster Cory, he was one of the first to proclaim that gay people constituted a minority group similar to African Americans and Jews. His book politicized so many young men and women who went on to become LGBTQ activists that Cory has been dubbed the "father of the homophile movement."[75] Leveraging the names and addresses of the thousands of men and women who wrote praising his book, Cory founded the Cory Book Service in 1952, the first independent business devoted exclusively to selling books on LGBTQ topics.[76] By identifying, reviewing, and selling gay fiction and nonfiction, the Cory Book Service not only encouraged and popularized LGBTQ literature, it was one of the first national LGBTQ organizations. Its mailing list was instrumental in the founding a year later, of *ONE* magazine, the major homophile periodical of the 1950s. In April 1953, Cory expanded his successful mail-order service to open The Book

---

[74] In 1936, Sagarin married Gertrude Liphshitz; together they had a son. As Cory, Sagarin pursued same-sex relationships as well as working for gay rights.

[75] Donald Webster Cory, *The Homosexual in America: A Subjective Approach* (New York: Greenberg, 1951); Martin Duberman, *Left Out: The Politics of Exclusion: Essays 1964–2002* (Cambridge, MA: South End Press, 2002), 59–94.

[76] The Cory Book Service first operated out of 58 Walker Street, New York City, New York.

Cellar, the first bookstore tailored to the gay market.[77] Gore Vidal and other gay authors occasionally did book signings at the bookstore. Cory described it as a "small but very personal place" that he hoped would become both a local and national destination.[78]

While The Book Cellar lasted only a few years, the Cory Book Service developed a wide and loyal following, reaching more than five thousand subscribers under its successor organization, The Winston Book Club.[79] It inspired over a dozen similar LGBTQ mail-order book services, including the Guild Book Service (by H. Lynn Womack), the DOB Book Service (by the Daughters of Bilitis), and the Dorian Book Service (by Hal Call).[80] Hal Call of the San Francisco-based Mattachine Society was the first to turn his Dorian Book Service into a successful storefront bookstore. In March 1967, Call partnered with Bob Damron and Harrison Keleinschmidt (a.k.a. J. D. Mercer) to open the Adonis Bookstore in San Francisco's Tenderloin neighborhood, around the corner from the Club Turkish Baths and Compton's Cafeteria.[81] It featured books, magazines, paintings, physique art, gay greeting cards, records, sculptures, novelties, and gifts. Promotional material touted it as a "gay supermarket."[82]

When Craig Rodwell opened the Oscar Wilde Memorial Bookstore in New York's Greenwich Village on Thanksgiving weekend in 1967, he envisioned it as an arm of the homophile movement.[83] Touted as "the first shop of its kind in the United States," what set it apart from previous gay bookstores (such as Adonis in San Francisco) was that Rodwell carried only literature he considered serious and gay affirming. He refused to offer physique magazines or pulp fiction he considered exploitative, at least until economic pressures convinced him otherwise. Rodwell began with only twenty-five titles, gay slogan buttons, and free literature from gay organizations. It was from this "bookshop of the homophile movement" that he encouraged people to "Buy Gay" and launched a newsletter attacking mafia control of gay bars.[84] Over the years, the Oscar Wilde Memorial Bookstore (and its later incarnation, the Oscar Wilde Bookshop) suffered bomb threats, break-ins, and homophobic graffiti, but thousands of gay, lesbian, and questioning customers came to find literature, advice, and check out the bulletin board of movement events (Figure 7).[85]

---

[77] The Book Cellar was located at 237 East 56th Street, New York City, New York.

[78] Cory Book Service circular, April 6, 1953, Kepner Papers, ONE National Gay & Lesbian Archives; Cory Book Service to George Quaintance, April 16, 1953, folder 4, box 4, Mattachine Society Records, New York Public Library; Charles Kaiser, *The Gay Metropolis*, 126. The shop at 237 East 56th Street probably lasted until 1955, when Cory sold the Cory Book Service.

[79] Elsie Carlton, interview by Martin Duberman, September 1, 1996, Duberman Papers, New York Public Library; Winston Book Club circulars, Canadian Lesbian and Gay Archives (Toronto), The Winston Book Club was located at 250 Fulton Avenue, Hampstead, New York.

[80] The Guild Book Service began in 1964 and operated out of Womack's Guild Press, 807-813 Eighth Street SE, Washington, DC. The DOB Book and Records Service launched in May 1960 and lasted a few years. The Dorian Book Service began in 1957. Marcia M. Gallo, *Different Daughters: A History of the Daughters of Bilitis and the Rise of the Lesbian Rights Movement* (New York: Carroll & Graf, 2006), 59-60; Drewey Wayne Gunn, ed., *The Golden Age of Gay Fiction* (Albion, NY: MLR Press, 2009), 95; Mark Stein, *Rethinking the Gay and Lesbian Movement* (New York: Routledge, 2012), 61.

[81] Adonis Bookstore opened at 350 Ellis Street, San Francisco, California.

[82] *Free Press*, July 21, 1967 in Kepner Papers, ONE National Gay & Lesbian Archives at the USC Libraries; *Golden Boys #1*, 1967; James T. Sears, *Behind the Mask of Mattachine: The Hal Call Chronicles and the Early Movement for Homosexual Emancipation* (Binghamton, NY: Harrington Park Press, 2006), 519.

As a gay businessman, Rodwell hoped his store would inspire others to open businesses serving the LGBTQ community to "help build the gay dollar" and thus "gay power."[86] One of those he inspired was Harvey Milk, a former lover of Rodwell's and a frequent customer, who, after his move in 1972 from New York City to San Francisco, opened Castro Camera, which also became an informal community center.[87] Other LGBTQ bookstores across the country followed in the footsteps of Adonis and Oscar Wilde. In 1973, Ed Hermance opened Giovanni's Room in

---

[83] The Oscar Wilde Memorial Bookstore opened at 291 Mercer Street, New York City, New York. In 1973, as the Oscar Wilde Bookshop, it moved to 15 Christopher Street, New York City, New York where it stayed in business until 2009.

[84] Rodwell began the organization Homophile Youth Movement in Neighborhoods (HYMN) out of his bookshop. In February 1968, in the first issue of the group's newsletter *Hymnal* Rodwell protested mafia control of gay bars, calling out the Stonewall Inn specifically. David Carter, *Stonewall: The Raids that Sparked the Gay Revolution* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2004), 78, 80, 98.

[85] Kay Tobin and Randy Wicker, *The Gay Crusaders* (New York: Paperback Library, 1972), 65-76; "Gay is Good," *Queen's Quarterly*, Summer 1969, 38ff; Duberman, *Stonewall*, 165; Lionel Cuffie, "Oscar Wilde Memorial Bookstore: Nine years of successful service to the community," *Gay Community News*, December 18, 1976, 12-13; Martha E. Stone, "After Many a Season Dies the Oscar Wilde," *The Gay & Lesbian Review Worldwide*, (July-August 2009), 9.

[86] "Gay is Good," *Queen's Quarterly*, Summer 1969, 38-39.

[87] Shilts, *The Mayor of Castro Street*; Duberman, *Stonewall*, 165. Castro Camera was located at 575 Castro Street, San Francisco, California, and served as campaign headquarters for Milk's runs for city supervisor; Milk lived in an apartment above the store.

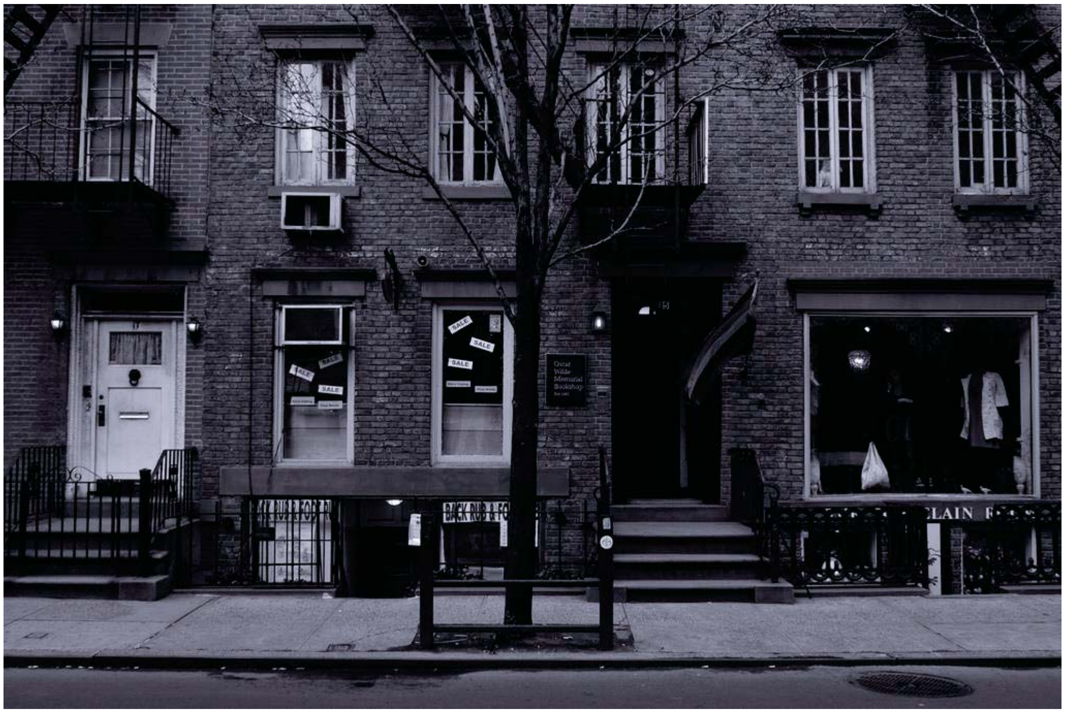


Figure 7: Oscar Wilde Bookstore, 15 Christopher Street, New York City, New York. Photo by Steve and Sara Emry, 2009.[88]

Philadelphia's Rittenhouse Square neighborhood.[89] L. Page "Deacon" Maccubbin opened the Lambda Rising bookstore in Washington, DC's Dupont Circle neighborhood in 1974 and sponsored the city's first gay and lesbian pride celebration, then just a block party in front of the store.[90] By the 1980s, Maccubbin had opened additional stores and founded the *Lambda Book Report* and the Lambda Literary Awards to recognize the best in LGBTQ literature.[91] In 1979 Canadian businessmen George Leigh and Norman Laurila opened A Different Light bookstore in Los Angeles' Silver Lake neighborhood and soon expanded to locations in San Francisco and New York as well as a second Los Angeles location.[92] After serving the community for decades, most of these independent bookstores had closed by 2010, largely due to competition from major bookstore chains and online retailers. Deacon Maccubbin saw it as a sign that his initial goal of getting LGBTQ literature into mainstream stores had succeeded.[93]

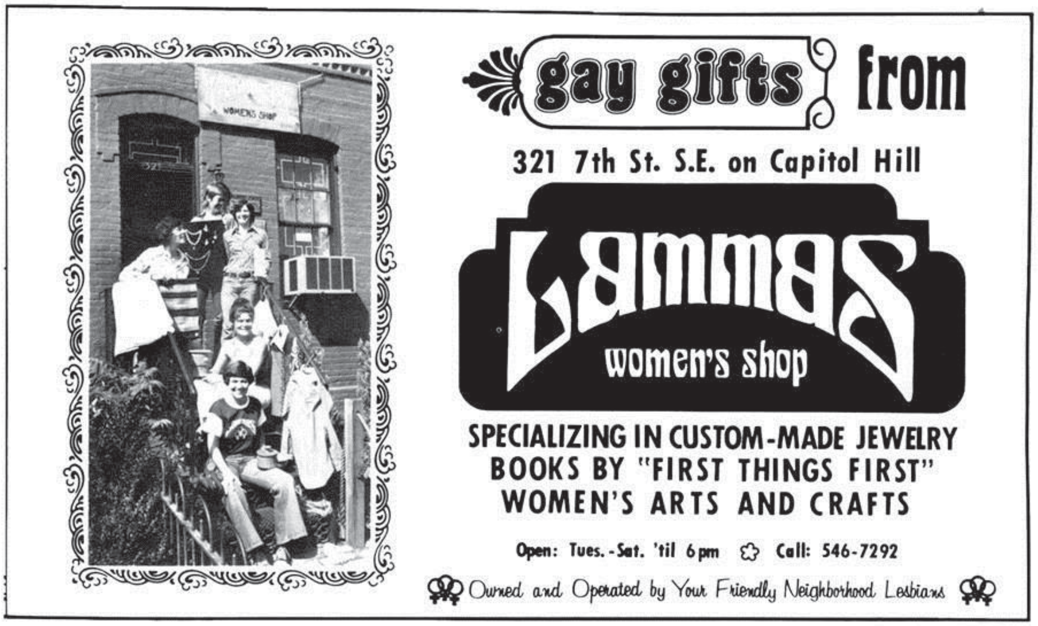
---

[88] License: CC BY-NC SA 2.0. https://www.flickr.com/photos/emry/3321249085

[89] Giovanni's Room opened in 1973 at 232 South Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. It moved to 345 Twelfth Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, located within the Washington Square West Historic District, added to the NRHP on September 20, 1984.

[90] The original Lambda Rising began as a selection of LGBTQ publications at Earthworks, Maccubbin's craft shop in the Community Building at 1724 Twentieth Street NW, Washington, DC. In 1974, Maccubbin rented another space in the Community Building and opened Lambda Rising. In 1979, Lambda Rising moved to 2001 S Street NW and in 1984 moved to 1625 Connecticut Avenue NW, Washington, DC. It closed in 2009. The Community Building was also home to the Gay Switchboard, the *Blade* newspaper, *off our backs* magazine, and the Black Panther Defense League among other counterculture and antiwar organizations. Sue Levin, *In the Pink: The Making of Successful Gay- and Lesbian-Owned Businesses* (New York: Haworth Press, 1999), 9. Both the S Street NW and the Connecticut Avenue NW locations were within the Dupont Circle Historic District, listed on the NRHP on July 21, 1978.

[91] Other Lambda Rising stores could be found in Baltimore, Maryland (1984-2008); Rehoboth Beach, Delaware (1991-2009); and Norfolk, Virginia (1996-2007). The Lambda Literary Awards and the book



gay gifts from

321 7th St. S.E. on Capitol Hill

LAMMAS

women's shop

SPECIALIZING IN CUSTOM-MADE JEWELRY
BOOKS BY "FIRST THINGS FIRST"
WOMEN'S ARTS AND CRAFTS

Open: Tues.-Sat. 'til 6pm ✿ Call: 546-7292

Owned and Operated by Your Friendly Neighborhood Lesbians

WOMEN'S SHOP

Figure 8: Lammas Women's Shop advertisement.

Although such bookstores served gay men, bisexuals, and lesbians, lesbians and feminists often felt their interests were being underserved

---

report (now the *Lambda Literary Review*) continue today under the auspices of the Lambda Literary Foundation.

[92] A Different Light's first location was at 4014 Santa Monica Boulevard, Los Angeles, California. The second Los Angeles location was in the West Hollywood neighborhood at 8853 Santa Monica Boulevard. In San Francisco, A Different Light was at 489 Castro Street. A Different Light opened at 548 Hudson Street, New York City, New York in 1983, moving to 151 West 19th Street, New York City in 1994. It closed in 2001. Before moving to Los Angeles, Laurila had been an employee of Toronto's Glad Day Bookstore, which claims to be the longest-operating LGBTQ bookstore in the world. George Leigh Obituary, *Los Angeles Times*, January 16, 1998. Jayson Blair, "Bookstore On Gay Life is a Victim of Tolerance," *New York Times,* March 19, 2001.

[93] Lambda Rising, "Whole Gay Catalog," Ephemera Collection, GLBT Historical Society, San Francisco; Paul Schwartzman, "End of the Story for Gay-Oriented Bookshop," *Washington Post*, December 8, 2009.

and formed their own specialty stores. Leslie Reeves and Judy Winsett founded Lammas in 1973 as a handmade jewelry and craft shop, but soon carried books and became a veritable lesbian community center (Figure 8).[94] In 1979 Ann Christopherson and Linda Bubon opened Women & Children First on Chicago's North Side, which continues to feature author book signings, reading groups, and other community events.[95] At the height of the feminist bookstore movement, over one hundred such bookstores sustained lesbian, feminist, and antiracist community building efforts through nonhierarchical cooperatives that were bound together through *Feminist Bookstore News,* before it ceased publication in 2000.[96]

Clothing Retailers

If gay and lesbian bookstores served as important early LGBTQ businesses and sites of community empowerment, so too did clothing stores. Together these retail establishments often served as anchors for LGBTQ urban neighborhoods. The first gay retail outlet in what would become West Hollywood was Ah Men, a men's clothing store founded in 1962 by Jerry Furlow and Don Cook.[97] Known nationwide for its sexy mail-order catalogue, Ah Men employed innovative marketing techniques, such as all night sales, fashion shows with live models, and an Ah Man of the Year contest. Specializing in body conscious swimwear, posing straps, and underwear, it became known as a gay fashion trendsetter. By 1967 its catalog featured campy books, such as *The Gay Cook Book* and *Summer in Sodom*, and its photo spreads appeared in physique magazines, demonstrating the integration of the growing gay consumer culture network. With a manufacturing plant, mail-order department, and sales staff, Ah Men employed over fifty people. By 1972, the success of Ah Men allowed Cook to buy the building at the intersection of Santa Monica and San Vincente, open a second store in nearby Silver Lake, and a franchise in Houston.[98] Encouraged by the success of Ah Men, other gay entrepreneurs, such as Gene Burkard, founder of International Male in San Diego, entered the gay mail order business. International Male's popular mail-order catalog appealed to generations of gay men well into the twenty-first century.[99]

---

[94] Lammas Crafts and Books opened at 321 Seventh Street SE, Washington, DC. In 1989, they moved to the Dupont Circle neighborhood at 1426 Twenty-First Street NW, Washington, DC (located within the Dupont Circle Historic District, added to the NRHP on July 21, 1978). It was at the later location that Loraine Hutchins did much of her research for the pathbreaking book about bisexuality, *Bi Any Other Name: Bisexual People Speak Out*, co-edited with Lani Ka'ahumanu (Boston: Alyson, 1991).

[95] Women & Children First is located at 5233 North Clark Street, Chicago, Illinois. Sold by the original owners in 2013, the store remains open. See Cheryl Corley, "One Way for an Indie Bookstore to Last? Put Women 'First,'" NPR All Things Considered, October 27, 2013 http://www.npr.org/2013/10/27/239710557/one-way-for-an-indie-bookstore-to-last-put-women-first.

[96] Kristen Hogan, *The Feminist Bookstore Movement: Lesbian Antiracism and Feminist Accountability* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2016).

[97] Ah Men was originally located at 8933 Santa Monica Boulevard, West Hollywood, California. In 1972 it relocated to the corner of Santa Monica and San Vincente, West Hollywood, California, now a Citibank.

In San Francisco, The Town Squire was also instrumental in creating a gay business corridor and gay enclave along San Francisco's Polk Street. Founded by gay couple August Territo and Terry Popek in 1960 The Town Squire was soon joined by Casual Man. As the area's white, blue-collar patrons left the city in the 1960s, many bars cultivated a new gay male clientele. It was at Suzy-Q, a gay bar on Polk Street, that a group of gay bar owners and bartenders established the Tavern Guild of San Francisco in 1962, which became an important force in protecting gay bars and shaping local politics.[100] Because of its large number of gay businesses, Polk Street was the site of San Francisco's first pride parade in 1970 and remained a thriving LGBTQ neighborhood into the 1980s.[101] Not far away in San Francisco's Haight-Ashbury neighborhood, bisexual Peggy Caserta opened a clothing boutique in 1964 called Mnasidika as a store for "gay girls."[102] Meant as a signal to local lesbians, the name was a literary reference to Bilitis' young lover in Pierre Louÿs's nineteenth century *Songs of Bilitis*. The store soon became popular not only with lesbians but with the growing counterculture, including singers Janis Joplin and Jerry Garcia. It was after a visit to Mnasidika that journalist Herb Caen coined the term "hippie."[103]

---

[98] Lillian Faderman and Stuart Timmons, *Gay L.A.: A History of Sexual Outlaws, Power Politics, and Lipstick Lesbians* (New York: Basic Books, 2006), 231-234; Ah Men Clothing Catalogues, ONE National Gay and Lesbian Archives; Don Cook, interview with David K. Johnson, November 14, 2011, Los Angeles; "The Male a la Mode," *Around the World with Kenneth Marlow* (April–May 1966), 16ff.

[99] Douglas Edwards, "Gene Burkard: The Man Behind International's Mail Male," *The Advocate*, June 28, 1979; Pat Sherman, "Moments in Time: Never Get Respectable," *San Diego Gay*, January 3, 2011, accessed April 25, 2016, http://gay-sd.com/moments-in-time-never-get-respectable. When he retired, in 1986, Burkard sold International Male to Horn & Hardart, a New York-based mail-order company part of Hanover Direct. The last International Male catalog was mailed in 2007, though the company's website continued to be available through 2009. Bill Ritter, "International Male Catalogue Retailer Sold," *Los Angeles Times,* August 5, 1986; Steve Weinstein, "The End of International Male and Undergear," *Out*, June 25, 2015.

[100] The Town Squire was located at 1318 Polk Street; Casual Man at 2060 Polk Street; and Suzy-Q at 1741 Polk Street, San Francisco, California.

[101] Joey Plaster, "Polk Street History Project," Outhistory.org, accessed June 15, 2015.

Gay Commercial Media

While gay bars, bathhouses, bookstores, and clothing stores were all initially local enterprises, the first truly national LGBTQ businesses were media companies that could sell magazines, books, or music to a national audience. Lesbian media companies and publishing houses developed much later than those of gay men and were often rooted in 1970s feminist and gay liberation political activism.[104] In 1973, two lesbians living outside Kansas City, Missouri, formed Naiad Press to publish and distribute lesbian literature.[105] It was led by Barbara Grier, longtime editor of *The Ladder*, the homophile publication of the Daughters of Bilitis, and her librarian partner Donna McBride. At the time, mainstream publishers and bookstores carried little material that explored lesbian lives outside of exploitative lesbian pulp fiction, and in its early years, Naiad Press relied heavily on mail order. Utilizing the mailing list of the recently defunct *Ladder*, they published out-of-print lesbian fiction and new emerging authors such as Sarah Schulman, Katherine V. Forrest, and Pat Califia. Over thirty years, Naiad published over five hundred books and spawned many more publishing houses specializing in lesbian content. As journalist Victoria Brownworth argues, "Grier built the lesbian book industry."[106]

---

[102] Mnasidika was located at 1510 Haight Street, San Francisco, California. It closed in 1968.

[103] Alice Echols, *Scars of Sweet Paradise: The Life and Times of Janis Joplin* (New York: Macmillan, 2000), 141; Sides, *Erotic City*, 113; Sheila Weller, "Suddenly that Summer," *Vanity Fair*, July 2012.

[104] Heather Murray, "Free for All Lesbians: Lesbian Cultural Production and Consumption in the United States during the 1970s," *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 16 (May 2007): 251-275.

[105] Although originally founded in Bates City, Missouri, from 1980 to 2003, Naiad was headquartered in Tallahassee, Florida.

It was also in 1973 that members of The Furies, a lesbian separatist collective in Washington, DC, created Olivia Records, the first woman-centered recording company.[107] Although controversial within the lesbian feminist community, the idea was to create a woman-only business that would use the medium of music to promote feminist consciousness-raising and affirm lesbian relationships. Organized as a nonhierarchical collective where workers were paid according to need, Olivia Records by 1978 had a paid staff of fourteen that produced four women's music albums per year. Distributed through a local network of grassroots volunteers and a growing mailing list, Olivia Records produced popular albums by Meg Christian, Cris Williamson, Teresa Trull, and Linda Tillery. In 1977 they produced *Lesbian Concentrate* in response to Anita Bryant's anti-gay crusade in Miami. By 1988 a series of fifteenth anniversary concerts led to a new line of business—sponsoring lesbian cruises and vacation packages as Olivia Travel. In producing albums, concerts, and cruises, they created safe space for lesbian culture to flourish.[108]

Gay men began publishing their own magazines in the 1950s, taking advantage of a tradition of exchanging bodybuilding and artistic studies of the male body. Physique magazines circulated widely throughout the pre-

---

[106] Victoria A. Brownworth, "Barbara Grier: Climbing the Ladder," in *Before Stonewall: Activists for Gay and Lesbian Rights in Historical Context,* ed. Vern L. Bullough (New York: Harrington Park Press, 2002), 253-264; Victoria Brownworth, "In Remembrance: Barbara Grier," *Lambda Literary Report*, November 11, 2011; *New York Times*, November 3, 2011.

[107] The Furies Collective operated largely out of a row house in Washington, DC's Capitol Hill neighborhood. The Furies Collective House was added to the NRHP on May 2, 2016. In 1975, Olivia Records moved to a warehouse at 4400 Market Street, Oakland, California.

[108] Bonnie Morris, "Olivia Records: The Production of a Movement," *Journal of Lesbian Studies* 19: 290-304; Judith A. Peraino, *Listening to the Sirens: Musical Technologies of Queer Identity from Homer to Hedwig* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006), 163-165; Alice Echols, *Shaky Ground: The Sixties and its Aftershocks* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2013), 87; Sue Rochman, "Cruising for Success," *The Advocate*, April 24, 2001, 28-31. Olivia Travel became the focus of the business in 1990. See Olivia website, "About Olivia," https://www.olivia.com/content/about.aspx.

Stonewall period, with circulation figures ten times of those of the first gay and lesbian political magazines, *Mattachine Review*, *ONE*, and *The Ladder*. Art historian Thomas Waugh called physique magazines the "richest documentation of gay culture of the period."[109] For countless men growing up in the 1950s and 1960s, particularly in rural areas, their first recognition of gay culture came from purchasing a physique magazine from their local newsstand. Because of their clear homoerotic content and intended audience, local censorship groups and the US Post Office considered these magazines obscene and tried to shut them down.[110]

The first and most long-lasting physique studio was Bob Mizer's Athletic Model Guild, founded in 1946. It operated out of its original location, just

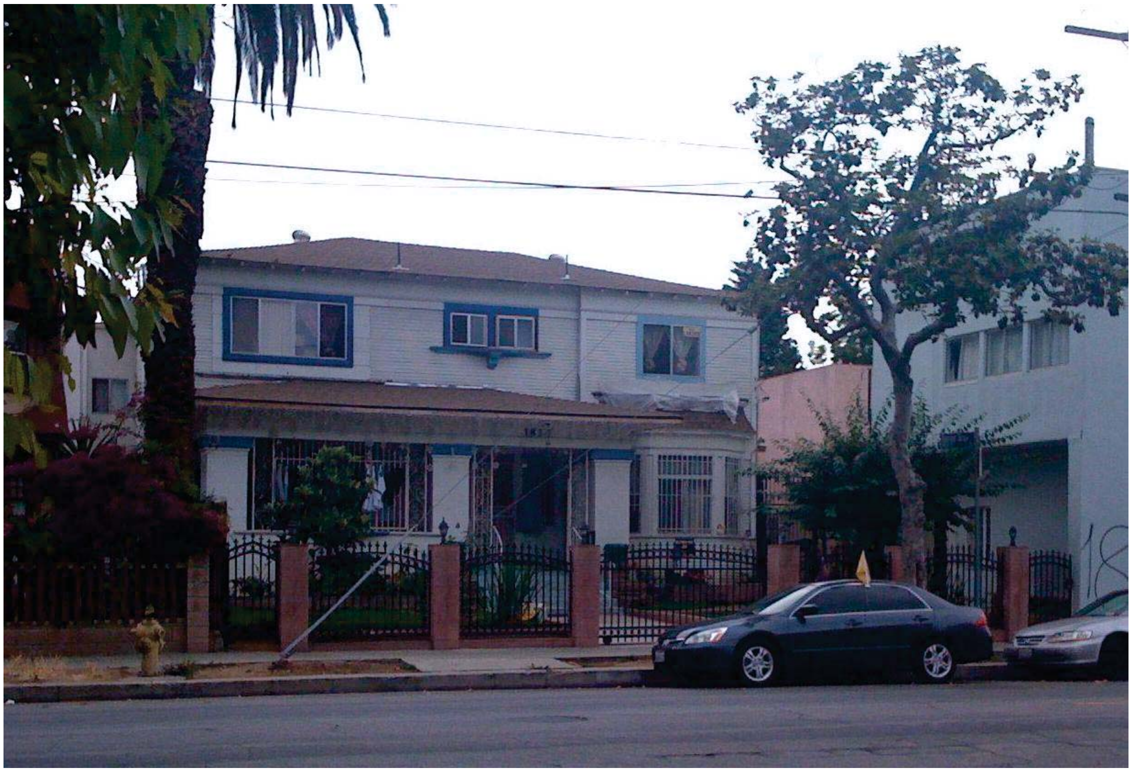


Figure 9: Bob Mizer's Athletic Model Guild Compound, 1834 West Eleventh Street, Los Angeles, California, 2009. Photo courtesy of David K. Johnson.

---

[109] Thomas Waugh, *Hard to Imagine: Gay Male Eroticism in Photography and Film from Their Beginnings to Stonewall* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996), 217-219.

[110] David K. Johnson, "Physique Pioneers: The Politics of 1960s Gay Consumer Culture," *The Journal of Social History*, 43 (2010): 867-892; David L. Chapman and Brett Josef Grubisic, *American Hunks: The Muscular Male Body in Popular Culture 1860–1970* (Vancouver: Arsenal Pulp Press, 2009).

outside downtown Los Angeles, for over forty years.[111] As his magazine *Physique Pictorial* and his related mail-order business flourished, Mizer expanded his compound to include a pool, rooftop stages, and a bunkhouse for models. It became a major destination for gay men visiting Los Angeles and was featured in his magazine and films, providing a sense of homoerotic camaraderie to thousands of customers. His feisty editorials against the forces of censorship politicized his readers and urged them to organize and fight for their rights (Figure 9).[112]

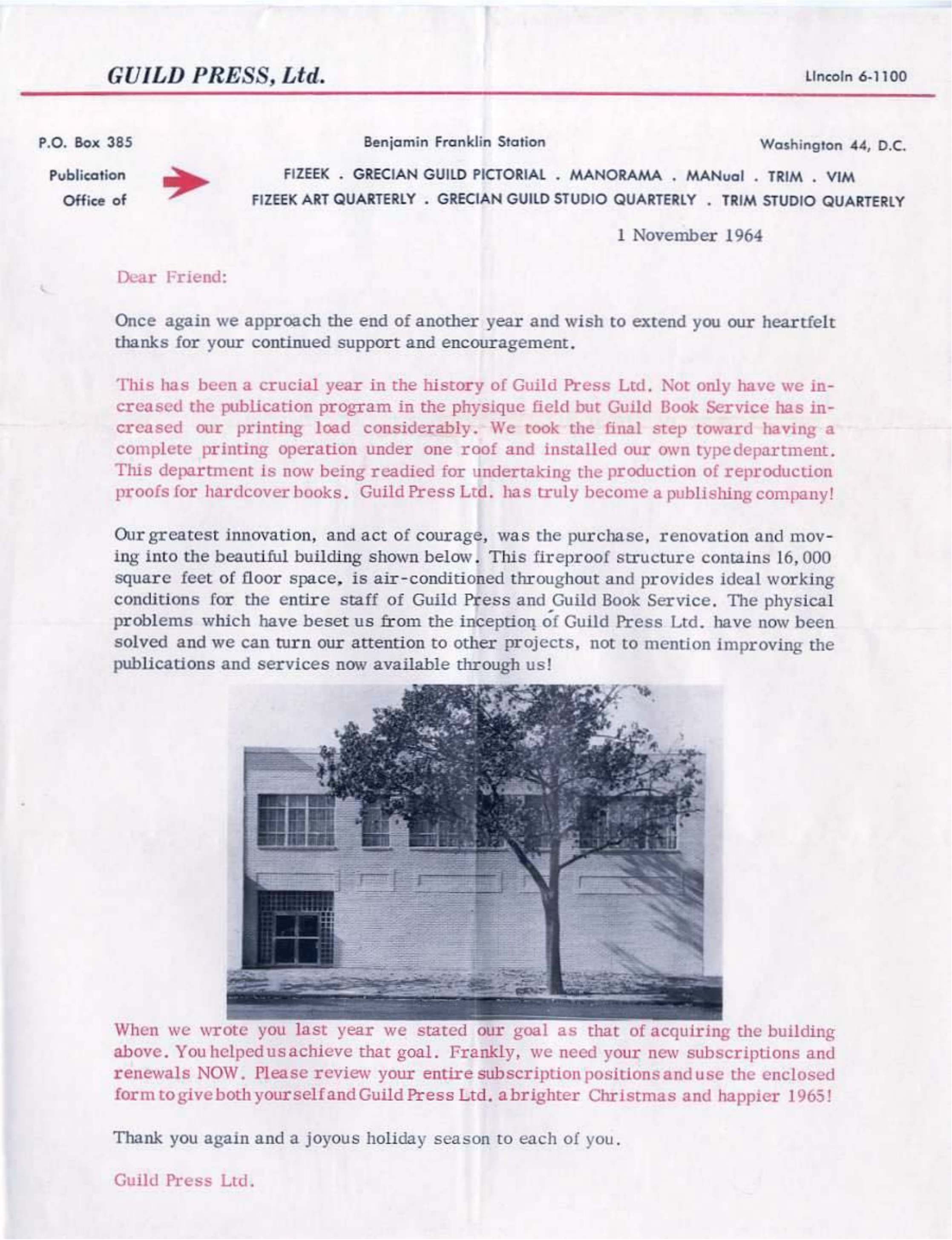
If the Athletic Model Guild was the first of the major gay physique studios, Lynn Womack's Guild Press was the largest. In 1952, Womack purchased a small company called the Guild Press. By 1960, the Guild Press was publishing several physique magazines, including titles that Womack had purchased from other publishers. In addition to developing a veritable gay physique magazine empire of over forty thousand subscribers, Womack expanded his business to include the Guild Book Service, a directory of gay bars, a bookstore chain (Village Books), a gay cinema, pen pal club, and a clothing line. In 1964, he purchased a large publishing plant in Washington, DC, to house the Guild Press (Figure 10).[113] When the Postmaster General banned distribution of several Guild Press periodicals as obscene, Womack took the case to the US Supreme Court. He argued that gay men had an equal right to view images which were no more explicit than those found in magazines aimed at

---

[111] The Athletic Model Guild (AMG) was located at 1834 West Eleventh Street, Los Angeles, California. Mizer died in 1992. AMG's archives was eventually purchased by Dennis Bell, who formed the Bob Mizer Foundation to advocate for the preservation of gay physique photography. See Bob Mizer Foundation website, http://bobmizerfoundation.org/foundation.

[112] Whitney Strub, "Challenging the Anti-Pleasure League: Physique Pictorial and the Cultivation of Gay Politics," in *Modern Print Activism in the United States*, ed. Rachel Schreiber (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2013); Dian Hanson, *Bob's World: The Life and Boys of A.M.G.'s Bob Mizer* (Taschen, 2009); Volker Janssen, *Bob Mizer: Athletic Model Guild: American Photography of the Male Nude 1940-1970*, vol. 7 (London: Janssen Publishers, 2007); *Beefcake,* directed by Thom Fitzgerald (Culver City, CA: Strand Releasing, 1998).

[113] The Guild Press printing plant at 507 Eighth Street SE, Washington, DC, which operated from 1964 to1970, survives as the Shakespeare Theatre Company Education and Rehearsal Studios.



GUILD PRESS, Ltd.
LIncoln 6-1100

P.O. Box 385
Benjamin Franklin Station
Washington 44, D.C.

Publication Office of
FIZEEK . GRECIAN GUILD PICTORIAL . MANORAMA . MANual . TRIM . VIM
FIZEEK ART QUARTERLY . GRECIAN GUILD STUDIO QUARTERLY . TRIM STUDIO QUARTERLY

1 November 1964

Dear Friend:

Once again we approach the end of another year and wish to extend you our heartfelt thanks for your continued support and encouragement.

This has been a crucial year in the history of Guild Press Ltd. Not only have we increased the publication program in the physique field but Guild Book Service has increased our printing load considerably. We took the final step toward having a complete printing operation under one roof and installed our own type department. This department is now being readied for undertaking the production of reproduction proofs for hardcover books. Guild Press Ltd. has truly become a publishing company!

Our greatest innovation, and act of courage, was the purchase, renovation and moving into the beautiful building shown below. This fireproof structure contains 16,000 square feet of floor space, is air-conditioned throughout and provides ideal working conditions for the entire staff of Guild Press and Guild Book Service. The physical problems which have beset us from the inception of Guild Press Ltd. have now been solved and we can turn our attention to other projects, not to mention improving the publications and services now available through us!

When we wrote you last year we stated our goal as that of acquiring the building above. You helped us achieve that goal. Frankly, we need your new subscriptions and renewals NOW. Please review your entire subscription positions and use the enclosed form to give both yourself and Guild Press Ltd. a brighter Christmas and happier 1965!

Thank you again and a joyous holiday season to each of you.

Guild Press Ltd.

Figure 10: Guild Press customer letter showing their location at 507 Eighth Street SE, Washington, DC where it operated from 1964 to 1970. Image courtesy ONE Archives at the USC Libraries.

heterosexuals. In 1962 in MANual Enterprises v. Day, the Supreme Court found in Womack's favor, arguing that homosexuals enjoyed equal protection under the First Amendment.[114]

In 1963, Womack was joined by another gay press, Directory Services, Inc. (DSI) in Minneapolis that grew to offer a similar line of physique magazines, books, toiletries, and clothing to a nationwide mailing list of fifty thousand customers.[115] In 1965, the owners of DSI, Lloyd Spinar and Conrad Germain, challenged American censorship laws by publishing an issue of *Butch* magazine that featured photographs of full-frontal male nudes. A "Publisher's Creed" in the same issue asserted, "Those concerned with freedom have the responsibility of seeing to it that each individual book or publication, whatever its contents, is given the freedom of expression granted to it by the First Amendment to the Constitution of the United States of America."[116] In 1967, DSI was raided by postal inspectors, US Marshals, and other law enforcement officials, and Spinar and Germain were brought up on obscenity charges. DSI won their court case, US v. Spinar and Germain. With full-frontal nudity deemed legal, physique magazines (which had featured "posing straps") became less popular. The court victories of DSI and Guild Press ushered in an era of open homoeroticism in the gay press and paved the way for gay publications that proliferated in the 1970s, such as *The Advocate*, *Queen's Quarterly, Fag Rag, Mandate, Drummer,* and *Christopher Street.*[117]

---

[114] Philip Clark, "Accept Your Essential Self: The Guild Press, Identity Formation, and Gay Male Community," in *1960s Gay Pulp Fiction: The Misplaced Heritage,* eds. Drewey Wayne Gunn and Jamie Harker (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2013), 78-119; Jackie Hatton, "The Pornography Empire of H. Lynn Womack: Gay Political Discourse and Popular Culture 1955-1970," *thresholds: viewing culture* 7 (Spring 1993): 9-32; Joyce Murdoch and Deb Price, *Courting Justice: Gay Men and Lesbians v. The Supreme Court* (New York: Basic Books, 2001), 65-88; Rodger Streitmatter and John C. Watson, "Herman Lynn Womack: Pornographer as First Amendment Pioneer," *Journalism History* 28 (Summer 2002): 56-66; MANual Enterprises Inc. v. J. Edward Day (370 US 478).

[115] DSI's offices were located at 2419 Nicollet Avenue, Minneapolis, Minnesota.

[116] Johnson, "Physique Pioneers," 878.

[117] Johnson, "Physique Pioneers," 878-882; Waugh, *Hard to Imagine*, 280–283; U.S. v. Spinar and Germain, Decision, US District Court, Minneapolis, Case 4-67 CR 15, July 26, 1967; *The Los Angeles Advocate*, September 1967, 1.

It was not until the development of desktop publishing in the 1980s that lesbians began to mass-produce their own commercial magazines with openly sexual content. *Bad Attitude* was a grassroots publication produced by lesbians through the leftist *Gay Community News* in Boston, while the more commercial erotica publication *On Our Backs*—a parody of the radical feminist publication *off our backs*—emerged from workers in San Francisco's thriving adult industry.[118] *On our Backs* was the first woman-owned and run erotica magazine in the United States, and the first featuring lesbian erotica specifically for a lesbian audience. Such publications played a central role in the "sex wars" of the 1990s over the complicated relationship between women, sex, and pornography. Many feminist bookstores refused to carry such openly erotic magazines, considering them objectifying and exploitative pornography. Their founders saw them as women-centered periodicals where lesbians took control of their own sexuality.[119]

Generally excluded from coverage and consideration in the gay and lesbian press, bisexuals began publishing their own periodicals that addressed issues of importance to them (including the phenomenon of bisexual erasure).[120] In 1990, the Bay Area Bisexual Network began publishing *Anything That Moves: Beyond the Myths of Bisexuality.* The name referenced the common assumption that bisexual people have indiscriminate intimate relationships. Over time, the tag line changed; in

---

[118] *On Our Backs* began publishing in 1984. Founded by Myrna Elana and Debi Sundahl who worked in the peep shows and sex clubs of the Tenderloin, they brought Susie Bright on board as advertising director. *On Our Backs* ran from 1984 through 2006. *Bad Attitude* was published from 1984 to 1987 at *Gay Community News* offices at 20-30 Bromfield Street, Boston, Massachusetts. Susie Bright, "A Brief History of On Our Backs, 1984-1991," *Susie Bright's Journal* (blog), November 15, 2011, http://susiebright.blogs.com/susie_brights_journal_/2011/11/a-brief-history-of-on-our-backs-1984-1991.html; Rebecca Beirne, *Lesbians in Television and Text After the Millennium* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), 211.

[119] Rodger Streitmatter, *Unspeakable: The Rise of the Gay and Lesbian Press in America* (Boston: Faber & Faber, 1995), 294-299; Arlene Stein, *Shameless: Sexual Dissidence in American Culture* (New York: NYU Press, 2006), 39-58.

[120] Bisexual erasure occurs when people in same-sex relationships are assumed to be/labeled homosexual and those in opposite-sex relationships are assumed to be/labeled heterosexual, thus erasing the possibility that someone is bisexual. See Hutchins (this volume).

1999, the magazine was called *Anything That Moves: The Magazine for the Family Bisexual*. The last issue of *Anything That Moves* was published in 2002.

Conclusion

By the 1990s, corporate America discovered the LGBTQ market. Companies such as Absolut Vodka, AT&T, and Ikea offered some of the first national print and television advertisements targeting an LGBTQ audience.[121] But history shows that by the time such mainstream corporations picked up on the trend, the gay market was decades old and had already played a prominent role in the development of a distinct LGBTQ community. It was largely through patronage of bars, diners, bathhouses, bookstores, physique studios, record companies, and other businesses that LGBTQ communities first coalesced and became visible. In opening their own bars, bookstores, and other businesses, LGBTQ entrepreneurs helped LGBTQ-friendly neighborhoods to flourish and facilitated the formation of social service organizations, Pride celebrations, and other community institutions. And it was also through such commercial enterprises that the community first began to organize and fight for its rights. Indeed, many of the first LGBTQ protests were about the right to assemble in commercial spaces. And many of the first legal victories for gay rights were to secure the right to assemble in bars or circulate gay literature. For LGBTQ activists, "gay power" has long meant not only electoral and political clout but also economic muscle.

---

[121] Gluckman and Reed, *Homo Economics.*

17

SEX, LOVE, AND RELATIONSHIPS

Tracy Baim

Parks. Bathhouses. Bars. Piers. Private homes. The YMCA. Tearooms. Hotels. Motels. Teepees. Igloos. Bungalows. Softball fields. Department stores. Campgrounds. Picket lines. Lover's lanes. Forest preserves. Prisons. Tattoo parlors. Brothels. Barracks. Music festivals. Personal ads. Websites. Gyms. Smartphones. Street corners. These are some of the places where LGBTQ people have found each other.

Long-term relationships. Chosen family. One-night stands. Hook ups. Friends-with-benefits. Anonymous. Monogamous. Polyamorous. Open. Dating. Committed. Married. Single. Celibate. Companion. Sperm donor. Adoptive parent(s). Surrogate mother. Single parent. Co-parent. These are some of the types of families and relationships that LGBTQ people have.

The history of sex, love, and relationships among the lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, queer, two spirit, and otherwise sexual and gender minority communities in the United States is as varied and complex as that of their mainstream peers. And yet, LGBTQ people are defined primarily by their sexuality and gender expression. It is in terms of these identities that "we mark ourselves as different from the dominant society—

and are marked by others as a deviant and marginalized social group."[1] Because of this, many historians have consciously and unconsciously chosen to elide, erase, or ignore the lives and experiences of sexual and gender minorities even when evidence of them was present. This means that to write about LGBTQ sex, love, and relationships, we need to refocus our lens to see what has been obscured. We also have to be very clear about how LGBTQ define these terms, and be aware that these definitions may differ or may even not apply for every lesbian, gay man, bisexual, transgender, or queer person.

We do know that same-sex love and gender nonconformity have been with us throughout US history and during pre-European contact and colonial times. But how those have been defined and documented has shifted considerably in recent decades, causing modern-day historians to struggle with labeling people who mostly shunned such labels, or who had different or more secret ways to define themselves. We also must be alert for the many code words that LGBTQ people used among themselves, as well as the epithets that others used against them: "confirmed bachelor," "Friend of Dorothy," "freak," "batting for the other side," "third sex." Author Larry Kramer in his novel *The American People* uses the phrase "hushmarked" to define the hidden world of homosexual American colonists and pioneers.[2] It is as good a word to start with as any.

Kramer and others have rightfully pointed out the lunacy of the contortions some historians have gone through to avoid giving their subjects a hint of what British Lord Alfred Douglas called "the love that dare not speak its name."[3] They in effect are rewriting history by leaving out important aspects of their subjects' lives, or outright denying key facts. They try to mask things in historical "context" by explaining away grown

---

[1] Susan Stryker and Jim Van Buskirk, *Gay by the Bay: A History of Queer Culture in the San Francisco Bay Area* (San Francisco: Chronicle Books, 1996), 5.

[2] Larry Kramer, *The American People, Volume 1: Search for My Heart, A Novel* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2015).

[3] Lord Alfred Douglas, "Two Loves" (poem), *The Chameleon* 1, no. 1 (December 1894), accessed April 15, 2016,

Figure 1: Emily Dickinson House, Amherst, Massachusetts, 2008. Photo by Daderot.[4]

men sleeping together in the same bed for years, as with Abraham Lincoln and Joshua Speed who shared a home in Springfield, Illinois before Lincoln became President.[5] They dismiss as gossip the intimate nature of First Lady Eleanor Roosevelt's long relationship with journalist Lorena Hickok; the two traveled extensively together, but did not cohabit.[6] They also dismiss the relationships of women living decades under the same roof and sharing everything together, as with Jane Addams and Mary Rozet Smith at Hull House in Chicago, Illinois.[7]

---

[4] License: Public Domain. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Emily_Dickinson_Museum,_Amherst,_MA_-_front.JPG

[5] See, for example, C. A. Tripp, *The Intimate World of Abraham Lincoln* (New York: Free Press, 2005).

[6] For example, Lorena Hickok and Eleanor Roosevelt spent a night together at the Mayflower Hotel, 1127 Connecticut Avenue NW, Washington, DC. The Mayflower Hotel was listed on the NRHP on November 14, 1983. FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover is reported to have met his long-time male companion, FBI Associate Director Clyde Tolson, at the Mayflower almost every workday for almost forty years. Upon Hoover's death, Tolson inherited his estate, including Hoover's home in the Forest Hills neighborhood of Washington, DC. See Richard M. Cohen, "FBI's Clyde A. Tolson, 74, Dies," *Washington Post,* April 15, 1975, C6. While Tolson and Hoover were acknowledged to be very close, historians debate whether Hoover had sexual relationships with men. See, for example, Anthony Summers, *Official and Confidential: The Secret Life of J. Edgar Hoover* (New York: Pocket Books, 1993); Richard Hack, *Puppetmaster: The Secret Life of J. Edgar Hoover* (Beverly Hills, CA: New Millennium Press, 2004). For a nuanced discussion about the role of gossip in considering Hoover's sexuality (and historical sexualities more broadly) see Claire Bond Potter, "Queer Hoover: Sex, Lies, and Political History," *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 15, no. 3 (September 2006): 355-381. For similar discussions in other contexts, see Victoria Bissell Brown, "Queer or Not: What Jane Addams Teaches Us about Not Knowing," in *Out in Chicago: LGBT History at the Crossroads,* eds. Jill Austin and Jennifer Brier (Chicago: Chicago History Museum, 2011), 63-75; and Judith M. Bennett, "'Lesbian-Like' and the Social History of Lesbianisms," *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 9, no. 1/2 (January-April 2000): 1-24.

In some cases, the subjects themselves did not want the scrutiny of history on their relationships. Men thought to be homosexual could be put to death, subjected to corporal punishment, or in the very least, ostracized and shunned from society. Lesbians in some places may not have been publicly prosecuted (same-sex relationships between women were not necessarily a state crime or considered a crime against nature), but lesbians, gender nonconforming people, and bisexuals did endure extralegal punishment, including rape, to set them "straight." The social stigma associated with same-sex love and gender nonconforming behavior led to thick closet doors throughout much of the history of the United States. In some cases, letters, photos, and other physical evidence were destroyed. Poet Emily Dickinson never married, but letters from her to her sister-in-law Susan Huntington Dickinson are clearly romantic, passionate, and erotic (even though portions of the letters have been literally cut out, and there have been suggestions that editors of her writings changed some of her pronoun use from female to male; Figure 1). Susan's letters were destroyed upon Emily's death—perhaps by her husband, Emily's brother, Austin—and so the full story of their relationship can never be known.[8] In other cases, relationships were straight-washed or not mentioned, and people even married opposite-sex people (a type of marriage of convenience known as lavender marriages) to conform to a strict moral code enforced by family, neighbors, police, and the courts.[9]

---

[7] Hull House is located at 800 South Halsted, Chicago, Illinois. It was listed on the NRHP on October 15, 1966 and designated an NHL on June 23, 1965.

[8] Ellen Louise Hart and Martha Nell Smith, eds., *Open Me Carefully: Emily Dickinson's Intimate Letters to Susan Huntington Dickinson* (Ashfield, MA: Paris Press, 1998); Alix North, "Emily Dickinson 1830-1886," Isle of Lesbos website, accessed April 16, 2016, http://www.sappho.com/poetry/e_dickin.html. The home where Emily Dickinson lived and worked, the Dickinson Homestead, is located at 280 Main Street, Amherst, Massachusetts. It was added to the NRHP on October 15, 1966 and designated an NHL on December 29, 1962. It, and The Evergreens—the home next door that belonged to Susan and Austin Dickinson—comprise the Dickinson Historic District, listed on the NRHP on August 16, 1977.

[9] There are also terms for those who have married homosexuals or who accompany them on "dates" to hide their homosexuality: women with gay men have been known as "beards;" men with lesbians have been known as "purses." Not all LGBTQ opposite-sex marriages are marriages of convenience; many are for love, companionship, to raise children, for financial security, or for any of a myriad of

Actor Rock Hudson, leading man and heartthrob of postwar America was one of many semi-closeted gay men, bisexuals, and lesbians in Hollywood (insiders knew who was gay, but the general public did not). In 1955, Hudson married his agent's secretary, Phyllis Gates, just as *Confidential* magazine threatened to publicly expose Hudson's homosexuality. They divorced three years later. When Hudson revealed in July of 1985 that he had AIDS, he was the first public figure to do so; he died less than three months later. His disclosure sparked an immediate national discussion about AIDS and HIV—something that had, until then, been missing.[10]

This chapter looks at LGBTQ sex, love, and relationships—both hidden and not—in the United States since its formal founding in the 1700s, but there is evidence of same-sex love and intimacy, as well as what we now understand as transgender or differently-gendered people among the Native Americans, among the colonists and pioneers, among immigrants, and among Africans trafficked through slavery. If we want to fully incorporate LGBTQ people into the history of the United States, we cannot reinforce the mistaken notion that they sprang fully glittered from Greenwich Village at the Stonewall Inn in June 1969.[11]

Defining "Sex," "Love," and "Relationships"

As mentioned in the beginning of this chapter, sex, love, and relationships have many different meanings and expressions in LGBTQ lives—just as they do for non-LGBTQ people. The difference has been

---

other reasons. Bisexuals who marry someone of the opposite sex are often "read" as straight, despite their bisexual identity.

[10] David Bret, *Rock Hudson* (London: Robson, 2004); Jeff Yarbrough, "Rock Hudson: On Camera and Off, The Tragic News That He Is The Most Famous Victim of An Infamous Disease, AIDS, Unveils the Hidden Life of a Longtime Hollywood Hero," *People Magazine,* August 12, 1985, accessed April 16, 2016, http://www.people.com/people/archive/article/0,,20091477,00.html. From 1962 until his death, Rock Hudson lived in "The Castle," his home in the Beverly Hills neighborhood of Los Angeles, California. See Paula Martinac, "Rock Hudson's 'Castle'" *The Queerest Places: A Guide to LGBT Historic Sites* (blog), January 8, 2009, https://queerestplaces.com/2009/01/08/rock-hudsons-castle.

[11] Stonewall, the site of the Stonewall Riots in June 1969, is located at and around 51-53 Christopher Street, New York City, New York. It was listed on the NRHP on June 28, 1999; designated an NHL on February 16, 2000; and declared the Stonewall National Monument (an NPS unit) on June 24, 2016.

largely how those sexual intimacies and desires, loves, and relationships have been policed and fought for.

Historian David Halperin argues not only that the category of homosexuality is a social and cultural construction of the modern period, but that the distinction between homo- and hetero-sexuality is also recent: “If contemporary gay or lesbian identity seems to hover in suspense between these different and discontinuous discourses of sodomy, gender inversion, and same-sex love, the same can be said even more emphatically about homosexual identity as we attempt to trace it back in time.”[12] This modern emergence of homosexuality as a category, he argues, limits our understanding of homosexual relationships by taking attention away from aspects of these relationships—like power dynamics, monogamy (or not), and gender identity—that are not related to the fact that the partners are of the same-sex.[13] In other words, relationships are much more nuanced in how they play out in people’s lives.

There has long been a debate about just how many people might be included under the LGBTQ rainbow. The definitions can be just as fluid as a person’s sexuality, changing over the course of decades, and is very much dependent on self-reporting. It helps to at least get a sense of the numbers for any discussion of sexuality. Unfortunately, the counting of bisexuals and transgender individuals has only recently begun. In 1993, the authors of *Sex in America* gave three primary reasons why the LGBTQ community is hard to define and track, even by today’s standards.[14] First, some people change their behaviors during their lifetime; second, there is “no one set of sexual desires or self-identification that uniquely defines homosexuality. Is it sexual desire for a person of the same gender, is it thinking of yourself as homosexual, or is it some combination of these behaviors that make a person a homosexual?” A third reason, they wrote, “is that homosexual behavior is not easily measured…Even though the recent struggles of gay men and lesbians to gain acceptance have had an effect…the history of persecution has a lasting effect both on what people are willing to say about their sexual behavior and on what they actually do."[15]

---

[12] David M. Halperin, *How to Do the History of Homosexuality* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002), 10, 106.
[13] Halperin, *How to Do the History*, 106.
[14] Robert T. Michael et al., *Sex in America: A Definitive Survey* (Boston: Little Brown, 1994).

Figure 2: The Kinsey House, Bloomington, Indiana. Photo by Nyttend, 2011.[16]

Sexologist Alfred Kinsey also emphasized "that there is no single measure of homosexuality and that it is impossible to divide the world into two distinct classes—homosexual and heterosexual" (Figure 2).[17] He reported that 37 percent of the white men he interviewed had had at least one sexual experience with another man; of these, 10 percent had only homosexual experience for any three-year period of their lives between the ages of sixteen and fifty-five. Four percent of those who had at least one sexual experience with another man had homosexual encounters exclusively from adolescence onward. Among women, Kinsey said 13 percent had at least one homosexual experience to orgasm. Kinsey's number of exclusive homosexuals was 4 percent.[18]

Historian John D'Emilio wrote that the "publication of the Kinsey reports of male and female sexual behavior, in 1948 and 1953, offered scientific evidence conducive to a reevaluation of conventional moral attitudes… Of all of Kinsey's statistics, none challenged conventional wisdom as much as his data on homosexuality."[19] Kinsey wrote that "Persons with homosexual histories are to be found in every age group, in every social level, in every conceivable occupation, in cities and on farms, and in the most remote areas of the country."[20]

---

[15] Michael et al., *Sex in America,* 172-173.
[16] License: Public Domain.
https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:First_Street_1320,_Kinsey_House,_Vinegar_Hill_HD.jpg
[17] Michael et al., *Sex in America,* 173.
[18] Michael et al., *Sex in America,* 173.

The authors of *Sex in America* did their own national survey sample of adults eighteen to fifty-nine, focusing on three aspects of homosexuality: "being sexually attracted to persons of the same gender, having sex with persons of the same gender, and identifying oneself as a homosexual." They found that 5.5 percent of women thought having sex with a woman was appealing, 4 percent were sexually attracted to women, and less than 2 percent had sex with a woman in the past year. About 4 percent had sex with another woman after age eighteen. For men, 6 percent were attracted to other men, 2 percent had sex with a man in the past year and a little over 5 percent said they had homosexual sex at least once after age eighteen. When asked about sexuality, 1.4 percent of women said they thought of themselves as homosexual or bisexual, and 2.8 percent of men.[21] A recent study of changes in American adults' reported same-sex experiences and attitudes found that, by 2014, the number of US adults who had at least one same-sex partner since the age of 18 had increased to 8.7 percent of women and 8.2 percent of men. Those reporting having both homosexual and heterosexual relationships in 2014 had risen to 7.7 percent. These increases were accompanied by increasing acceptance of same-sex sexuality: "By 2014, 49% of American adults believed that same-sex sexual activity was 'not wrong at all,' up from 11% in 1973 and 13% in 1990."[22]

---

[19] D'Emilio, *Sexual Politics,* 25-33.

[20] Alfred C. Kinsey, Wardell B. Pomeroy, and Clyde E. Martin, *Sexual Behavior in the Human Male* (Philadelphia: W. B. Saunders, 1948), 625, 627. Alfred Kinsey designed his family's home in Bloomington, Indiana and lived in the house from 1927 until 1956 when he died. His wife Clara lived in the home until she died in 1982. The home is a contributing element of the Vinegar Hill Historic District, listed on the NRHP on June 17, 2005. The Kinsey Institute for Research in Sex, Gender, and Reproduction is currently located in Morrison Hall, University of Indiana, 1165 East Third Street, Bloomington, Indiana.

[21] Michael et al., *Sex in America,* 174-176.

The National LGBTQ Task Force and National Black Justice Coalition conducted the first analysis of black lesbian and gay households using the 2000 national census, finding that 14 percent of all same-sex couples were African American. Though it was unsurprising that most couples were located in the South where more black people live, the data showed that a majority of these couples lived in smaller towns in the rural South.[23] Using 2010 data, Williams Institute researcher Gary Gates estimated that 390,000 out of nearly one million same-sex couples are married, and that 93 percent of US counties have self-reported same-sex couples. The geographic breakout shows 35 percent live in the South, 20 percent in the Midwest, 19 percent in the Northeast, 17 percent in the Pacific, and 8 percent in the mountain states. Based on ethnic breakdown, 63 percent of those are white, 15 percent African American, 18 percent Latino/a, and Asian/Pacific Islander 2 percent.[24] "The analyses suggest that there are more than 8 million adults in the US who are LGB, comprising 3.5% of the adult population. This is split nearly evenly between lesbian/gay and bisexual identified individuals, 1.7% and 1.8%, respectively. There are also nearly 700,000 transgender individuals in the US. Given these findings, it seems reasonable to assert that approximately 9 million Americans identify as LGBT."[25]

Some researchers have assumed that the distinction between casual and deep relationships in LGBTQ communities is how long they last. In a study of the lesbian community in Buffalo, New York, researchers found that this was not the case: "We have come to understand … that this judgment derives from a heterosexual mode. Which assumes that we will all have one serious relationship—marriage—in a lifetime, or if we are lucky, two. Such an approach does not take into account that some lesbians tend to have longer relationships and others shorter, yet both groups tend to judge their relationships as equally important. … This variation in the longevity of lesbian relationships has led us to designate the important relationships in people's lives as 'committed' rather than 'long-term.'"[26] This distinction is important when one looks at the laws, stigma, and other factors that have historically worked against the success of long-term LGBTQ relationships.

---

[22] Jean M. Twenge, Ryne A. Sherman, and Brooke E. Wells, "Changes in American Adults' Reported Same-Sex Sexual Experiences and Attitudes, 1973-2014," *Archives of Sexual Behavior* doi:10.1007/s10508-016-0769-4.

[23] A. Dang and S. Frazer, *Black Same-Sex Households in the United States: A Report from the 2000 Census* (New York: National Gay and Lesbian Task Force Policy Institute and the National Black Justice Coalition, 2004).

[24] Gary J. Gates and Taylor N. T. Brown, *Marriage and Same-sex Couples after Obergefell* (Los Angeles: The Williams Institute, November 2015), http://williamsinstitute.law.ucla.edu/research/census-lgbt-demographics-studies/marriage-and-same-sex-couples-after-obergefell.

[25] Gary J. Gates, *How Many People are Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender?* (Los Angeles: The Williams Institute, April 2011), http://williamsinstitute.law.ucla.edu/wp-content/uploads/Gates-How-Many-People-LGBT-Apr-2011.pdf.

The Documentation

What evidence we do have about LGBTQ sex, love, and relationships in early Native American, colonial, and American history into the early twentieth century comes largely as negative discourse—from Christian Europeans' accounts of what they perceived as Native American sexual deviancy, from court and medical records, and from sensational newspaper coverage.[27]

Many Native American nations recognize complex and nuanced sexual and gender categories that are not easily understood by Western categories of male/female or heterosexual/bisexual/homosexual. What follows is just one example: on December 7, 1775, Franciscan Father Pedro Font was one of 240 colonists led by Juan Bautista de Anza from what is now Arizona, through Mexico, and north through California, settling in what is now San Francisco. On describing the Quechan (Yuma) that the group encountered, Font wrote the following: "Among the women I saw some men dressed like women, with whom they go about regularly, never joining the men. The commander called them *amaricados*, perhaps because the Yumas call effeminate men *maricas.* I asked who these men were, and they replied that they were not men like the rest… From this I inferred they must be hermaphrodites, but from what I learned later I understood that they were sodomites, dedicated to nefarious practices."[28] This judgment of the Quechan two-spirit people is one repeated throughout documents of colonial encounters. In some cases, this judgment led to violence and murder.[29]

---

[26] Elizabeth Lapovsky Kennedy and Madeline D. Davis, *Boots of Leather, Slippers of Gold: The History of a Lesbian Community* (New York: Routledge, 1993), 280, 301. Republished by Penguin Books, 1994.

[27] For detailed discussion about Native American two spirit people and the colonial encounter, see Roscoe (this volume); for a broader legal context, see Stein (this volume); and for more about LGBTQ "deviance" in a medical context, see Batza (this volume).

On the east coast, in a seventeenth-century European settlement in Virginia, Thomas/Thomasine Hall was charged with cross-dressing (in this case, a man wearing women's clothing). The court in Jamestown ruled that Hall was both a man and a woman, and required them to dress in both men's and women's clothing.[30] During the Civil War, we know of several women who dressed in men's clothing in order to serve in the Union and Confederate armies. In the decades to follow, other women would dress as men to obtain work. [31] Missing from these negative sources are the everyday lives and loves of sexual and gender minorities in our past. And this is where much of history occurred, hidden from prying eyes. Or, in some cases, hidden in plain sight, especially in letters between lovers.[32]

---

[28] Herbert E. Bolton, trans., *Anza's California Expeditions, Volume IV, Font's Complete Diary of the Second Anza Expedition Translated from the Original Spanish…*(Berkeley: University of California Press, 1930), 105. The Quechan lived and continue to live along the lower Colorado River in what is now Arizona and California. The second expedition of de Anza founded both the Presidio of San Francisco and the Mission San Francisco de Asis (Mission Dolores). The Juan Bautista de Anza National Historic Trail (a unit of the NPS) was designated in 1990. The Presidio of San Francisco is part of the Golden Gate National Recreation Area, San Francisco, California. It was listed on the NRHP on October 15, 1966, designated an NHL on June 13, 1962, and incorporated into the NPS system on October 1, 1994. The Mission San Francisco de Asis (Mission Dolores) at 320 Dolores Street, San Francisco, California was listed on the NRHP on March 16, 1972.

[29] See Roscoe (this volume); Tracy Brown, "'Abominable Sin' in Colonial New Mexico: Spanish and Pueblo Perceptions of Same-Sex Sexuality," in Thomas A. Foster, ed., *Long Before Stonewall: Histories of Same-Sex Sexuality in Early America,* (New York: New York University Press, 2007), 51-80.

[30] Kathleen Brown, "'Changed…into the Fashion of Man': The Politics of Sexual Difference in a Seventeenth-Century Anglo-American Settlement," *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 6 (1995): 171-193. Jamestown was designated a National Historic Site (a unit of the NPS) on December 18, 1940 and added to the NRHP on October 15, 1966.

[31] For Civil War examples, see DeAnne Blanton, "Women Soldiers of the Civil War," *Prologue Magazine* 25, no. 1 (Spring 1993), http://www.archives.gov/publications/prologue/1993/spring/women-in-the-civil-war-1.html and Rachel Nuwer, "Women Fought in the Civil War Disguised As Men (And So Do Today's Re-enactors)," *Smithsonian Magazine,* April 29, 2014, http://www.smithsonianmag.com/smart-news/modern-day-female-civil-war-re-enactors-honor-women-who-fought-men-north-and-south-180951249.

It was not until the late nineteenth century that ideas of homosexuality and sexual inversion as identities became increasingly incorporated into how Americans thought of each other and themselves. In this era of classification and taxonomy, scientists coined Latinate words to identify individuals through their sexual practices: heterosexual, homosexual, sadomasochist, polygamous, and other terms (the term "lesbian" had been used to refer to female homosexuals even earlier, and the debate over "what is a lesbian?" continues).[33] "The word 'homosexual' itself was not coined until the late nineteenth century, and it is admittedly difficult to conceptualize Americans *being* something without having a word for it."[34]

In colonial America, though there is evidence that there was homoerotic or homosexual activity, there is no indication that these people thought of or described themselves as homosexual.[35] While much of the evidence of these early relationships come from court cases and medical records, not all people engaging in same-sex relationships are represented in these documents: "Throughout the American colonial period and well into the early years of the Republic, the penalty for sodomy was death, so it is not surprising that men who sought other men as sexual partners did not advertise their activities, and left behind little evidence which might be used against them in a court of law. But evidence—however obscured—*does* exist. The problem arises with interpretation."[36] Historian Rachel Hope Cleves describes the relationship between New Englanders Charity Bryant and Sylvia Drake as a "marriage."[37] Then there is what to make of the lengthy correspondence between Rebecca Primus and Addie Brown, African American women who referred to each other as "beloved sister" and "loving friend."[38] Archivist William Benemann focuses on male-male sexual relationships in early America, which he places in three categories: romantic friendships between white men of similar age and social class which usually ended with the marriage of one or both men to women; romantic mentorship, when there was a large age gap between partners; and "erotic employment" between men of very unequal social status, where one was employed by the other, for example as valet or paid companion, which also had a sexual component.[39]

---

[32] Many people have looked at nineteenth-century photographs of men, seeing homosexual desire and relationship in the physical closeness. While some of these may certainly show men who were in intimate relationships with each other, it was not uncommon in the nineteenth century for men—straight and otherwise—to be physically close, intertwined, and lounging next to each other. See, for example, David Deitcher, *Dear Friends: American Photographs of Men Together, 1840-1918* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 2001).

[33] See for example, Rachel Hope Cleves, "Lesbian Histories and Futures: A Dispatch From 'Gay American History@40,'" *Notches (Re)marks on the History of Sexuality* (blog), May 18, 2016, http://notchesblog.com/2016/05/18/the-question-of-lesbian-identity-a-dispatch-from-gay-american-history-40.

[34] William Benemann, *Male-Male Intimacy in Early America: Beyond Romantic Friendships* (New York: Harrington Park Press, 2006), ix.

[35] John D'Emilio, *Sexual Politics, Sexual Communities: The Making of a Homosexual Minority in the United States, 1940-1970,* 2nd ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988), 10.

For enslaved African men, on the other hand, the same-sex desires of their owners and masters were enacted upon them as a means of exerting power and control over black male bodies that at the time were viewed with both desire and horror—both beastly, and hypersexual.[40] While some slave owners or masters might have considered a relationship to be mutual, enslaved men were in no position to resist or refuse. Violence for refusal included beatings, death, and separation from family.[41] Often forcibly living apart from their families and working in sex-segregated environments, enslaved men formed strong homosocial bonds with each other for companionship, survival, and resistance against their enslavers.[42] As Historian Maurice O. Wallace argues, the New World [white] American man was invented "not merely by a desperate repudiation of the feminine … but equally … by the homosocial counter-construction of black male savagery. At no point in the history of the New World, that is, has race *not* constituted a defining feature of our national manhood."[43]

---

[36] Benemann, *Male-Male Intimacy in Early America,* x.

[37] Rachel Hope Cleves, *Charity and Sylvia: A Same-Sex Marriage in Early America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014).

[38] Farah Jasmine Griffin, *Beloved Sisters and Loving Friends: Letters from Rebecca Primus of Royal Oak, Maryland, and Addie Brown of Hartford, Connecticut, 1854-1868* (New York: Random House, 2001); Karen V. Hansen, "'No Kisses is Like Youres'; An Erotic Friendship between Two African American Women during the Mid-Nineteenth Century," in *Lesbian Subjects: A Feminist Studies Reader*, ed. Martha Vicinus (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1996), 178-208. After the Civil War, Primus was sent to Royal Oak, Maryland by the Hartford (Connecticut) Freedmen's Aid Society to help educate former slaves. The school she founded, known as the Primus Institute, is no longer extant. Travis Dunn, "Scholars Describe Historic Role of Primus Institute, School's Founder: School Started by a Freedmen's Aid Society," *Star-Democrat* (Easton, Maryland), February 28, 2001, 1A, 13A. For more on black lesbians in US history, see Sherri L. Barnes, "A Multidisciplinary Bibliography, The Arts and Humanities: Lesbian Subjectivities: Theorizing, Critiquing, Personalizing," Black American Feminisms website, last modified February 20, 2015, http://blackfeminism.library.ucsb.edu/ah_lesbian.html.

[39] Benemann, *Male-Male Intimacy in Early America*, xvi.

[40] Thomas A. Foster, "The Sexual Abuse of Black Men under American Slavery," *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 20, no. 3 (September 2011): 448-449.

[41] Foster, "The Sexual Abuse of Black Men," 452-454.

The shame associated with the historical legacy of interracial male rape combined with stigma against homosexuality threatened the lives and careers of many African American men. "Artistic" gay men such as Harlem Renaissance writers Claude McKay and Alain Locke, or the self-employed black historian Carter G. Woodson, might be politely overlooked by Negro Society. But an arrest for public sex could not be ignored. Augustus Dill, mentored by W. E. B. Du Bois, was considered a threat to Du Bois and to the NAACP newspaper, *The Crisis.* Some civil rights leaders and pacifists feared the participation of Bayard Rustin, advisor to A. Philip Randolph, A. J. Muste, and Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., because it made their movements vulnerable to harassment by Hoover's FBI.[44]

Leading by example

Certainly, homosexuality, bisexuality, and gender nonconformity were not limited to the lesser-knowns of history. In fact, the desire to fit in, and excel, is a frequent trait among outsiders of all kinds, whether immigrants, homosexuals, bisexuals, or the transgender community. They have something to "prove," that they are "normal." As a result, rights leaders frequently enforce the politics of respectability, shunning those members who are too “out” or “flamboyant” while embracing those whose lives and beliefs support what they consider to be the best ideals of American citizenship.

---

[42] Sergio Lussana, "'No Band of Brothers Could Be More Loving': Enslaved Male Homosociality, Friendship, and Resistance in the Antebellum American South," *Journal of Social History* 46, no. 4 (2013): 872–895.

[43] Maurice O. Wallace, *Constructing the Black Masculine Identity and Ideality in African-American Men's Literature and Culture* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2002), 2.

[44] Bayard Rustin lived in an apartment in the Penn South Complex in West Chelsea, New York City from 1962 until his death in 1987. This occupancy included the year before the 1963 March for Jobs and Freedom in Washington, DC. The Bayard Rustin Residence was listed on the NRHP on March 8, 2016.

So who are those early LGBTQ people in the United States, those “founding fathers,” the pioneer leaders, the women who fought for suffrage, the people who fought against slavery, the women who founded higher educational institutions and social justice services, the leaders in the Revolutionary War and Civil War?

Figure 3: Reenactors at Valley Forge National Historical Park give a sense of the conditions there the winter that von Steuben trained the troops. Photo by Valley Forge National Historical Park.[45]

Friedrich Wilhelm von Steuben (1730–1794) stands out as one of the more documented examples of a homosexual in charge. He was a major general in the Continental Army during the Revolutionary War, and he is widely viewed as a key tactician who led to the success of the war. Arriving at Valley Forge early in 1778, he imposed order both on the camp and on the soldiers, drilling them in fighting together as a unit (Figure 3). He was also General George Washington's chief of staff near the end of the war. And under today's definitions, von Steuben would be considered homosexual because he had documentable relationships with men including his aides, Captains Benjamin Walker and William North; he left his estate to both men.[46]

---

[45] License: Public Domain. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Valley_Forge_National_Historical_Park_VAF03927.jpg

President Abraham Lincoln's sexuality is hotly debated. Awkward around women, Lincoln had several intense relationships with men. While some of these were likely chaste, there are suggestions of sexual intimacy between Lincoln and at least two of these men: Joshua Fry Speed and later, Lincoln's bodyguard, Captain David Derickson. Before his presidency, Lincoln shared a home and bed with Joshua Fry Speed in Springfield, Illinois from 1837 through 1841. The nature of the relationship between Lincoln and Speed has been debated. In 1926, Lincoln biographer Carl Sandburg described both Lincoln and Speed as each having "a streak of lavender" and "spots soft as May violets"—euphemisms for effeminacy and homosexual behavior.[47] Speed himself said, "No two men were ever so intimate."[48] During his presidency, Lincoln was known to share a bed with his bodyguard, Captain David Derickson, when Mrs. Lincoln was out of town. Contemporary reports describe the Captain wearing the

---

[46] Randy Shilts, *Conduct Unbecoming: Gays and Lesbians in the US Military* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2005), 7-10; William E. Benemann, *Male-Male Intimacy in Early America*; William B. Skelton, North, William, *American National Biography Online*; Paul Douglas Lockhart, *The Drillmaster of Valley Forge: The Baron de Steuben and the Making of the American Army* (New York: HarperCollins, 2008). There are many places associated with von Steuben—including the Revolutionary War battlefields where he fought—on the NRHP and designated as NHLs. Some of these include: Valley Forge National Historical Park near King of Prussia, Pennsylvania, added to the NRHP on October 15, 1966, designated an NHL Historic District on January 20, 1961, and designated a National Historical Park (an NPS unit) on July 4, 1976; Mount Gulian in Fishkill, New York (listed on the NRHP on November 19, 1982) which served as von Steuben's headquarters at the end of the Revolutionary War and was the place where he was instrumental in founding the Society of the Cincinnati; and the Steuben House in River Edge, New Jersey (listed on the NRHP on December 18, 1970), which served as General George Washington's headquarters for several days in 1780, and following the war, was given to von Steuben who occupied it from 1783 through 1788. For more information on von Steuben's sexuality see Estes (this volume).

[47] Carl Sandburg, *Abraham Lincoln: The Prairie Years,* vol. 1 (New York: Blue Ribbon Books, 1926), 166-167; for a discussion, see Jonathan Ned Katz, *Love Stories: Sex Between Men Before Homosexuality* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001), 3-25.

[48] C. A. Tripp, *The Intimate World of Abraham Lincoln* (New York: Free Press, 2005), xx.

President's nightshirts.[49] While many historians have explained these men sleeping together as "innocent" and a result of a lack of mattresses (which may have explained Speed and Lincoln as Lincoln was establishing his law practice, but certainly not after that, and was certainly no obstacle for a sitting president), other researchers like C. A. Tripp find Lincoln most comfortable in homosexual relationships.[50]

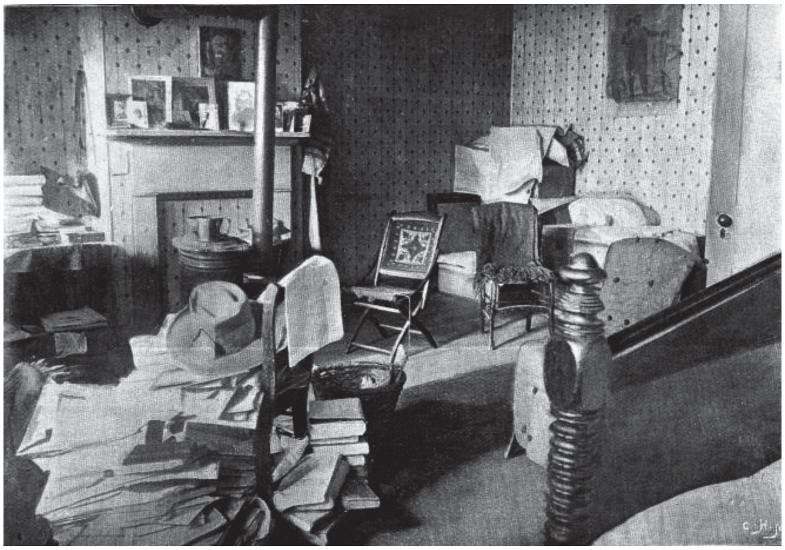


Figure 4: Walt Whitman's room at his Camden, New Jersey residence. Photo from the Wellcome Library collections.[51]

One lover of men, Walt Whitman (1819–1892) had a profound impact on the cultural landscape of this new country. A journalist and poet, Whitman's *Leaves of Grass* was once called obscene because it featured sensuality between men, as with these two lines: "Wherever he goes men and women accept and desire him / They desire he should like them, touch them, speak to them, stay with them" (Figure 4).[52] Among the men that Whitman was reportedly intimate with were Peter Doyle, a bus conductor, and author Oscar Wilde. Doyle and Whitman met in the mid-1860s, and were inseparable for many years; Wilde met Whitman in 1882 and later reported that the two had kissed.[53]

---

[49] Tripp, *The Intimate World of Abraham Lincoln*; Mark Segal, "Abraham Lincoln: A Life in the Closet?" *Washington Blade,* October 25, 2011, accessed April 16, 2016, http://www.washingtonblade.com/2011/10/25/abraham-lincoln-a-life-in-the-closet.

[50] Tripp, *The Intimate World of Abraham Lincoln*.

[51] License: CCBY 4.0. http://wellcomeimages.org/indexplus/image/L0010042.html

[52] From the poem, "Song of Myself." Whitman edited and revised *Leaves of Grass* extensively over his lifetime. The final, "deathbed" (1892) version of "Song of Myself" that contains the quoted lines is available online at http://www.poetryfoundation.org/poem/174745, accessed April 15, 2016. The final version of *Leaves of Grass* was written during the last days of Whitman's life in his home at 330 Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. Boulevard (formerly Mickle Street), Camden, New Jersey. It was listed on the NRHP on October 15, 1966 and designated an NHL on December 29, 1962. During the Civil War, Whitman, along with Dr. Mary Walker, nursed the injured at the Old Patent Office, now the National Portrait Gallery, at Ninth and F Streets NW, Washington, DC. It was added to the NRHP on October 15, 1966 and designated an NHL on January 12, 1965.

Among key women of the early United States, there are many stories of lasting relationships, of “Boston marriages,” and of lifelong bonds. Boston marriages were frequently used to describe relationships between women living together without the financial support of a man, during the 1800s and early 1900s. These “female friendships” were mostly ignored or tolerated through much of the nineteenth century as we have seen in the relationship between Emily Dickinson and her sister-in-law, but in the second half of the century, the category of “lesbian” (then also called the female sexual invert) was formulated by the medical profession and then moved into popular discourse.[54] This changed how society viewed intimate relationships between women; they “took on an entirely different meaning.... They now had a set of concepts and questions (which were uncomfortable to many of them) by which they had to scrutinize feelings that would have been as natural and even admirable in earlier days.”[55] In response, women could claim that their attachments to other women were not like “real lesbians”; they could repress their sexuality; they could live in the closet, leading a double life—lesbian in private and heterosexual in public; or she could accept the definitions of sexologists and define herself as a lesbian.[56]

The rise of women’s colleges contributed to these relationships, as white women had more access to education, independent living, and employment choices. At the time, marriage and a professional career were seen to be incompatible; this meant that women who preferred to live with other women could pursue academics and careers and have the social license to therefore live with other women.[57] Historian Lillian Faderman notes the disproportionate number of women who attended women's colleges who never married. "Perhaps the most important element in encouraging young college women in their escape from domesticity was a new form of what had been termed romantic friendship which came to be called in college life 'smashes,' 'crushes,' and 'spoons.'"[58] In the 1920s, sociologist Katharine Bement Davis studied 2,200 females, with 50.4 percent admitting to intense emotional relations with women, and half of those were "either accompanied by sex or recognized as sexual in character." The women viewed these as rare, however, reporting their expectations to eventually marry men.[59]

---

[53] Justin Kaplan, *Walt Whitman: A Life* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1979), 311-312; Rictor Norton, “Walt Whitman, Prophet of Gay Liberation,” *Gay History and Literature,* November 18, 1999, updated June 20, 2008, http://rictornorton.co.uk/whitman.htm; John Stokes, *Oscar Wilde: Myths, Miracles and Imitations* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 194 note 7.

[54] Lillian Faderman, *Odd Girls and Twilight Lovers: A History of Lesbian Life in Twentieth-Century America* (New York: Penguin, 1992). First published by Columbia University Press (1991) and republished (2011). See also Leila J. Rupp, *A Desired Past: A Short History of Same-Sex Love in America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999).

[55] Faderman, *Odd Girls and Twilight Lovers*, 2.

[56] Faderman, *Odd Girls and Twilight Lovers*, 3.

Two prominent women who had long-term relationships with other women are Jane Addams, founder of the Hull House Settlement in Chicago and a Nobel Peace Prize winner, and M. Carey Thomas, president of Bryn Mawr College in Pennsylvania. There are many other examples of powerful women in relationships with each other; surely there were also many examples of less prominent women in same-sex relationships whose stories have not yet been uncovered.

Jane Addams' first romantic partner was Ellen Starr, who she met when they were students at Rockford Female Seminary in Illinois. In 1889, they visited Toynbee Hall in England together, which served as the model for Hull House. When they returned, they bought a house in an immigrant neighborhood in Chicago and founded Hull House together. Later, Addams met Mary Rozet Smith, who contributed financial support for Hull House. They were together for four decades until Mary's death in 1934, and they "always slept in the same room in the same bed, and when they traveled Jane even wired ahead to be sure they would get a hotel room with a double bed." Addams wrote to Smith in 1899: "Miss you dreadfully and am yours 'til death."[60]

---

[57] Martha Vicinus, *Independent Women: Work and Community for Single Women, 1850-1920* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985).
[58] Faderman, *Odd Girls and Twilight Lovers*, 19.
[59] Faderman, *Odd Girls and Twilight Lovers*, 63.

After attending Cornell University in Ithaca, New York, M. Carey Thomas was denied a graduate education at Johns Hopkins University in Baltimore. Undeterred, she and her "devoted companion" Mamie Gwinn moved to Europe, and in 1882 Thomas received her PhD from the University of Zurich. On their return to the United States, they were hired to teach at Bryn Mawr. Thomas was soon appointed dean, and the women moved into an on-campus residence that became known as the Deanery (Figure 5). During this time, Mary Garrett, a prominent and wealthy suffragist and philanthropist, fell in love with Thomas. Garrett promised Bryn Mawr she would give the college a fortune if they would make Thomas the school's president, which they did in 1894. In 1904, Mamie Gwinn left Thomas for a married man and Mary Garrett moved in to the Deanery with Thomas, where she lived until her death in 1915.[62]

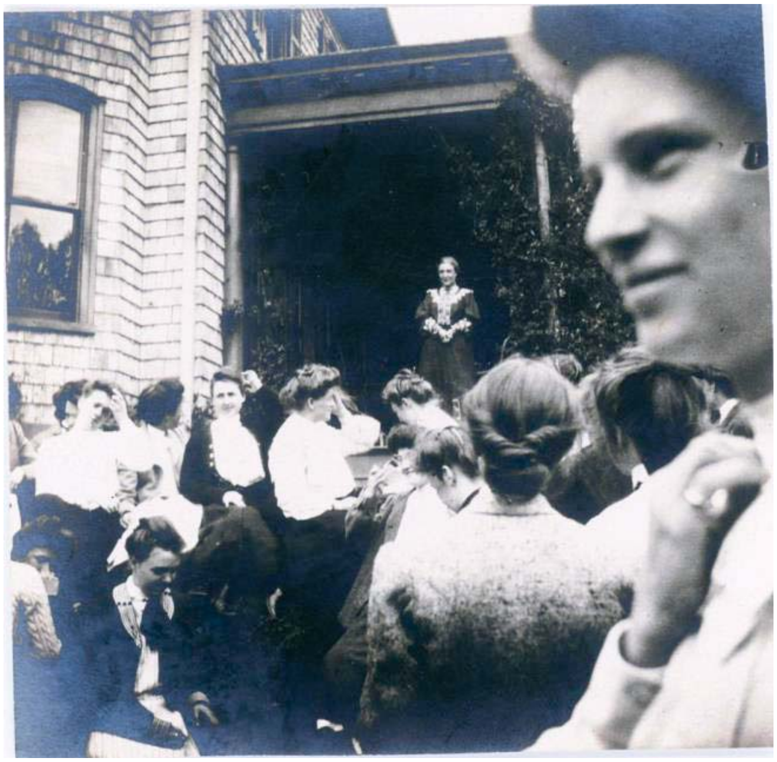


Figure 5: M. Carey Thomas addresses students from the porch of the Deanery, 1905. Photo by Bryn Mawr College.[61]

---

[60] Faderman, *Odd Girls and Twilight Lovers*, 25-26.

[61] License: Public Domain. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:M._Carey_Thomas_on_Deanery_Porch.jpg

[62] Faderman, *Odd Girls and Twilight Lovers*, 26. From 1885 until 1933, Thomas lived in "the Deanery" on the Bryn Mawr College campus, Bryn Mawr, Pennsylvania. The Deanery, formerly located at the end

Faderman also includes details of an intimate relationship between anarchist Emma Goldman and fellow anarchist and union organizer, Almeda Sperry. From surviving letters exchanged between the two during 1912, when Goldman lived in a tenement apartment in New York City's East Village, the relationship was largely one-sided. Sperry wrote several emotional letters to Goldman detailing her (mostly) unrequited love. One letter, however, makes it clear that their relationship did have a sexual component; Sperry writes: "If I had only had courage enuf to kill myself when you reached the climax then—then I would have known happiness, for at that moment I had complete possession of you."[63] From her East Side tenement, which she lived in from 1903 to 1913, Goldman conducted much of her activist work, including publication of her Anarchist journal, *Mother Earth.* Emma Goldman was outspoken in her criticism of homophobia and prejudice against lesbians and gay men, German sexologist Magnus Hirschfeld described her as "the first and only woman, indeed the first and only American, to take up the defense of homosexual love before the general public." An American citizen, she was nevertheless deported to Russia with about 250 other radicals.[64]

Another high-powered female couple were Katherine Lee Bates and Katharine Coman. Bates (1859–1929) is best known for her anthem "America the Beautiful." Born in Fairmouth, Massachusetts, Bates lived with Katharine Coman, founder of the Wellesley College School of Economics department, for twenty-five years, until Coman died in 1915.[65]

---

of what is now Canaday Drive on the Bryn Mawr campus, was demolished in 1968 for the construction of the Canaday Library.

[63] Sperry was married to a man, with whom she had an open relationship; Goldman's primary relationship was with anarchist Alexander Berkman. Emma Goldman, "Offener Brief an den Herausgeber der Jarbücher über Louis Michel, with a preface by Magnus Hirschfeld," *Jahrbuch für sexuelle Zwischenstufen* 23 (1923): 70. Translated from German by James Steakley. For the letters between Sperry and Goldman, see Faderman, *Odd Girls and Twilight Lovers*, 34-35; "Almeda Sperry to Emma Goldman: 1912, The Letters," OutHistory website, accessed April 16, 2016, http://outhistory.org/exhibits/show/sperry-to-goldman/letters. See also Jonathan Ned Katz, *Gay American History: Lesbians and Gay Men in the USA: A Documentary History* (New York: Meridian, 1992).

[64] Sheryl, "East Village Tenement Housed 'the Most Dangerous Woman in America,'" *Off the Grid: The Blog of the Greenwich Village Society for Historic Preservation*, November 29, 2011, accessed April 16, 2016, http://gvshp.org/blog/2011/11/29/east-village-tenement-housed-the-most-dangerous-woman-in-america.

[65] Their home was located just off Weston Road, north of Wellesley College, Wellesley, Massachusetts.

They were among the millions of people who visited the 1893 World's Columbian Exhibition in Chicago (also called the Chicago World's Fair), after which Bates continued west to Colorado Springs, Colorado for a summer teaching job. It was on this trip that she was inspired to write "America the Beautiful."[66]

The 1893 Chicago World's Fair provided over twenty-seven million people a glimpse into other worlds, and afforded a certain freedom to a lot of homosexual and bisexual people who were working at or visiting the fair.[67] Prior to the fair, Chicago sculptor Lorado Taft and his students (many of them women, at a time when women sculptors working professionally was almost unheard of) worked on sculptures and architectural elements for the fair's horticultural and other buildings. Married twice to women, some authors note that Taft also engaged in homosexual relationships.[68] One of Taft's great works is his monumental *Fountain of Time* installed in Washington Park on Chicago's South Side (Figure 6).[69] Completed in 1920, the rear of the sculpture includes a self-portrait of Taft holding hands with one of his workmen "with whom he was intimate." [70]

---

[66] Marie J. Kuda, "Kudos: A Column of Books, Living History and Gallimaufry," *Windy City Times,* December 19, 2001, accessed April 15, 2016, http://www.windycitymediagroup.com/lgbt/kudos/27984.html.

[67] The World's Columbian Exposition, also known as the 1893 Chicago World's Fair, took up both Jackson Park and the Midway Plaisance in Chicago's South Side. The Jackson Park Historic Landscape District and Midway Plaisance were added to the NRHP on December 15, 1972.

[68] Baim, *Out and Proud in Chicago*, 18; Kathie Bergquist and Robert McDonald, *A Field Guide to Gay & Lesbian Chicago* (Chicago: Lake Claremont Press, 2006), 62.

[69] Washington Park was designed by Frederick Law Olmsted and Daniel H. Burnham. It was listed on the NRHP on August 20, 2004. Taft's Midway Studios were located at 6016 South Ingleside Avenue, Chicago, Illinois. They were added to the NRHP on October 15, 1966 and designated an NHL on December 21, 1965. Taft was working out of this studio space during the creation and installation of the Fountain of Time. Several of Taft's sculptures are listed on the NRHP: *The Black Hawk Statue/Eternal Indian* in Lowden State Park near Oregon, Illinois was added to the NRHP on November 5, 2009; *Lincoln the Lawyer/Young Lincoln* in Carle Park, Urbana, Illinois was added to the NRHP on March 10, 2004; The *Crusader/Victor Lawson Monument* and *Eternal Silence/The Dexter Graves Monument* are both contributing elements to Chicago's Graceland Cemetery Historic District, listed on the NRHP on January 18, 2001; The Soldiers' Monument is a contributing element to the Oregon Commercial Historic District in Oregon, Illinois, added to the NRHP on August 16, 2006; and the Columbus Fountain in Columbus Circle, Washington, DC, added to the NRHP on April 9, 1980.

[70] Baim, *Out and Proud in Chicago*, 18.

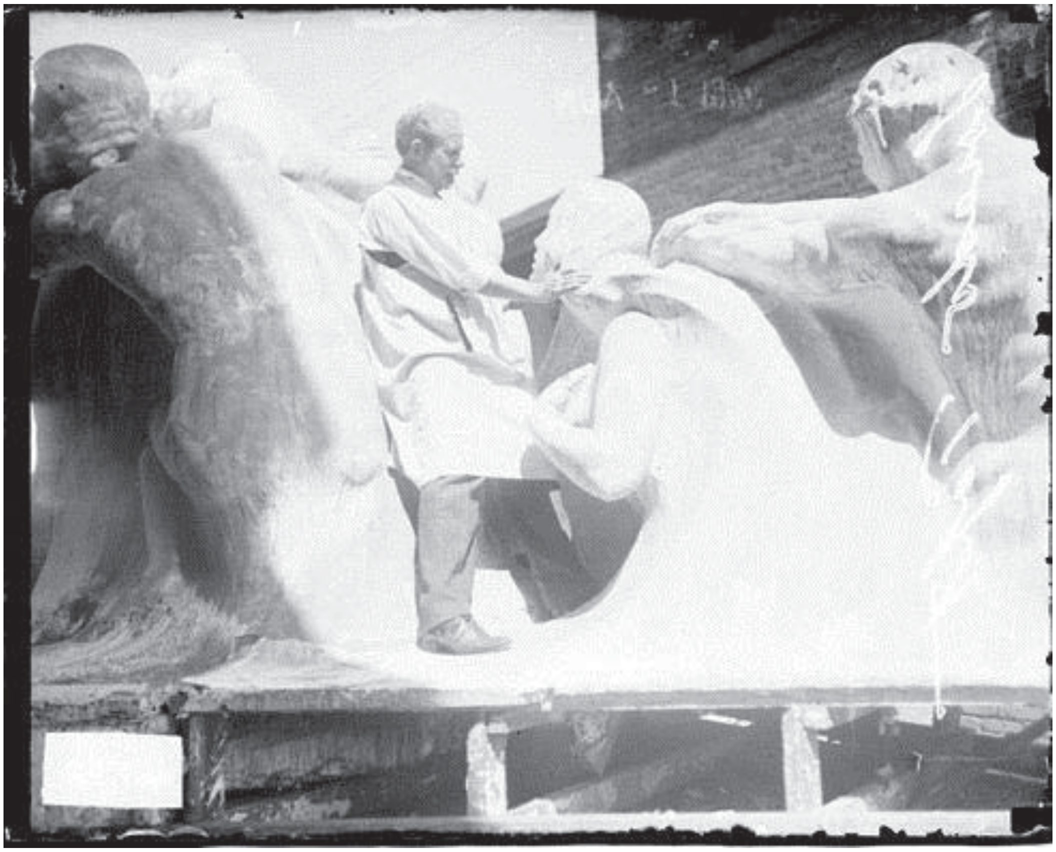


Figure 6: Lorado Taft standing on his partially complete work, *Fountain of Time*, 1920. Photo by the *Chicago Daily News*.[71]

Gertrude Stein (1874–1946) and Alice B. Toklas (1877–1967), both born in the United States, were very public about their relationship both here and in France. They were quite an unusual pair for their era, or any era, and Stein documented their Paris years in the fictional book *The Autobiography of Alice B. Toklas*, written in her partner's voice.[72]

---

[71] License: Public Domain. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Lorado_Taft_Standing_on_Fountain_of_Time.jpg

[72] Gertrude Stein, *The Autobiography of Alice B. Toklas* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1933). Gertrude Stein's birthplace and childhood home (1874-1877) is located in the Allegheny West Historic District on Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania's north side. It was listed on the NRHP on November 2, 1978. Stein's family moved to Oakland, California in 1880 where they lived on a ten-acre property surrounded by farms. When Stein returned to the area (now near the intersection of Thirteenth Avenue and Twenty-Fifth Street, Oakland) the rural landscape had been replaced by dozens of houses. In her 1937 book, *Everybody's Autobiography* (New York: Random House, 1937) she recounted the visit, lamenting that there was "no there there." On at least one trip to New York City, Stein and Toklas stayed at the Algonquin Hotel, 59-61 West 44th Street.

While there were certainly those in American history who would fit our modern definition of transgender,[73] many women dressed as men for economic survival and safety. Ellen Craft escaped enslavement in Georgia by posing as a white man, accompanied by his "slave," her husband William.[74] "Stagecoach" Mary Fields was an African American woman who had been born a slave in Tennessee circa 1832. In 1894, she was ordered to leave the convent she worked in after a confrontation with a male employee. Then in her early sixties, she was able to find paid work dressed in male clothing driving a stagecoach for the US Mail—the first African American woman to do so. She quit driving the mail in 1901.[75] In the early years of the twentieth century, Native American Ralph Kerwinieo (née Cora Anderson) lived and worked for thirteen years as a man. Exposed as a woman by his second wife, Kerwinieo was subsequently ordered by law to revert to wearing women's clothing. He responded, stating that "This world is made by man—for man alone....Do you blame me for wanting to be a man—free to live as a man in a man-made world? Do you blame me for hating to again resume a woman's clothes?" It was with this same feminist awareness that Kerwinieo described marrying his two wives, as a way to protect them from the male-dominated and sexist world.[76] Men tended to cross-dress for different reasons, including for entertainment value, as a way to express their varied gender expression, or as an indication of what would later be categorized as being transgender.[77]

---

[73] For an overview of cross-dressing in early San Francisco, see Clare Sears, *Arresting Dress: Cross-Dressing, Law, and Fascination in Nineteenth-Century San Francisco* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2015).

[74] William Craft and Ellen Craft, *Running a Thousand Miles for Freedom, or, The Escape of William and Ellen Craft from Slavery* (London: William Tweedle, 1860); Amani Marshall, "They Will Endeavor to Pass for Free: Enslaved Runaways Performances of Freedom in Antebellum South Carolina," *Slavery and Abolition* 31, no. 2 (June 2, 2010): 161-180.

[75] Faderman, *Odd Girls and Twilight Lovers*, 44; James A. Franks, *Mary Fields: The Story of Black Mary* (Santa Cruz, CA: Wild Goose Press, 2000).

[76] Faderman, *Odd Girls and Twilight Lovers*, 44; see also Holly Devor, *FTM: Female-to-Male Transsexuals in Society* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1997).

[77] See, for example, Clare Sears, *Arresting Dress*.

In New York City, the 1920s and 1930s saw the growth of Harlem as a tourist destination, and a haven for black cultural entrepreneurs—among them, many gay, lesbian, bisexual, and transgender writers and performers. Some authors of the Harlem Renaissance wrote fiction that closely mirrored the reality of their lives, giving a window into the world of gay marriages, drag balls, and an open sexuality. Jamaican-born bisexual writer Claude McKay was among those who wrote about the era, sometimes indicating the ambivalence about homosexuality in Harlem.[78] Bisexual blues phenomenon Gladys Bentley began her New York City career in the 1920s dressing in men's clothing (leading some to refer to her as a male impersonator) and reports marrying a woman in a New Jersey civil ceremony (Figure 7).[79] Bessie Smith, the "Empress of the Blues" also had women lovers, her mentor, "Ma Rainey" refers to female

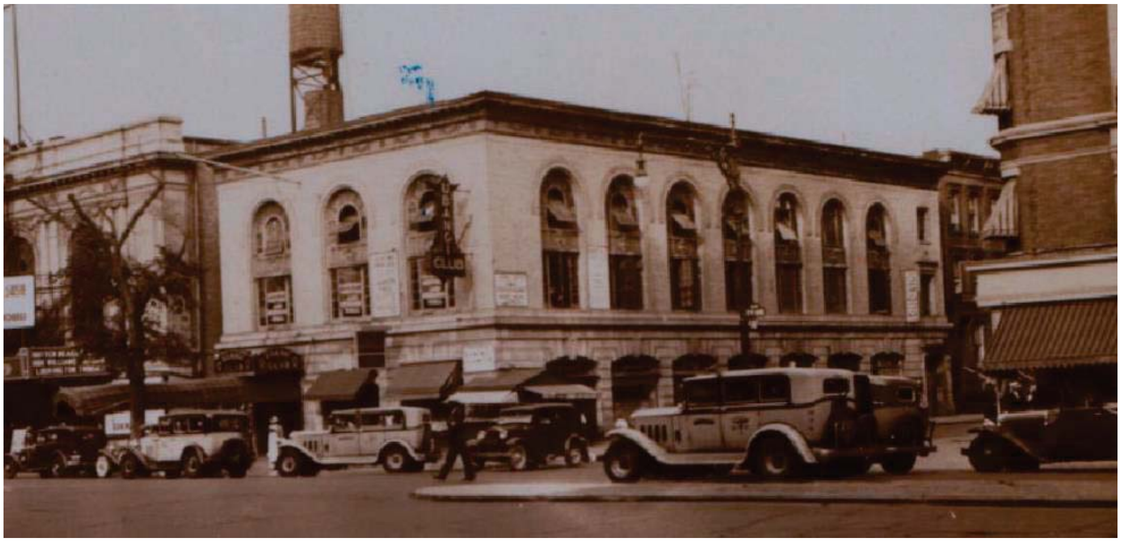


Figure 7: Detail of Manhattan: 7th Avenue-131st Street, showing Harlem's Ubangi Club where Gladys Bentley performed, 1934. Photo by P. L. Sperr, courtesy of the New York Public Library.

---

[78] Lindsay Tuggle, "'A Love So Fugitive and So Complete': Recovering the Queer Subtext of Claude McKay's Harlem Shadows, *The Space Between* 4, no. 1 (2008): 64.

[79] Eric Garber, "A Spectacle in Color: The Lesbian and Gay Subculture of Jazz Age Harlem," in *Hidden From History: Reclaiming the Gay and Lesbian Past,* eds. George Chauncey, Jr., Martin Duberman, and Martha Vicinus (New York: Meridian, 1989), 318-331. Bentley performed at venues including the Ubangi Club in Harlem located at West 131st Street and Seventh Avenue, New York City and at the lesbian bar, Mona's Club 440 at 440 Broadway, San Francisco, California. The Ubangi Club was among those at the epicenter of the Harlem Renaissance. The building that housed it was demolished in early 2013. David W. Dunlap, "Icon of Harlem's Gay Night Life Gives Way to Wreckers," *New York Times*, March 10, 2013, accessed April 20, 2016, http://cityroom.blogs.nytimes.com/2013/03/10/vestiges-of-harlem-nightlife-and-its-gay-side-give-way-to-wreckers.

lovers in several of her recorded songs.[80] Tolerance in Harlem "extended to such a degree that black lesbians in butch/femme couples married each other in large wedding ceremonies, replete with bridesmaids and attendants. Real marriage licenses were obtained by masculinizing a first name or having a gay male surrogate apply for a license for the lesbian couple. Those licenses were actually placed on file in the New York City Marriage Bureau."[81]

Fiction and poetry are often where LGBTQ people found their true stories, and their relief from social pressures. Fiction writers and poets from the late 1800s and early 1900s provided a lifeline, and many of those writers themselves were LGBTQ authors. Among these are Walt Whitman, Oscar Wilde, Alice Dunbar Nelson, Angelina Weld Grimké, Virginia Woolf, Radclyffe Hall, and Gertrude Stein. More recent authors have created works of genealogy and personal history, writing their own lifelines. For example, in *the bull-jean stories*, poet Sharon Bridgforth weaves a history out of her own desire to know the lives of her 1920s ancestors: "rural/southern working-class Black bulldaggas/who were aunty-momma-sister-friend/pillars of the church ... these are the stories they didn't tell me, the ones I needed most."[82]

Although there were novels in the 1930s that dealt with lesbian relationships,[83] the advent of the "dime novel" allowed pulp fiction dealing with homosexuality to flourish in the 1950s and 1960s—much of it written by closeted gay and lesbian writers. Pulp lesbian novels were larger moneymakers than the gay male pulps because of the crossover audience of heterosexual men. These books featured lurid covers and titles, and usually ended with suicide or other untimely deaths for the LGBTQ characters. Death was also a theme in higher-brow literature and drama, such as Lillian Hellman's *The Children's Hour*. Despite this, they still stirred the passions of their readers looking for some validation of their feelings.[84]

---

[80] Bessie Smith was among several African American LGBTQ performers at the Apollo Theater, 253 West 125th Street, New York City, New York. The Apollo Theater was listed on the NRHP on November 17, 1983. After her singing career, Ma Rainey moved to a home at 805 Fifth Avenue, Columbus, Georgia. It is open to the public as the Ma Rainey House and Blues Museum.

[81] Faderman, *Odd Girls and Twilight Lovers*, 69-73.

[82] Sharon Bridgforth, *the bull-jean stories* (Austin, TX: RedBone Press, 1998), xi.

[83] These include *We Too Are Drifting* by Gale Wilhelm (New York: Random House, 1935), and *Pity for Women* by Helen Anderson (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, Doran, and Co., 1937). See Lori L. Lake, "Lesbian Fiction Herstory: After the Well of Loneliness," Lori L. Lake website, last updated April 1, 2005, accessed April 19, 2016, http://www.lorillake.com/AfterTheWell.html.

Gay men especially had a soft-core way to enjoy the male physique, as muscle magazines proliferated in the 1940s, 1950s, and 1960s. Strapping young men in skimpy swimsuits modeled for a wide range of publications, which had a significant number of gay male subscribers.[85] Publishers went aggressively after the gay market, and some became publishing barons, including Clark Polak of Philadelphia's *Drummer* magazine and Chuck Renslow with his various magazines from Chicago, as photographed in his Kris Studios. These magazines provided a sexual release for their readers, and a connection to a "community" in faraway cities. Yet possession of these "pornographic materials" was a felony under most state laws. In 1960, Smith College professor Newton Arvin was arrested by the state of Massachusetts for having physique magazines and was forced to resign.[86] Women could peruse *Playboy* for its soft-core images of scantily clad women. Gay male pulp fiction also had an audience, among both gay and bisexual men and straight women. These books included reprints of mainstream titles with gay content (such as Gore Vidal's *The City and the Pillar* and *Myra Breckinridge*), or original titles (like George Viereck's *Men into Beasts*).

---

[84] The first pulp novel to deal with homosexuality was *Men into Beasts* by George Sylvester Viereck (New York: Fawcett Publication, 1952). It was a nonfiction work that describes the brutalities of life in prison. Thirty gay pulps were published in 1965, and over a hundred in 1966. Susan Stryker, *Queer Pulp: Perverted Passions from the Golden Age of the Paperback* (San Francisco: Chronicle Books, 2001). See also Michael Bronski, ed., *Pulp Fiction: Uncovering the Golden Age of Gay Male Pulps* (New York: St. Martin's, 2003); Stephanie Foote, "Deviant Classics: Pulps and the Making of Lesbian Print Culture," *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 31, no. 1 (2005); Katherine V. Forrest, *Lesbian Pulp Fiction: The Sexually Intrepid World of Lesbian Paperback Novels 1950-1965* (Cleis Press, 2005).

[85] For a broader discussion of physique magazines, see Johnson (this volume).

[86] Barry Werth, *The Scarlet Professor: Newton Arvin: A Literary Life Shattered by Scandal* (New York: Nan A. Talese, 2001). Smith College is located in Northampton, Massachusetts. Arvin was a trustee of Yaddo, an artist colony in Saratoga Springs, New York. While there in 1946, he met Truman Capote and began a two-year relationship. Yaddo is located within the Union Avenue Historic District, listed on the NRHP on April 4, 1978. It was individually designated an NHL on March 11, 2013.

Breaking Free

By World War I, with few legal or "legitimate" places to congregate, gay men were regularly cruising the streets of certain neighborhoods like Riverside Drive in New York City, as well as parks like Lafayette Park in Washington, DC, and the Presidio in San Francisco, looking for sex, companionship, and community (Figure 8).[87] Public bathhouses and certain YMCAs also became areas where gay men gathered.[88] For African Americans during this time, drag balls became popular in Harlem.

---

[87] D'Emilio, *Sexual Politics*, 12. Lafayette Square in Washington, DC, has been a popular cruising spot since at least 1892, when several men were arrested for having sex in the park. The Presidio in San Francisco is located within Golden Gate National Recreation Area (a unit of the NPS); it was listed on the NRHP on October 15, 1966 and designated an NHL on June 13, 1962. In the post-Stonewall era, Arlington Ridge Park in Arlington, Virginia was a popular place for gay men to meet at night. The park is known colloquially as Iwo Jima Park because it is the site of the United States Marine Corps War Memorial/Iwo Jima Memorial. It has been the location of several crackdowns on gay men in the park, including the arrests of over sixty men in late 1971 that triggered a cold, January 1972 protest by the Gay Activist Alliance. Those charged with felony sodomy lost their jobs and security clearances. Arlington Ridge Park was listed on the NRHP on September 4, 2009. It is within the boundaries of the George Washington Memorial Parkway, an NPS unit. See Marc Stein, *Rethinking the Gay and Lesbian Movement* (New York: Routledge 2012), 102; "Gay Activists Alliance members protest US Park Police," LGBT History Archives @lgbt_history website, http://lgbt-history-archive.tumblr.com/post/139108239762/gay-activists-alliance-members-protest-us-park. See also Barry Reay, *New York Hustlers: Masculinity and Sex in Modern America* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2010).

[88] YMCAs with public LGBTQ histories include those in Boise, Harlem, and Newport. It was at the Boise YMCA, Tenth and Grove, Boise, Idaho that, in 1955, the "Boys of Boise" sex scandal broke. The Claude McKay Residence (Harlem YMCA) at 180 West 135th Street, New York City, New York was where, from at least 1932, young men— including Langston Hughes and Claude McKay—could find a place to stay. The Claude McKay Residence was listed on the NRHP and designated an NHL on December 8, 1976. In 1919, the Army-Navy YMCA at 50 Washington Square, Newport, Rhode Island was targeted for surveillance after reports of it being home to a network of homosexual Navy men and civilians. The Army-Navy YMCA was listed on the NRHP on December 29, 1988. Many cities had bathhouses that catered to a gay clientele. For example: the Olympic Baths (now demolished) were open from 1977 to 1985 at 1405 H Street NW, Washington, DC; Men's Country Bathhouse at 5017 North Clark Street, Chicago, Illinois opened in 1972 and was the site of a lot of community medical outreach including HIV testing and information dissemination; the Ariston Hotel Bath in the basement of the Ariston Hotel at Broadway and 55th Street, New York City was the site of the first recorded police raid on a gay bathhouse in the United States in 1903; Mount Morris Turkish Baths at Madison Avenue and 125th Street opened in 1898 and survived the closures brought by the AIDS panic, closing in 2003; Club Portland Bath, 303 SW Twelfth Avenue, Portland, Oregon was open from 1987 through 2007. Bette Midler was rumored to have performed here during her bathhouse performance tour of the 1980s; Jeff's Gym/Club Baths operated from 1972 through 1986 at 700 West 1700 South, Salt Lake City, Utah; Topkapi was a short-lived bathhouse open from 1972 to 1973 at 6818 Richmond Highway, Alexandria, Virginia; the Club Turkish Baths opened at 130 Turk Street, San Francisco in the 1930s and operated under this name and the Bulldog Baths through 1983; vacant for the next thirty years, entrepreneurs have opened the Bulldog Baths Dog Resort in the building, naming their pet care enterprise to honor the historic bathhouse. While most bathhouses were for men, Osento, a women's bathhouse, operated out of what is now a private residence in the Mission neighborhood of San Francisco, California from 1980 through 2008.

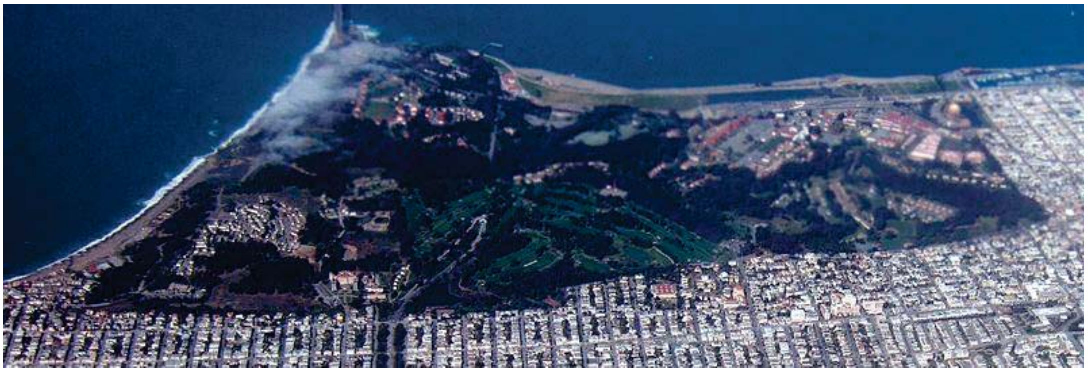


Figure 8: Aerial view of the Presidio of San Francisco, 2008. Photo by Edward Betts.[90]

Gatherings of lesbians and bisexual women who were part of faculties at all-women's colleges, settlement houses, and professional associations also flourished.[89]

Despite changes in sexual mores during the 1920s, LGBTQ people still experienced repression. Future President Franklin Roosevelt, then Assistant Secretary of the Navy, oversaw a purge in the US Navy from 1919 to 1921 in Newport, Rhode Island.[91] A similar purge, in 1920 at Harvard University, was uncovered decades after it happened by a researcher for *The Harvard Crimson* newspaper. The school secretly put a dozen male students on trial and then "systematically and persistently tried to ruin their lives." Several of these students committed suicide.[92]

The Second World War disrupted the lives of millions of American men and women. In the armed services, men and women who might have felt

---

[89] Examples of these places include Webster Hall, Wellesley College, Hull House, and the Charleston Museum. Webster Hall and Annex, 119-125 East 11th Street, New York City, New York, famous in the 1910s and 1920s for the lavish masquerade balls held there. By the 1920s, Webster Hall was hosting African American drag balls. Katherine Lee Bates, author of "America the Beautiful," attended Wellesley College and then later returned to teach there. It was at Wellesley that she met her partner of twenty-five years, Katherine Coman. Mary Rozet Smith was Jane Addams' partner both professionally at Hull House (800 South Halsted, Chicago, Illinois) and personally for over forty years. Hull House was listed on the NRHP on October 15, 1966 and designated an NHL on June 23, 1965. In 1920, Laura Bragg was the first female director of the Charleston Museum, since 1980 located at 360 Meeting Street, Charleston, South Carolina. Bragg lived with her partner, Belle Heyward, near the historic William Gibbes House in Charleston, South Carolina.

[90] License: CCBY-SA 3.0. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Presidio_of_San_Francisco_from_the_air_in_2008.jpg

[91] The Old Army-Navy YMCA was located at 50 Washington Square, Newport, Rhode Island. It was listed on the NRHP on December 29, 1988.

[92] William Wright, *Harvard's Secret Court: The Savage 1920 Purge of Campus Homosexuals* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2006).

"different" now found other people who also had different desires. Women moved into the wartime workforce as industrial "Rosie the Riveters," in the new women's military auxiliary forces, and in federal offices in Washington DC. "Even for those gay men who slipped by psychiatrists [trying to screen out homosexuals], the experience brought their sexuality into bold relief. … The sex-segregated nature of the armed forces raised homosexuality closer to the surface for all military personnel."[93] Big-city YMCAs were a special hotbed of same-sex sexual activity during World War II, and the Women's Army Corps "became the almost quintessential lesbian institution."[94] Many people had their first same-sex liaisons as a direct result of the gender segregation of America's population during the war. "World War II was a transformative event in the history of modern queer communities and identities. It not only changed the personal lives of countless thousands of individual men and women, it also shifted the role of sexuality in American public life and altered the social geography of urban centers like San Francisco."[95]

Lesbians, bisexuals, and gay men during this period socialized (and often still do) very differently from one another. Lesbians tended to meet in private homes, both for privacy and safety, but also because women generally had less free money to spend going out, and so were unable to sustain large numbers of women-only commercial spaces.[96] Some women formed close-knit communities away from populated areas for a different kind of privacy and safety. One example of this is Druid Heights, a community of influential thinkers and writers founded among the redwoods of Mill Valley, California by poet Elsa Gidlow in 1954. Her 1923 book, *On a Grey Thread,* was the first book of explicitly lesbian poetry published in North America.[97] These types of private spaces have been described as particularly important during Prohibition, when the bar scene was driven underground.[98] Men, particularly white men who have appeared “traditionally” masculine, have generally enjoyed the right to occupy public space. Though public cruising could lead to violence, arrest, and chance encounters with non-gay acquaintances, men of color and effeminate men were more at risk than a “straight-appearing” white man.[99] Gay bars were a place where men could drop “the pretension of heterosexuality” while socializing with friends and searching for sexual partners.[100]

---

[93] D'Emilio, *Sexual Politics*, 25.

[94] D'Emilio, *Sexual Politics*, 26-27. For more information on LGBTQ in the military, see Estes (this volume). For examples of YMCAs with documented LGBTQ activity, see note 79.

[95] Stryker and Van Buskirk, *Gay by the Bay*, 29.

[96] D'Emilio, *Sexual Politics,* 32-33*;* Kennedy and Davis, *Boots of Leather, Slippers of Gold*.

[97] Elsa Gidlow, *On a Grey Thread* (Chicago: W. Ransom, 1923); Stryker and Van Buskirk, *Gay by the Bay*, 21-22*.* Druid Heights is part of Muir Woods National Monument, listed on the NRHP on January 9, 2008, and part of the Golden Gate National Recreation Area (an NPS unit).

Professor and tattoo artist Samuel Steward kept a “Stud File”—“a whimsically annotated and cross-referenced 746-card card catalog in which Steward documented his sex life in its entirely from the year 1924 through 1974.”[101] One of his “studs” was author Thornton Wilder, who he would meet at the Stevens Hotel in Chicago. After detailing their encounters, Steward notes that “I became his Chicago piece, possibly his only physical contact in the city….[Besides] he could never forthrightly discuss anything sexual; for him the act itself was quite literally unspeakable. His Puritan reluctance was inhibiting to me as well.”[102]

Steward had “studs” in many cities, including New York City. He tended to avoid Greenwich Village which he characterized as being populated by “screaming,” effeminate men—a “type” to which he was not attracted.[103] Instead, he traveled to Harlem, where he would visit his friend Alexander Gumby, a postal clerk who lived in a large studio apartment on Fifth Avenue between 131st and 132nd Streets. Gumby’s literary salon events were popular with Harlem’s artistic and theatrical elites. Steward described one of these as "an evening of 'reefer, bathtub gin, a game of truth, and assorted homosexual carryings-on.'"[104]

---

[98] Stryker and Van Buskirk, *Gay by the Bay*, 22-23.
[99] Transgender women, often mistaken for effeminate men, are also at high risk.
[100] D’Emilio, *Sexual Politics*, 32-33.
[101] Justin Spring, *Secret Historian: The Life and Times of Samuel Steward, Professor, Tattoo Artist, and Sexual Renegade* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2010), xiii.
[102] Spring, *Secret Historian*, 52. When it was built in 1927, the Stevens Hotel was the largest in the world. After the Stevens family lost their fortune in the Great Depression, the hotel was bought by the US Army to house soldiers, and then by the Hilton Family. It is now known as the Hilton Chicago, and is located at 720 South Michigan Avenue, Chicago, Illinois.
[103] Spring, *Secret Historian*, 23.

In the 1940s, Otis Bigelow was part of "the silver-and-china queens," so named by playwright Arthur Laurents to describe wealthy homosexuals "who played squash and were raunchy after dinner."[105] They were a type of gay man "from way back that was always as right-wing as possible, out of a desperate desire to belong. And they haven't changed. It's like the gay couples who try to emulate heterosexual couples. Nothing could be more stupid. I mean that one is sort of the husband and the other is sort of the wife and they have to have fidelity and all this kind of nonsense—instead of seeing how lucky you are if you're two men and have freedom."[106] During these years, soldiers and sailors were often returning to or embarking from New York City, and "gay men pursued them with abandon. Tennessee Williams loved to cruise Times Square with Donald Windham in the forties."[107]

The Purge

The burden of legal, medical, and familial scrutiny has been heavy, and sometimes too much to bear. These things absolutely had an effect on sex and relationships. There is higher documented substance abuse in the LGBTQ community, and lack of familial support and legal recognition has had a negative impact on relationships of all kinds.[108] Some people have stayed in violent relationships because resources for same-sex survivors of domestic violence were not geared to their needs. Some people have lived on the "down low," getting married to opposite-sex partners, having children, and living their gay life—or their transgender life—in secret on the side. This was a high price to fit in, and meant that the potential cost of coming out was high, including domestic violence, divorce, loss of financial security, and loss of their children. The rates of suicide and attempted suicide are higher among lesbian, gay, and bisexual people than the general population, and higher still among transgender people.[109]

---

[104] Spring, *Secret Historian*, 22.

[105] Arthur Laurents, *Original Story: A Memoir of Broadway and Hollywood* (New York: Knopf, 2000), 126.

[106] Charles Kaiser, *The Gay Metropolis: 1940-1996* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1997), 7. Republished as *The Gay Metropolis: The Landmark History of Gay Life in America* (New York: Grove Press, 2007).

[107] Kaiser, *Gay Metropolis*, 13.

[108] Jerome Hunt, "Why the Gay and Transgender Population Experiences Higher Rates of Substance Use," Center for American Progress website, March 9, 2012, https://www.americanprogress.org/issues/lgbt/report/2012/03/09/11228/why-the-gay-and-transgender-population-experiences-higher-rates-of-substance-use.

Especially traumatic were the victims of people who struggled so much internally with their sexuality that they killed others rather than face their truth. This includes men who have attacked other men in gay bashings, as documented by filmmaker Arthur Dong in *Licensed to Kill*.[110]

In 1950, a short time after World War II ended, the US State Department began its purge of "sexual perverts." Over the course of several years, thousands of employees lost their jobs. Frank Kameny, who lost his government job, and Barbara Gittings were among those who began to fight federally sanctioned discrimination against homosexuals in federal jobs and the military. The threat of the "homosexual menace" was a theme in American politics throughout the McCarthy era; these purges were ironically instigated by J. Edgar Hoover, director of the FBI, and Roy Cohn, who worked with Senator McCarthy. Both of these men have been identified as having same-sex relationships.[111] The forcing of gay men and women from the military took a large toll, and then as in more recent years, African American women were more likely to be identified as "homosexual."[112] Several bases performed witch hunts, resulting in people being forced to name other names, and a string of interconnected discharges, including at Keesler Air Force base in Biloxi, Mississippi; Lackland Air Force base in San Antonio, Texas; and Wright-Patterson Air Force Base near Dayton, Ohio. Private industry was inspired by this government action—perhaps 20 percent of the labor force were forced to undergo loyalty security clearances.[113]

---

[109] Reported rates of LGBTQ suicide and suicide attempts vary, but there is no argument that rates among LGBTQ individuals are higher than for their straight peers. Lesbian, gay, and bisexual youth are from two to four times as likely to have attempted suicide as their peers; almost 50 percent of transgender youth have seriously considered taking their own life; up to 25 percent of transgender youth have reported suicide attempts. See "Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender Health: LGBT Youth," Centers for Disease Control and Prevention website, http://www.cdc.gov/lgbthealth/youth.htm; "Facts About Suicide," The Trevor Project website, http://www.thetrevorproject.org/pages/facts-about-suicide.

[110] *Licensed to Kill,* directed by Arthur Dong (DeepFocus Productions, Inc., 1997)

[111] D'Emilio, *Sexual Politics,* 43; Anthony Summers, *Official and Confidential: The Secret Life of J. Edgar Hoover* (New York: Putnam Publishing, 2003); Albin Krebs, "Roy Cohn, Aide to McCarthy and Fiery Lawyer, Dies at 59," *New York Times,* August 3, 1986, https://partners.nytimes.com/library/national/science/aids/080386sci-aids.html. The Dr. Franklin E. Kameny Residence in the northwest of Washington, DC, was listed on the NRHP on November 2, 2011. Barbara Gittings was instrumental in organizing the Annual Reminders, picket lines from 1965 through 1969 at Independence Hall, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania to inform others that LGBTQ people did not share the same civil rights protections as other American citizens. Independence Hall is part of Independence National Historical Park, designated an NHL on October 15, 1966. Both Gittings and Kameny are buried in the "gay corner" of Congressional Cemetery, 1801 E Street SE, Washington, DC. The cemetery was listed on the NRHP on June 23, 1969 and designated an NHL on June 14, 2011. A Philadelphia state marker was recently approved for the location associated with the home that

This widespread labeling of homosexuals as menaces, perverts, psychopaths, and national security risks, with articles and rumors planted by the FBI and circulated in the popular press, set the tone for the 1950s.[114] Across the country, local police forces harassed and cracked down—often brutally—on LGBTQ communities. The crackdowns and raids often seemed unpredictable. While in public, men and women were arrested in bars and men arrested while in cruising areas, people were not immune from police harassment and vice squads raiding and arresting them in their own homes.[115] This societal pressure and condemnation seeped into the psyche of homosexuals of this era, and caused many to internalize the homophobia. "Whether seen from the vantage point of religion, medicine, or the law, the homosexual or lesbian was a flawed

---

Barbara Gittings and her partner Kay Lahusen lived in during the 1960s, at Twenty-First and Locust Streets, Philadelphia.

[112] Until the abolition of the Pentagon's policy of "don't ask, don't tell, don't pursue," African Americans were disproportionately punished, "even if they are not gay or lesbian, apparently there are cases where men have accused women who refuse unwanted sexual advances of being lesbians, or because the women are successful and some men do not want to serve under them." See Jamilah King, "Black Women Win in Repeal of 'Don't Ask, Don't Tell': Studies show that soldiers of color were disproportionately impacted by the policy," *Colorlines*, December 22, 2010, https://www.colorlines.com/articles/black-women-win-repeal-dont-ask-dont-tell.

[113] D'Emilio, *Sexual Politics,* 45-46.

[114] Estelle B. Freedman, "'Uncontrolled Desires': The Response to the Sexual Psychopath, 1920-1960," *Journal of American History* 74, no. 1 (June 1987).

[115] D'Emilio, *Sexual Politics,* 49. Betty K's (now demolished), a gay bar at Seventeenth and Central in Indianapolis, Indiana was commonly raided by police in the mid-1960s for men dancing with other men. On September 8, 1954, Tommy's Place at 529 Broadway Street, San Francisco, California was the site of the first police raid on a lesbian bar in San Francisco; the Twenty-Second Street Beach in Miami, Florida was the site of several raids in the 1950s, including two high-profile ones in 1954 and 1956 (see Capó, this volume).

individual, not a victim of injustice. For many, the gay world was reduced to a setting where they shared an affliction."[116]

This gay world was permeable, and with that permeability came risk: when found out, people risked violence, blackmail, and loss of job and family. For some men, anonymous sex was an answer, disconnecting desire from the possibility of a sustained relationship. Paid sex with hustlers, known as "trade" seemed preferable to the social stigma and police harassment. Getting caught meant scandal, and several high-profile sex scandals targeted gays (and in some cases, lesbians).

One of the worst scandals arose in Boise, Idaho in 1955, after an arrest of three men escalated quickly to include more than one hundred men and teen boys alleged to be part of a sex ring. Fifteen men were eventually sentenced in the case, including for sex with another consenting adult, some with life sentences.[118] In Florida, there was a campaign against homosexuals in the teaching profession, led by Senator Charley E. Johns. Officially the Florida Legislative Investigation Committee, the body which worked to remove LGBTQ teachers from the profession from 1956-1965 was nicknamed the Johns Committee. Dozens of professors and students at

Figure 9: James Baldwin, Marlon Brando, and Charlton Heston at the Civil Rights March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom, August 1963. Photo by the US Information Agency, Press and Publications Service.[117]

---

[116] D'Emilio, *Sexual Politics,* 53.

[117] License: Public Domain. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Heston_Baldwin_Brando_Civil_Rights_March_1963.jpg

[118] John Gerassi, *The Boys of Boise: Furor, Vice and Folly in an American City* (New York: MacMillan, 1966). The Boise YMCA is located at Tenth and Grove, Boise, Idaho.

public universities were caught up in the witch hunt, one of many "Lavender Scare" attacks of the era.[119]

FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover was among the most public enemies of homosexuals during his time at the agency. His agents investigated organizations and individuals, and declassified FBI files can provide great insight into the pre-Stonewall homosexual world. One of Hoover's high-profile targets was African American gay author James Baldwin, especially after his 1962 and 1963 books, *Another Country* and *The Fire Next Time* and his attendance at the 1963 March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom (Figure 9).[120] "The bureau was never so obviously fixated on Baldwin's sexual tastes as when it undertook to determine whether or not *Another Country*'s homoeroticism and scenes of interracial sex transgressed general obscenity laws." "Isn't Baldwin a well-known pervert?" Hoover wrote in one memo.[121]

Liberation

The fledgling homosexual movement of the 1950s and 1960s, sometimes called the homophile movement, may have been relatively small, with activist Barbara Gittings putting the number at "scarcely 200" people across the entire country, but it was mighty. People banded together for safety and companionship, as well as to agitate and fight for their rights to same-sex desire, intimacy, and relationships.[122] Harry Hay sparked the formation of the Mattachine Society in 1950 in Los Angeles, which led soon to ONE, Inc. in San Francisco.[123] In 1955 in San Francisco, Del Martin and Phyllis Lyons joined with other lesbian couples in launching the Daughters of Bilitis, a lesbian group.[124] Their publication, *The Ladder*, was distributed nationally in a brown paper envelope.

---

[119] James A. Schnur, "Closet Crusaders: The Johns Committee and Homophobia, 1956-1965," in *Carryin' on in the Lesbian and Gay South,* ed. John Howard (New York: New York University Press, 1997), 132-163; Karen Graves, *And They Were Wonderful Teachers: Florida's Purge of Gay and Lesbian Teachers* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2009). For a broader discussion of the Lavender Scare, see David K. Johnson, *The Lavender Scare: The Cold War Persecution of Gays and Lesbians in the Federal Government* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004).

[120] James Baldwin, *Another Country* (New York: Dial Press, 1962); James Baldwin, *The Fire Next Time* (New York: Dial Press, 1963).

[121] Wallace, *Constructing the Black Masculine*, 138. Baldwin wrote *Another Country* while living in an apartment in New York City's Greenwich Village. He lived in the apartment from about 1957 through about 1963. The Greenwich Village Historic District was added to the NRHP on June 19, 1979.

[122] Tracy Baim, *Barbara Gittings: Gay Pioneer* (Chicago: Prairie Avenue Productions, 2015), 47.

While many of the people who participated in these new groups were there for safety and social reasons, some wanted to fight back against police harassment, bias from the medical and psychiatric professions, and discrimination in military and federal employment.[125] There were protests against police harassment in 1959 at Cooper's Donuts in Los Angeles,[126] at the Dewey's Lunch Counter in 1965 in Philadelphia for its treatment of young queers,[127] and in 1966 at Compton's Cafeteria in San Francisco[128] after police tried to arrest transgender women, most of them women of color, because they were listed as "male" on their identification. In Philadelphia, Annual Reminder Days (also known as Fourth of July demonstrations) took place every July 4 at Independence Hall from 1965 to 1969, the last one just days after the Stonewall rebellion in New York City.[129]

---

[123] Stuart Timmons, *The Trouble with Harry Hay: Founder of the Modern Gay Movement* (Boston: Alyson, 1990). Harry Hay is associated with several locations, including the Sri Ram Ashram Ranch outside Benson, Arizona where the first gathering of the Radical Faeries—of which Hay was a founder—took place in 1979. Hay was a founder of the Mattachine Society, which was founded and held early meetings in Hay's homes in the Hollywood Hills and Silver Lake neighborhoods of Los Angeles. In a stormy meeting of the Mattachine Society in 1953 at the First Universalist Church, at the corner of West Eighth Street and Crenshaw Boulevard, Los Angeles, California, Harry Hay and other "radicals" were removed from the leadership of the society, changing the course of the organization.

[124] Marcia M. Gallo, *Different Daughters: A History of the Daughters of Bilitis and the Rise of the Lesbian Rights Movement* (Emeryville, CA: Seal Press, 2007). In May 1960, the Daughters of Bilitis (DOB) hosted the world's first conference on lesbians at the Hotel Whitcomb, 1231 Market Street, San Francisco, California. The Mattachine Society and the DOB both had offices from the 1950s through the 1960s in the Williams Building, 693 Mission Street, San Francisco, California. The longest-running chapter of the DOB ran from 1969 to 1999; they had their offices at the Old Cambridge Baptist Church, 1151 Massachusetts Avenue, Cambridge, Massachusetts (listed on the NRHP on April 13, 1982). Phyllis Lyon and Del Martin lived together at their home in the Noe Valley neighborhood of San Francisco.

[125] The Dr. Franklin E. Kameny Residence in the northwest of Washington, DC, was listed on the NRHP on November 2, 2011.

[126] Lillian Faderman and Stuart Timmons, *Gay L.A.: A History of Sexual Outlaws, Power Politics, and Lipstick Lesbians* (New York: Basic Books, 2006), 1. Cooper's Donuts was located between 527 and 555 South Main Street, Los Angeles, California. Novelist John Rechy witnessed the Cooper's Donuts riot; he went on to write *City of Night*, which broke many literary inhibitions about portraying the lives of gay hustlers. John Rechy's home is in El Paso, Texas.

[127] Marc Stein, *City of Sisterly and Brotherly Loves: Lesbian and Gay Philadelphia, 1945-1972* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000), 245-246; Marc Stein, "The First Gay Sit-in Happened 40 Years Ago," *History News Network,* May 9, 2005, accessed April 15, 2016, http://historynewsnetwork.org/article/11652. Dewey's was located at 219 South Seventeenth Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

[128] Susan Stryker, *Transgender History* (Berkeley, CA: Seal, 2008); *Screaming Queens: The Riot at Compton's Cafeteria,* directed by Victor Silverman and Susan Stryker (San Francisco: Frameline, 2005).

The activists responsible for these public pushbacks against authority ranged from ragtag youth and transgender individuals to more conservative, slightly older gay men and lesbians, as well as concerned clergy. Some of the pioneers of this era that are remembered today include Frank Kameny, Barbara Gittings and her longtime partner Kay Lahusen, Reverend Troy Perry, Ada Bello, William B. Kelley, Randy Wicker, José Sarria, Sylvia Rivera, and Marsha P. Johnson.[130]

The Burning Cauldron

The post-Stonewall movement witnessed a splintering of organizations inspired by the passions, priorities, and politics of their members. Sexuality and freedom from gender roles were common denominators of the early "lavender liberation" movement, but those could only loosely hold things together. There were many divisions along axes of race, class, gender, religion, and geography. Bisexuals have been ostracized from the community, and the transgender leadership was disrespected and ignored; Sylvia Rivera, who was at the Stonewall riot, was not allowed to speak at the first "gay pride" gathering in 1970, organized to mark the event. Men and women faced massive schisms, with women believing—often unfairly—that gay men were only involved to find their next sexual conquest. And while some wanted to rely on a "born this way" genetic disposition to sexuality, others saw freedom of sexual expression, gender identity, and household composition as an empowering spectrum of choices. Nature vs. nurture arguments continue to be debated today.[131]

---

[129] Stein, *City of Sisterly and Brotherly Loves*; Martin Duberman, *Stonewall* (New York: Dutton, 1993), 113. Independence Hall is part of Independence National Historical Park, designated an NHL on October 15, 1966. Stonewall was listed on the NRHP on June 28, 1999 and designated an NHL on February 16, 2000.

[130] Places associated with these individuals include homes, places of protest, places of worship, places of activism and organization, and places of violence. Those not mentioned elsewhere in this chapter include: Ada Bellow, who was born in Cuba and immigrated to the United States, becoming active in LGBTQ rights in Philadelphia, including participation in the Annual Reminders at Independence Hall; William B. Kelley was a Chicago attorney active in LGBTQ rights from the late 1960s until his death in 2015; Randy Wicker, an activist since the late 1950s in Austin, Texas and New York City; José Sarria, a drag entertainer who used the Black Cat Club, 710 Montgomery Street, San Francisco, California as a home base for his act and for his 1961 campaign for the San Francisco Board of Supervisors—the first gay person to run for public office; Sylvia Rivera and Marsha P. Johnson were transgender women of color and active gay rights pioneers in New York City. As founders of the Street Transvestite Action Revolutionaries, they hustled on the streets so they could pay rent for an apartment where young queers could stay safely without having to turn their own tricks. Sylvia Rivera was at Stonewall in 1969. The body of Marsha P. Johnson was recovered from the Hudson River off Pier 45 in the 1990s. From at least the 1970s, Pier 45 has been a meeting place and refuge for members of New York City's African American ballroom community.

Many new people were taking charge, in some cases shunning the older movement pioneers in favor of new ideas. Some wanted a single-issue focus on "gay rights," while others wanted multi-issue organizations to align with other causes. Black lesbian poet and activist Audre Lorde responded, "There is no such thing as a single-issue struggle, because we do not live single-issue lives."[132]

Gay capitalism also flourished, as hundreds of new organizations, publications, businesses, and bars for gay people and owned by gay people (rather than heterosexual and/or Mafia owners) opened. Bar ownership in California and other states, marked a fundamental shift in law. Liquor licenses were at risk if regulators deemed an establishment a "homosexual hangout." The Tavern Guild, founded in San Francisco in the early 1960s, fought the state alcohol control board in court for the right of gays and lesbians to patronize bars and other establishments that served liquor. Another kind of battle occurred in Washington, DC, where alcohol could only be served in restaurants. To discourage people from "soliciting"—which the District's liquor board considered unseemly—Pier Nine installed phones at every table so that patrons could call one another without violating the liquor laws that prevented people from standing or walking with a drink.[133]

---

[131] Tracy Baim, "In Defense of Cynthia Nixon: Why 'Born This Way' Doesn't Matter," *Huffpost Queer Voices*, January 23, 2012, http://www.huffingtonpost.com/tracy-baim/cynthia-nixon-choice_b_1224241.html.

[132] Audre Lorde, "Learning from the 60s," in *Sister Outsider: Essays & Speeches by Audre Lorde* (Berkeley, CA: Crossing Press, 2007), 138.

The women's movement, in which lesbian-feminists were prominent in the 1970s, was ripped open in the last year of that decade by the "sex wars." Activists split over the causes of violence against women. Led by Andrea Dworkin (who called herself a "political lesbian") and law professor Catherine McKinnon (who did not disclose her sexual identity) a vocal group of feminists denounced rape and pornography. Other feminists agreed that rape, domestic violence, and sexual harassment were some of the tools patriarchy used to instill fear in all women, but thought that sex could be a source for women's liberation, as long as it was self-determined. [134] Lesbians were front and center for a lot of these battles, on both sides of the debate.

The schism between pro-sex, anticensorship activists and more hardline lesbian feminists created animosities that still divide the movement. It also put some antipornography feminists in alliance with right-wing antifeminists. US Attorney General Edwin Meese, as ordered by President Ronald Reagan, created a commission on pornography that traveled the country seeking testimony on the topic, and eventually released a 1,960-page report in 1986.[135]

With all this newfound and radical sexuality, many lesbians, bisexual women, and transgender people turned to "sexperts" for advice, including Susie "Sexpert" Bright and Pat Califia. Califia, who now identifies as a bisexual transgender man, started first as a writer of lesbian sex advice, and later explored more boundaries of sex, including gender identity, BDSM, and more. Bright, meanwhile, considers herself a "sex-positive feminist," writing numerous columns and books on sexuality. In 1984, Bright began working at *On Our Backs*, the first women-produced sex magazine, a takeoff on the more political *off our backs* feminist publication. Shortly thereafter, she became the editor.[136]

---

[133] *Gay DC Walking Tours: S. Capitol Street* (Washington, DC: Rainbow History Project, 2003), www.rainbowhistory.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/02/socapst-web.pdf. Pier Nine (now demolished) was located at 1824 Half Street SW, Washington, DC.

[134] Andrea Dworkin, *Life and Death* (New York: Free Press, 1997), 71; Ellen Willis, "Lust Horizons: Is the Women's Movement Pro-Sex?" originally published in 1981, reprinted in Ellen Willis, *No More Nice Girls: Countercultural Essays* (Hanover: University Press of New England, 1992).

[135] Henry E. Hudson et al., *Attorney General's Commission on Pornography, Final Report* (Washington, DC: United States Government Printing Office, 1986).

These experts were necessary because the traditional advice columnists in mainstream newspapers were still quite biased against homosexuals and gender nonconformists, even though the American Psychiatric Association had removed homosexuality from its list of mental diseases in 1974.[137] The LGBTQ community often wrote letters to the editor and picketed advice columnist "Dear Abby" (Abigail Van Buren) because of her antigay views; her real life twin, Ann Landers—also an advice columnist—changed her views sooner. This was long before the in-your-face columns of Dan Savage, an openly gay man, were run in mainstream publications, giving advice not just to gay men, but to all readers, all kinks, fetishes, and types of sexuality.

The need to know more about their own sexuality and bodies also led to a groundbreaking book, 1971's *Our Bodies, Our Selves*, and in 2014, *Trans Bodies, Trans Selves*. 1977's *The Joy of Gay Sex*, by Dr. Charles Silverstein and Edmund White, a critical early book for men learning about their true selves, and later *The Joy of Lesbian Sex*, by Emily L. Sisley and Bertha Harris and *What Color is Your Handkerchief: A Lesbian S/M Sexuality Reader* by Samois added to the dialogue. *Loving Someone Gay*, by Don Clark, first published in 1977, also was a helpful guide to those outside the LGBTQ community.[138]

---

[136] Tracy Baim, "Gay Newspapers, An Overview," in *Gay Press, Gay Power: The Growth of LGBT Community Newspapers in America*, ed. Tracy Baim (Chicago: Prairie Avenue Books, 2012), 103; Melinda Chateauvert, *Sex Workers Unite! A History of the Movement from Stonewall to SlutWalk* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2014), 184-190; Susie Bright, "A Brief History of On Our Backs, 1984-1991," *Susie Bright's Journal* (blog), November 15, 2011, http://susiebright.blogs.com/susie_brights_journal_/2011/11/a-brief-history-of-on-our-backs-1984-1991.html.

[137] Tracy Baim, ed., *Gay Press, Gay Power: The Growth of LGBT Community Newspapers in America* (Chicago: Prairie Avenue Books, 2012).

[138] Boston Women's Health Course Collective, *Our Bodies, Our Selves: A Course By and For Women* (Boston: New England Free Press, 1971); Laura Erickson-Schroth, *Trans Bodies, Trans Selves: A Resource for the Transgender Community* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014); Charles

This was a community growing in large numbers, and people needed a roadmap in trying to understand who they were. They were looking for nonjudgmental advice from people who lived similar lives, and in the 1970s, they finally found it. This can't be underestimated in its power to build self-esteem and healthier lives. Just as the Kinsey reports had educated a previous generation of Americans, these 1970s and 1980s publications provided the breadcrumbs critical in the pre-Internet age. Libraries were not always safe, movies were often biased, but publications by LGBTQ people about LGBTQ people were a lifeline.

Additional schisms have occurred in the LGBTQ movement along gender identity lines. There were high-profile battles between feminists and transgender activists in New York City in the early 1970s, and a decades-long battle with the definition of women and who could attend the Michigan Womyn's Music Festival.[139] While the transgender movement is enjoying an unparalleled visibility and acceptance in this century, there is still a lot of education to do within the lesbian, gay, bisexual, and feminist communities about issues of gender identity and transgender equality.

Lesbians, gays, bisexuals, queer, and transgender people are found in all ethnic and social groups. The forced segregation by race in the United States has meant that society's discrimination filtered down to the ways LGBTQ people interacted over generations. Many white gays did cross color lines to go to "black and tan" and other clubs catering to the primarily black community, but most gay bars were as racially segregated

---

Silverstein and Edmund White, *The Joy of Gay Sex: An Intimate Guide for Gay Men to the Pleasures of a Gay Lifestyle* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1977); Emily L. Sisley and Bertha Harris, *The Joy of Lesbian Sex: A Tender and Liberated Guide to the Pleasures and Problems of a Lesbian Lifestyle* (New York: Crown Publishers, 1977); Samois, *What Color is Your Handkerchief: A Lesbian S/M Sexuality Reader* (Berkeley, CA: Samois, 1979); Donald H. Clark, *Loving Someone Gay* (Millbrae, CA: Celestial Arts, 1977).

[139] The Michigan Womyn's Music Festival (Michfest) was founded in 1976. In 1982, they moved to a 650-acre site near Hart, Michigan. The summer of 2015 was the last Michfest. Camp Trans was a response of transgender women to their exclusion from the festival; it was set up outside the festival from approximately 2006 through 2011.

as straight ones.[140] Segregation has been enforced through "tradition" of who goes to what bars, but also through discriminatory identification policies.[141] The Circus Disco in Los Angeles, opened in the 1970s, was one of the few bars that openly welcomed white, Latino, and African American patrons.[142]

Before the Internet, phone apps, and personal ads, how did LGBTQ people meet in safe environments? Gay men, with more personal freedom and more leeway to occupy public spaces, have always had a wider set of options. There were visual clues that could be read in a glance on the streets including certain kinds of clothing and colored accessories. These accessories, like color-coded bandanas, could be used to distinguish "those in the know" from police who were trying to entrap bar patrons into agreeing to illegal sex, as well as indicating at a glance someone's interests.

While a lot of cruising happened on the streets and in cars (the direction the car was parked was one way to indicate sexual preference), gay bars were a major place where people met for sex or to find love. Pre-Stonewall, many gay bars were owned by the Mafia, which paid protection money to avoid police raids. With laws against homosexuals gathering, dancing, and even people wearing clothing "not appropriate" to their gender, bars needed protection. But payoffs did not guarantee anything, and gay bars across the country experienced raids throughout the decades prior to Stonewall, and many LGBTQ establishments continued to be harassed and scrutinized by local police.

---

[140] Jewel's Catch One at 4067 West Pico Boulevard, Los Angeles, California was the nation's first black gay and lesbian disco. Opened in 1972/73, when it closed in 2015 it was the last black-owned LGBTQ club in Los Angeles. Nob Hill, 1101 Kenyon Street NW, Washington, DC, opened in 1953. When it closed in 2004, it was the oldest African American gay bar in the country. It served as an organizing center for DC's black gay community as well as a popular drag performance venue. Esta Noche, 2079 Sixteenth Street, San Francisco, California opened in 1981. A predominantly Latino bar in San Francisco's Mission neighborhood, it may have been the first of its kind. They closed in 2014. El Faro, the first Latino gay and lesbian club in the Adams Morgan neighborhood of Washington, DC, at 2411 Eighteenth Street NW, was a popular venue that was also the focus of homophobic attacks, including the murder of lesbian Ana Marie Morales in 1993. The bar closed in 1995.

[141] The Lost and Found at 56 L Street SE, Washington, DC, was opened in 1971. Almost immediately they were picketed by the newly formed Committee for Open Gay Bars because of their identification policies designed to keep out African Americans, women, and people in drag. The bar closed in 1990. In 1984, members of Black and White Men Together, an interracial group for gay men, sued the owner of The Torch (opened in 1983 at 411 East Thirty-Second Street, Baltimore, Maryland) and another bar for racial discrimination. African American patrons were asked for multiple pieces of identification to enter the bar, while white patrons received less scrutiny. Black and White Men Together won the suit.

[142] The Circus Disco was located at 6655 Santa Monica Boulevard, Los Angeles, California.

Gay bars were as diverse as straight bars. Some featured drag, others were seedy corner bars with covered windows, some were pool halls, some had back rooms for sex, and some were lesbian butch/femme haunts. In the 1970s and 1980s there were big discos with high-energy patrons, and in the 1990s, circuit parties were popular. As the visible LGBTQ community grew much larger post-Stonewall, separation within the community meant a new kind of self-segregation was possible. The National Association of Black and White Men Together, Asians and Friends-Chicago, the Radical Fairies, Adodi African-American men's retreats, groups for "chubby chasers," the International Mr. Leather contest founded by Chuck Renslow and Dom Orejudos, the Miss Continental Contest founded by Jim Flint, and various "bear" and other communities have thrived. For lesbians, bars were key for a portion of the population, but there were also women's music festivals and later women's boat cruises, protest marches, plus sports, and especially parties in private homes. The transgender community was welcome in certain gay bars, but not all, so transgender-specific organizations formed, and there were separations within that community along various divisions, including cross-dressers, drag queens, transsexuals, male-to-female, female-to-male, gender nonconforming, femmes, butches, masculine-of-center, and more. The disabled rights community pushed for acceptance, with organizations, art, and literature, including groups and services for the hearing impaired and blind.

Another place where LGBTQ people of all kinds could feel free, in both the pre- and post-Stonewall eras, was resort communities, places colonized to be free away from the prying eyes of family and colleagues back home. These places include Cherry Grove on Fire Island, New York; Key West, Florida; Provincetown, Massachusetts; San Francisco and Guerneville, California; Saugatuck, Michigan; and Rehoboth Beach, Delaware (Figure 10). Some pioneering LGBTQ people even established their own communes.

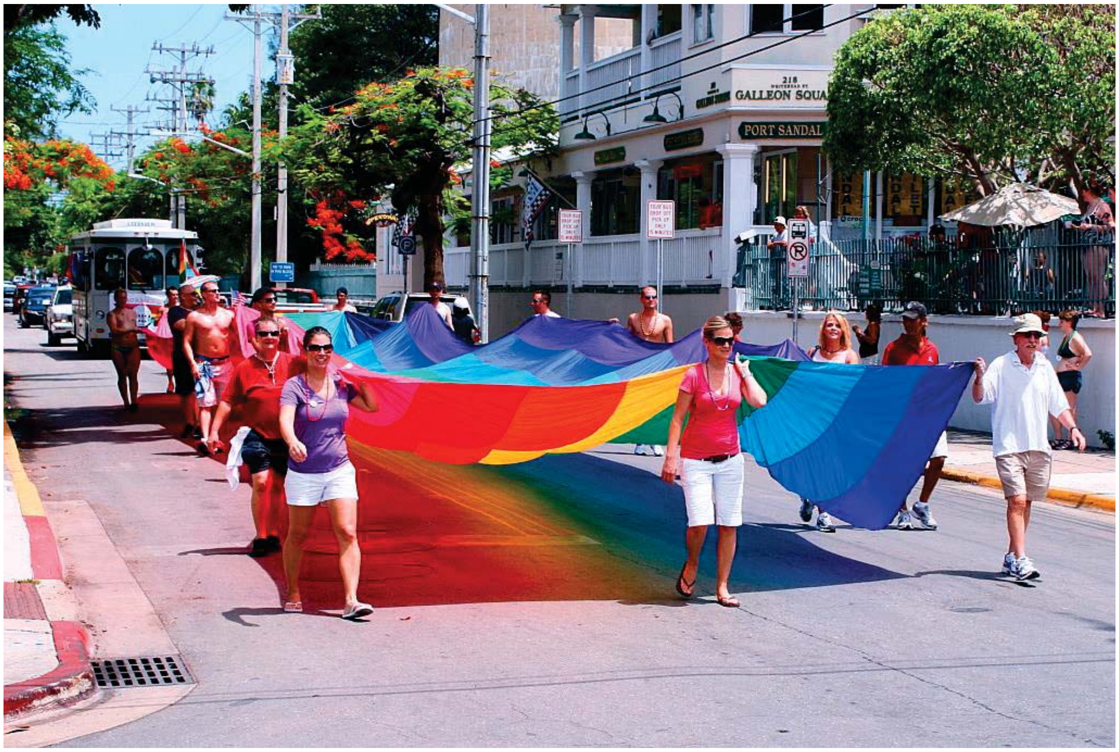


Figure 10: PrideFest, Key West, Florida. Photo by Chuck Coker, 2010.[143]

Though some claim that lesbian communities are too poor to support women-owned businesses, there were towns where some lesbians lived almost separately from men, even gay men. From the 1970s through at least the late 1980s, Iowa City, Iowa was one such place. With publications such as the nationally distributed "*Ain't I A Woman?*", "*Better Homes & Dykes*" (a play on the other Iowa-produced magazine), and *Common Lives/Lesbian Lives*, lesbians established a national voice in lesbian politics. The Iowa City Women's Press, run as a lesbian collective, had its own series of publications, including manuals on carpentry and auto repair for women; it also printed books for Naiad Press.[144] Naiad was known mainly for its dozens of modern "pulp" lesbian fiction, but also for Pat Califia's early controversial and explicit 1980 book *Sapphistry: The*

---

[143] License: CCBY-ND 2.0. https://www.flickr.com/photos/caveman_92223/4701107607

[144] Iowa City Women's Press, the publications collective of the Women's Liberation Front, operated out of what is now a private residence on South Gilbert Street, Iowa City, Iowa.

Book of Lesbian Sexuality.[145] From 1977 to 1981, the Gilbert Street building also housed the feminist bookstore, Plainswoman Books, and in 1978, after Grace & Rubies closed, a Womyn's Coffeehouse.[146] Iowa City had three lesbian softball teams, of varying talents, one sponsored by the Women's Resource and Action Center and another by the Emma Goldman Clinic for Women (one of the first abortion clinics to open after Roe v. Wade). Three annual potluck picnics at Brown Street Park, open to the community, monthly lesbian dances at the Wesley Church, too many political campaigns to count, and other events created an entire lesbian world, for a brief while.

In his 1978 book *Faggots*, Larry Kramer wrote about the sex orgies and cruising of those pre-AIDS years on the beaches outside New York City. His satire is ruthless, and in hindsight, many have viewed his book as a warning for the coming plague. "There are now 53,492 faggots on the Fire Island Pines-Cherry Groves axis." Most will end up at The Meat Rack: "Not everyone was into leather. Jeans and work boots. T-shirts tucked into jeans' back pockets. Skin. Flesh....Everyone and everything ready."[148]

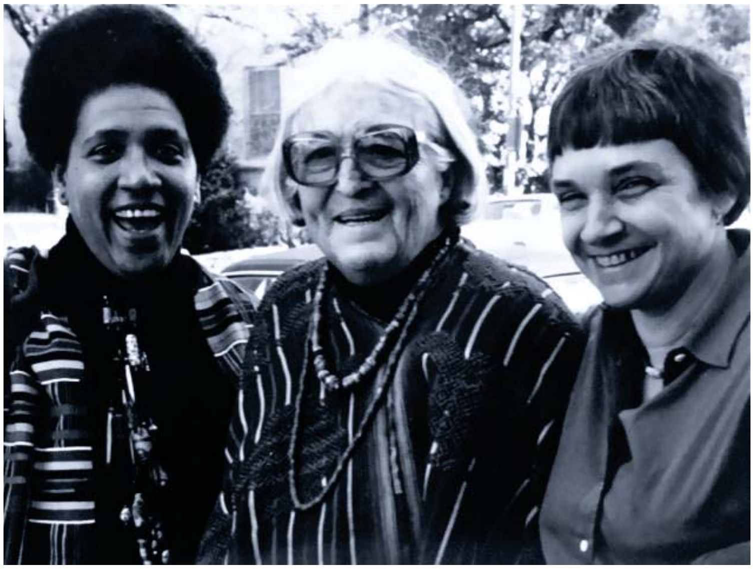


Figure 11: Authors (L to R) Audre Lorde, Meridel Le Sueur, and Adrienne Rich at a writing workshop in Austin, Texas, 1980. Photo by K. Kendall.[147]

---

[145] See Kayann Short, "Feminism Pressed, Practiced, and Preserved," October 2013, Boyer Lecture, Center for Women's Studies and Gender Research, Colorado State University, http://lib.colostate.edu/archives/feminist/boyerlecture.pdf.

[146] Grace & Rubies was a woman-owned social space that operated from 1976 to 1978 at 209 North Linn Street, Iowa City, Iowa.

[147] License: CC BY 2.0. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Audre_Lorde,_Meridel_Lesueur,_Adrienne_Rich_1980_%28820298895%29.jpg

[148] Larry Kramer, *Faggots* (New York: Random House, 1978), 323. Reissued by Grove Press in 2000.

Meanwhile Audre Lorde and a generation of lesbian writers were also telling their truths through poetry and fiction (Figure 11). Lorde "celebrates lesbian love, and specifically lesbian eroticism, in her influential essay 'The Uses of the Erotic,'" writes Lillian Faderman in *Chloe Plus Olivia*. She sees lesbian sexuality "as a source of great potential power for women."[149]

A Plague Among Us

Given the newfound freedom of sexuality that was pervasive in the 1970s among many people, not just gay men, when a disease struck in the early 1980s that seemed to be targeting one group based on their "lifestyle," many did not want to believe it was happening. There was so little medical or scientific evidence in the beginning, it was easy to bury one's head in the sand and continue to push against constraints that had long been conquered. In the early 1980s, there were few people willing to confront the gay status quo, and those who did, like Kramer, were often ostracized by their own community.[150] Because the Centers for Disease Control identified gay men as the population most affected by HIV, many of the classifications and descriptions of symptoms for AIDS-defining illnesses were geared towards men. As a result, women went largely undiagnosed. "Women didn't get AIDS," said Barb Cardell, Chair of the Positive Women's Network, "they just died from it."[151]

What started as a few dozen diagnosed cases of what became known as HIV/AIDS in the early 1980s soon became tens of thousands and then millions of people around the globe. Because the medical establishment tied the disease to the sexual "lifestyle" of gay and bisexual men in the

---

[149] Lillian Faderman, *Chloe Plus Olivia: An Anthology of Lesbian Literature from the 17th Century to the Present* (New York: Viking/Penguin, 1994), 560. Audre Lorde, *Uses of the Erotic: The Erotic as Power* (Brooklyn, NY: Out & Out Books, 1978); republished and more easily available in Audre Lorde, *Sister Outsider: Essays and Speeches* (Trumansburg, NY: Crossing Press, 1984). From 1972 through 1987, Audre Lorde lived on Staten Island, New York with her partner, Frances Clayton.

[150] Tracy Baim, "AIDS: The Angry 'Heart' of Larry Kramer," *Windy City Times*, May 25, 2011, http://www.windycitymediagroup.com/gay/lesbian/news/ARTICLE.php?AID=31922.

[151] Kira Gressman and Noah Selzler, "The Evolution of HIV Stigma: An Interview with Barb Cardell, Positive Women's Network," Atlas: Boulder County AIDS Project website, August 8, 2013, http://atlas.bcap.org/evolution-hiv-stigma-interview-barb-cardell-positive-womens-network-2.

United States, it took much longer for the political and medical communities to treat it seriously.

The equating of sex with death caused great trauma in the gay community. There were fights over what safe sex was and what safer sex was. Battles raged over use of condoms and educational materials about HIV/AIDS were censored because they were deemed pornographic. A major debate divided cities like San Francisco and New York over whether to close the bathhouses for health reasons. Some argued that the sex would occur regardless, and having safer-sex information and condoms available at the bathhouses would prevent the spread of the disease. The baths were closed down in San Francisco and in New York City, while other cities allowed the baths to remain open.[152] People in the 1980s were sometimes dead within days or weeks of diagnosis. Some were shunned as lepers within their own community. Even in death, there was discrimination: early in the epidemic, many churches and funeral homes refused their services to those who died of AIDS-related complications.[153]

But mostly, the gay, lesbian, bisexual, and transgender communities responded by helping their own—not just by fighting back through ACT UP and other groups, but by providing services, delivering food, walking dogs, and helping people pay rent and funeral costs. When families of origin were ignoring their sons and daughters, the LGBTQ community stepped forward to help people with HIV, whether they were gay, bisexual, injection drug users, hemophiliacs, Haitians, or straight women. The LGBTQ community created a new template for how to fight a plague—with public pressure and private help.[154]

---

[152] Man's Country Bathhouse, 5017 North Clark Street, Chicago, Illinois, was one of the bathhouses that stayed open through the AIDS epidemic, providing safer sex information and HIV testing to community members. The Mount Morris bathhouse in Harlem likewise escaped being shut down by authorities.

[153] The Arthur J. Sullivan Funeral Home, 2254 Market Street, San Francisco, California, was one of the few funeral homes at the beginning of the epidemic that would take in bodies of those who died from AIDS.

[154] San Francisco General Hospital, 1001 Potrero Avenue, San Francisco, California had the first hospital units (Ward 5A or 5B) in the world dedicated to the treatment of AIDS; theirs became the international model for AIDS care. Brewer's Hotel, 3315 Liberty Avenue, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania

In the United States, the African American gay and bisexual male and transgender female communities have been disproportionately affected by HIV and AIDS. Charles I. Nero, writing in a 1992 new edition of the late poet Essex Hemphill's *Ceremonies*, pointed to this devastation: "The silence about the extent to which AIDS has wreaked havoc on black communities calls to mind another holocaust in our history—the Middle Passage," where tens of millions of Africans suffered during the Atlantic slave trade.[155] In an eloquent poem for fallen gay writer Joseph Beam, "When My Brother Fell," Hemphill writes: "When my brother fell / I picked up his weapons / and never once questioned / whether I could carry / the weight and grief / the responsibility he shouldered."[156]

The ravages and stigma of HIV/AIDS made it important for LGBTQ people to establish and build on their own families of choice. Legal contracts helped some avoid losses of home and possessions when a partner died, but the courts were often homophobic in rulings when it came to relationships. A high-profile case in Minnesota spurred a movement for more formal recognition of relationships, this time in the case of lesbian couple, Karen Thompson and Sharon Kowalski. Kowalski was severely disabled when her car was struck by a drunk driver in 1983, and her family fought Thompson for custody and won in lower courts. Kowalski's family prevented Thompson from visiting her. It took eight years of court battles following the car accident for Kowalski and Thompson to be reunited. During that time, Thompson toured the country warning people to get their legal paperwork in order, because without marriage, same-sex partners would continue to be treated unevenly in the

---

served as an unofficial AIDS hospice in the 1980s and 1990s. Popular with gays who wanted to keep drinking after the dance clubs closed. As people lost their housing because of discrimination against those with HIV/AIDS, the Brewer's Hotel opened their rooms to the sick so they could die with dignity and not on the street. Local nurses volunteered their time to visit the sick. For more information on AIDS/HIV, see Batza (this volume).

[155] Essex Hemphill, *Ceremonies: Prose and Poetry* (San Francisco: Cleis Press, 2000), xiii-xv.

[156] Hemphill, *Ceremonies*, 35.

court system.[157] This was a lesson for many of the people living with HIV/AIDS as well.

As certain LGBTQ communities gained more political clout, hate-crime cases received more mainstream media coverage. These also called attention to the relationships same-gender couples had, putting a face to the community. In one murder, two women were stalked while hiking, and in a hail of bullets, Rebecca Wight was killed, while her injured partner, Claudia Brenner, survived and went for help.[158] Their case, like the later murders of gender nonconforming Brandon Teena, college student Matthew Shepard, and the murders of many transgender people, especially transgender women of color in subsequent years showed America the darker side of bias and hate, sparking a broader conversation about hate crimes and anti-LGBTQ violence. Almost two dozen transgender people, predominantly transgender women of color, were murdered in 2015—more than in any other year.[159] In response, the Congressional

---

[157] Karen Thompson and Julie Andrzejewski, *Why Can't Sharon Kowalski Come Home?* (San Francisco: Spinsters/Aunt Lute, 1988).

[158] Rebecca Wight was of Iranian-Puerto Rican heritage; she met her partner Claudia Brenner while both were students at Virginia Tech. They were hiking the Appalachian Trail in the Michaux State Forest in Pennsylvania when the attack happened in May 1988.

[159] Brandon Teena was murdered in the home he was staying at on Route 105, Humboldt, Nebraska on December 31, 1993. His murder led to the award-winning film, *Boys Don't Cry*. On October 6, 1998, Matthew Shepard was attacked and left to die on a fence at Pilot Peak and Snowy View Roads, just outside Laramie, Wyoming. His death spurred action towards hate crimes legislation. The twenty-three transgender people murdered in the US in 2015 are: Papi Edwards, Louisville, KY, 1/9/15; Lamia Beard, Norfolk, VA, 1/17/15; Ty Underwood, Tyler, TX, 1/26/15; Yazmin Vash Payne, Van Nuys, CA, 1/31/15; Taja DeJesus, San Francisco, CA, 2/3/15; Penny Proud, New Orleans, LA, 2/10/15; Bri Golec, Akron, OH, 2/13/15; Kristina Grant Infiniti, Miami, FL, 2/15/15; Keyshia Blige, Aurora, IL, 3/7/15; Mya Hall, Baltimore, MD, 3/30/15; London Chanel, Philadelphia, PA, 5/18/15; Mercedes Williamson, Rocky Creek, AL, 6/2/15; Ashton O'Hara, Detroit, MI, 7/14/15; India Clarke, Tampa, FL, 7/21/15; KC Haggard, Fresno, CA, 7/23/15; Shade Schuler, Dallas, TX, 7/29/15; Amber Monroe, Detroit, MI, 8/8/15; Kandis Capri, Phoenix, AZ, 8/11/15; Elisha Walker, Johnston County, NC, 8/15/15; Tamara Dominguez, Kansas City, MO, 8/15/15; Kiesha Jenkins, Philadelphia, PA, 10/6/15; and Zella Ziona, Montgomery County, MD, 10/15/15. In 2016, by June 9, an additional eleven transgender people had been murdered in the US: Monica Loera, North Austin, TX, 1/22/16; Jasmine Sierra, Bakersfield, CA, 1/22/16; Kayden Clarke, Mesa, AZ, 2/4/16; Veronica Banks Cano, San Antonio, TX, 2/19/16; Maya Young, Philadelphia, PA, 2/20/16; Demarkis Stansberry, Baton Rouge, LA, 2/27/16; Kedarie/Kandicee Johnson, Burlington, IA, 3/2/16; Kourtney Yochum, Los Angeles, CA, 3/23/16; Shante Thompson, Houston, TX, 4/11/16; Keyonna Blakeney, Rockville, MD, 4/16/16; Reese Walker, Wichita, KS, 5/1/16; Mercedes Successful, Haines City, FL, 5/15/16; and Amos Beede, Burlington, VT, 5/29/16. See Samantha Michaels, "More Transgender People Have Been Killed in 2015 Than Any Other Year on Record," *Mother Jones*, November 20, 2015, accessed April 20, 2016, http://www.motherjones.com/mojo/2015/11/more-transgender-people-have-been-murdered-2015-any-other-year-record; "#SAYHERNAME / Black Lives Matter event, October 17, 2015 @ 2:00 pm – 3:00 pm," Black Lives Matter website, http://blacklivesmatter.com/event/sayhername-

LGBT Equality Caucus formed a nine-member, bipartisan group dedicated to transgender equality. Two of the members, Representative Mike Honda (D-California) and Representative Ileana Ros-Lehtinen (R-Florida) have transgender family members.[160] In June 2016, forty-nine individuals, most of them Latino/a, were murdered in the Orlando, Florida LGBTQ club Pulse. This is the deadliest targeted murder of LGBTQ people after the 1973 UpStairs Lounge fire where thirty-two people died. It is also one of the deadliest instances of mass murder by gunfire in US history.[161]

What Makes a Family?

New definitions of family were formed in the 1970s, with lesbians who had children from heterosexual marriages re-forming new bonds with women and raising their children together. The increased availability of artificial insemination freed up even more women to create families of choice, and a "gayby" boom began in the 1980s. There were some high-profile custody cases where ex-husbands of lesbians, ex-wives of gay men, exes of transgender people, and in some cases even grandparents were given custody over LGBTQ birth parents. In 1974, after losing custody of her own children after coming out as a lesbian, Rosalie Davies created Custody Action for Lesbian Mothers (CALM). The organization provided free legal services to women in danger of losing custody of their children because of their sexuality.[162] Occasionally men would use surrogates or adopt to have children, but because of legal restrictions on co-parent adoptions (meaning that children could not be legally adopted by both

---

black-lives-matter-event; and "List of Unlawfully Killed Transgender People," Wikipedia, last modified on June 9, 2016, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_unlawfully_killed_transgender_people.

[160] Camila Domonoske, "Congressional LGBT Caucus Launches Task Force On Transgender Equality," *The Two-Way: Breaking News from National Public Radio*, November 18, 2015, accessed April 20, 2016, http://www.npr.org/sections/thetwo-way/2015/11/18/456495475/congress-lgbt-caucus-launches-task-force-on-transgender-equality.

[161] Pulse, 1912 South Orange Avenue, Orlando, Florida, was hosting a Latino Night when the attack took place. the UpStairs Lounge was located at 141 Chartres Street, New Orleans, Louisiana.

[162] In 1982, the Oakland Feminist Women's Health Center began to grant open lesbians and single women access to banked and screened sperm. Previously, women had to obtain sperm from other sources; see Katie Batza, "From Sperm Runners to Sperm Banks: Lesbians, Assisted Conception, and the Fertility Industry, 1971-1983," *Journal of Women's History*, forthcoming. Custody Action for Lesbian Mothers operated out of 1425 Walnut Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

parents), the real baby boom didn't occur for gay men until the 2000s when state laws began to change.[163]

Thus, over the years, LGBTQ people have created different types of families: families of choice with no legal definitions through domestic partnerships in the 1990s, civil unions in the late 1990s and early 2000s, and now, as of June 2015, through full marriage equality throughout the United States.[164]

While not all LGBTQ people believe that marriage equality was the right path to LGBTQ civil rights, when same-sex marriage became legal through the country, it affected hundreds of other laws. These laws, which used legal marriage in defining how and when they were to be enforced (or not) included: hospital visitation rights and medical decisions, income tax calculations, inheritance, immigration, health coverage, and employee and federal benefits including pensions, military and veteran benefits, and others.

Before it was legal, people subverted marriage laws to form their families. For example, in order to create a legal bond between them, civil rights activist Bayard Rustin adopted his lover, Walter Nagle, as his son.[165] Religious institutions have been performing same-sex marriages for decades—though they were not recognized by the civil authorities. Reverend Troy Perry, at the time a Pentecostal minister, is said to have performed his first official same-sex marriage in 1968 in his home; he later founded the Metropolitan Community Church.[166] In 1975, a Boulder

---

[163] "Legal Issues for Gay and Lesbian Adoption," FindLaw website, accessed April 30, 2016, http://family.findlaw.com/adoption/legal-issues-for-gay-and-lesbian-adoption.html.

[164] For a discussion of the legal landscape leading up to the United States Supreme Court decision making same-sex legal across the country, see Stein (this volume) and "Developments in Same-Sex Marriage Law," FindLaw website, accessed April 29, 2016, http://family.findlaw.com/marriage/developments-in-same-sex-marriage-law.html.

[165] Robert Drayton, "The Personal Life of Bayard Rustin," *Out Magazine*, January 18, 2016, accessed May 1, 2016, http://www.out.com/news-opinion/2013/08/28/bayard-rustin-walter-naegle-partner-gay-civil-rights-activist-march-washington. The apartment shared by Rustin and Nagle in New York City was listed on the NRHP on March 8, 2016.

[166] Reverend Troy Perry's home was located in Huntington Park, part of greater Los Angeles, California. The first Metropolitan Community Church building was at West Twenty-Second Street and South Union, Los Angeles, California. The congregation moved into the building in March 1971; the church was

City, Colorado clerk married same-sex couples before she was stopped by authorities; and a mass wedding was held by the Metropolitan Community Church at the 1987 National March on Washington for Gay and Lesbian Rights. These were just some of the acts of subversion that LGBTQ people did to engage in the very traditional institution of marriage.

In the end, it was the stories of individual LGBTQ couples in the media and in the state and circuit courts that changed the hearts and minds of the public, and most importantly of the United States Supreme Court. In both the Edie Windsor case in 2013, which took down a key portion of the Defense of Marriage Act, and the 2015 Jim Obergefell case, which resulted in full marriage equality in all states, the people challenging the law were the surviving partners in long-time committed partnerships where one partner died (Thea Spyer and John Arthur, respectively), and the other lived to fight in their name to get their relationships fully legal in the eyes of the court.

In the 5-4 Obergefell ruling, the majority opinion reads in some ways as a summary of same-gender sex, love, and relationships:

> Well into the 20th century, many States condemned same-sex intimacy as immoral, and homosexuality was treated as an illness. Later in the century, cultural and political developments allowed same-sex couples to lead more open and public lives. Extensive public and private dialogue followed, along with shifts in public attitudes. Questions about the legal treatment of gays and lesbians soon reached the courts, where they could be discussed in the formal discourse of the law. In 2003, this Court overruled its 1986 decision in *Bowers v. Hardwick*, 478 U. S. 186, which upheld a Georgia law that criminalized certain homosexual acts, concluding laws making same-sex intimacy a crime 'demea[n] the lives of homosexual persons.' *Lawrence v. Texas*, 539 U. S. 558,

---

burned by an arsonist in January 1973. For more information on LGBTQ and religion, see Bourn (this volume).

> 575. In 2012, the federal Defense of Marriage Act was also struck down. *United States v. Windsor*, 570 U.S.

The court ruled that the Fourteenth Amendment required states to issue licenses to same-sex couples. The ruling continues:

> The first premise of this Court's relevant precedents is that the right to personal choice regarding marriage is inherent in the concept of individual autonomy. This abiding connection between marriage and liberty is why *Loving*[167] invalidated interracial marriage bans under the Due Process Clause. …
>
> A second principle in this Court's jurisprudence is that the right to marry is fundamental because it supports a two-person union unlike any other in its importance to the committed individuals. … Same-sex couples have the same right as opposite-sex couples to enjoy intimate association, a right extending beyond mere freedom from laws making same-sex intimacy a criminal offense. …
>
> A third basis … is that it safeguards children and families and thus draws meaning from related rights of childrearing, procreation, and education. … Without the recognition, stability, and predictability marriage offers, children suffer the stigma of knowing their families are somehow lesser. They also suffer the significant material costs of being raised by unmarried parents, relegated to a more difficult and uncertain family life. The marriage laws at issue thus harm and humiliate the children of same-sex couples. … This does not mean that the right to marry is less meaningful for those who do not or cannot have children. …
>
> Finally, this Court's cases and the Nation's traditions make clear that marriage is a keystone of the Nation's social order. … States have contributed to the fundamental character of marriage by

---

[167] Loving v. Virginia, 388 US 1 (1967)

> placing it at the center of many facets of the legal and social order. There is no difference between same- and opposite-sex couples with respect to this principle, yet same-sex couples are denied the constellation of benefits that the States have linked to marriage and are consigned to an instability many opposite-sex couples would find intolerable. It is demeaning to lock same-sex couples out of a central institution of the Nation's society, for they too may aspire to the transcendent purposes of marriage.

The success at the Supreme Court is not the end of the road for the LGBTQ fight for equality, just as Loving v. Virginia eased, but did not eliminate challenges for interracial couples or the African American civil rights movement. But it is a major victory—a victory that will hopefully contribute to the dismantling of societal homophobia, familial homophobia, and perhaps most importantly, the internalized homophobia that plagues people within the LGBTQ community.

Conclusion

Summarizing the sex, love, and relationships of any one community would not be possible even in one book, much less a chapter in one. But the LGBTQ community presents even more unique obstacles, because there are so many variations in each letter of that acronym—and even within each individual across their lifetime. There are definitions placed on people by society, and self-identities that can conflict with those labels. There are also multiple and shifting identities and definitions across the centuries.

For the LGBTQ community, the ability to self-identify individually, as families, and as communities has been key to self-preservation and survival. Who we love, how we love, and how we represent ourselves as lovers, partners, wives, husbands, family, and community are foundational to the understanding of just what the LGBTQ community was, is, and will become.

18

LGBTQ CIVIL RIGHTS IN AMERICA

Megan E. Springate

> [T]he evolution of our present understanding of civil rights is deeply tied to our collective story and represents the highest aspirations and deepest tragedies that followed the adoption of our national charter. It is wholly within the mission of the National Park Service to locate, evaluate, recognize, preserve, and interpret nationally significant sites associated with the many threads of the civil rights story.[1]

The stories of LGBTQ America are, in large part, stories of civil rights—rights denied, fought for, fought against, won, lost, won again, and threatened. Broadly, civil rights are understood as freedoms of life, safety, thought and conscience, speech, expression, the press, assembly, and movement as well as the right to privacy and protection from discrimination. These struggles have touched almost every facet of LGBTQ life, and mention of them can be found in every chapter of this theme study.[2] It is not possible to identify people as LGBTQ just by looking at them; it is through the political act of coming out—claiming an LGBTQ identity—or through the effects of state regulation that members of the lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and queer communities are identifiable.[3] This chapter explores not just battles for LGBTQ civil rights, but also touches on the role of LGBTQ Americans in other civil rights struggles.

---

[1] National Park Service (NPS), *Civil Rights in America: A Framework for Identifying Significant Sites* (Washington, DC: National Park Service, 2000, rev. 2008), 1.

[2] See in particular Stein (this volume).

Organizationally, this chapter is divided into several periods. Many of these are identified by the National Park Service's Civil Rights Framework (Colonization and Cultural Contact, 16th century-1776; An Emerging Cause, 1776-1865; Reconstruction and Repression, 1865-1900; Rekindling Civil Rights, 1900-1941; Birth of the Civil Rights Movement, 1941-1954; and The Modern Civil Rights Movement, 1954-1964). The periods following diverge from the Civil Rights Framework after 1964 and include periods associated with LGBTQ civil rights that bring us to the present day.[4] These are: Militancy and Backlash, 1964-1981; The Second Revolution: The Age of AIDS, 1981-1993; and Battle for Federal Rights, 1993-2016.[5]

---

[3] Examples of state regulation include raids, arrests, and charges for violating morality laws. One example includes the arrests of Naval personnel at the Old Army-Navy YMCA, 50 Washington Square, Newport, Rhode Island in 1919 (listed on the NRHP on December 29, 1988). In many cases, the names, addresses, and places of employment of those rounded up in raids on bars, cruising locations, and other places have been published in the media without any charges being laid. In all cases, being outed through arrest or other legal proceedings has resulted in people losing their jobs, families, housing, and lives. See, for example, Margot Canaday, *The Straight State: Sexuality and Citizenship in Twentieth Century America* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2009); Emily K. Hobson, "Policing Gay LA: Mapping Racial Divides in the Homophile Era, 1950-1967," in *The Rising Tide of Color: Race, State Violence, and Radical Movements Across the Pacific,* ed. Moon-Ho Jung (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2014); and John D'Emilio and Estelle B. Freedman, *Intimate Matters: A History of Sexuality in America,* 2nd ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1998), 294. Though less frequent than in the past, bar raids continue; see, for example, "Six Police Officers Fired, Nine Disciplined over Botched Raid of Atlanta Gay Bar," *LGBTQ Nation*, July 10, 2011, http://www.lgbtqnation.com/2011/07/six-police-officers-fired-nine-disciplined-over-botched-raid-of-atlanta-gay-bar. The Atlanta Eagle is located at 306 Ponce De Leon Avenue NE, Atlanta, Georgia.

[4] Periods in the Civil Rights Framework extend only to 1976, the bicentennial of the Declaration of Independence. Due to the number and importance of civil rights struggles in the United States since 1976, I have extended the periods through June 2016. NPS, *Civil Rights in America*.

[5] While the periods used in the Civil Rights Framework do not line up directly with LGBTQ civil rights struggles, they do allow an understanding of LGBTQ civil rights in a broader context. An alternative set of LGBTQ civil rights periods is presented by Marc Stein, and is used in part to extend the NPS Civil Rights Framework: Before the Movement, 1500-1940; Homophile Activism, 1940-1969; Gay Liberation, Lesbian Feminism, and Gay and Lesbian Liberalism, 1969-1973; Gay and Lesbian Activism in the Era of Conservative Backlash, 1973-1981; Gay and Lesbian Activism in the Age of AIDS, 1981-1990; and LGBT and Queer Activism Beyond 1990. Marc Stein, *Rethinking the Gay and Lesbian Movement* (New York: Routledge, 2012).

The path has not been a smooth one; civil rights of gender and sexual minorities have been explicitly taken away through law and infringed without penalty by violence, including gay bashing and murder, and exclusion from housing, employment, and public accommodation. Even civil rights recognized and gained have been taken away. Neither have we all traveled together on the road to civil rights. The first LGBTQ civil rights organizations, including the Society for Human Rights and Mattachine, were for gay men only; bisexuals and lesbians were largely excluded either by design or by groups focusing exclusively on men's experiences. Women later founded their own organizations, including the Daughters of Bilitis. Respectability politics has played varying roles in LGBTQ quests for civil rights, including the assimilationist policies of the early Mattachine Society and push for respectability by the later marriage equality battles. More radical, anti-assimilationist groups, including Queer Nation, have demanded that all LGBTQ people, regardless of whether they are acceptable to mainstream society, deserve both civil rights and respect. Bisexuals and others attracted to more than one gender were (and continue to be) very often excluded from the agendas of earlier groups, and in the late twentieth century organized to fight for their civil rights.[6]

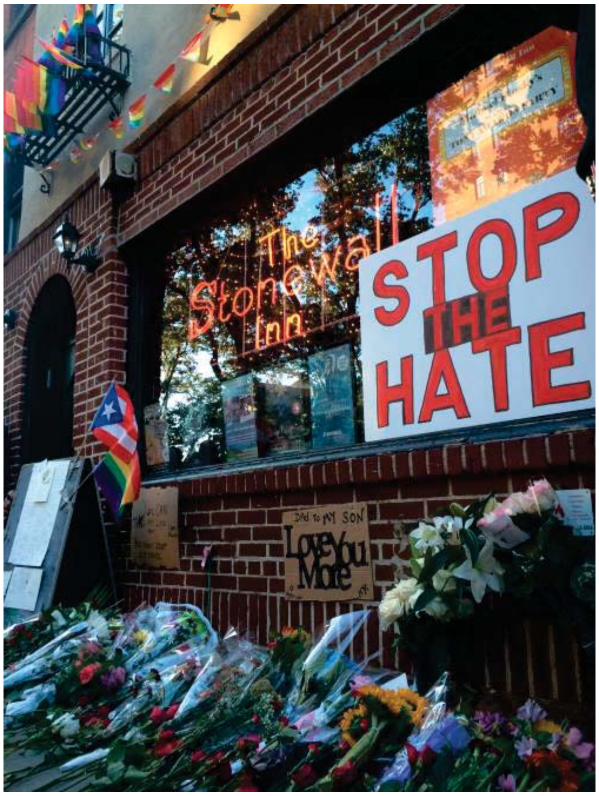


Figure 1: Places associated with LGBTQ civil rights have become place of pilgrimage and remembrance. This photo of an impromptu memorial at the Stonewall Inn, New York was taken on June 12, 2016 after forty-nine people were murdered at Latino Night at the Pulse nightclub, 1912 South Orange Avenue, Orlando, Florida. An organized memorial took place the next night. Photo courtesy of Daniel Smith.

---

[6] Bisexuals have been active in LGBTQ civil rights struggles from the beginning. Despite this, they remain largely invisible in both the popular understanding of discrimination and in case law. A recent study, however, shows that bisexuals face considerable discrimination as bisexuals, including in the workplace. This disconnect can be attributed to bisexual invisibility—that when someone is in a

Transgender people, likewise, were (and continue) to be excluded from many LGBTQ civil rights agendas except in name only.[7] The intersecting oppressions experienced by LGBTQ ethnic minorities, including African Americans and Asians and Pacific Islanders, have not traditionally been acknowledged or addressed by predominantly white LGBTQ civil rights groups. Feeling both unwelcome and unrepresented, people in these ethnic minorities have begun their own community-building and activist organizations. While many gains have been made in LGBTQ civil rights, there remain challenges both from within the LGBTQ communities and from those working to strip us of our rights (Figure 1). When considering the battle for civil rights, it must be remembered that securing LGBTQ civil rights does not mean an end to oppression and discrimination for all LGBTQ people. Deeper forms of inequality will continue to affect LGBTQ people and others who share marginalized identities including homeless youth, immigrants, and nonwhites.

A social movement can be defined as an "organized, collective, and sustained effort to produce, prevent, or reverse social change."[8] Using this definition, struggles for gay and lesbian civil rights did not become movements until the 1940s and 1950s (Rekindling Civil Rights, 1900-1941), with movements for bisexual, transgender, and queer civil rights coalescing later. The roots of all of these LGBTQ civil rights movements, however, can be traced back at least as far as the sixteenth century (Colonization and Cultural Contact, 16th century-1776), when explorers and colonists encountered Native American two-spirit people.

---

relationship with someone of the same sex, they are perceived as homosexual, while when in a relationship with someone of the opposite sex, they are perceived as heterosexual. Kenji Yoshino documented bisexual invisibility, and attributed it to "an epistemic contract of bisexual erasure." This leads to discrimination against bisexual people by both homosexual and heterosexual individuals and organizations, and the sense that a bisexual orientation is not legitimate. Kenji Yoshino, "The Epistemic Contract of Bisexual Erasure," *Stanford Law Review* 52 (2000): 353-461; Ann E. Tweeny and Karen Yescavage, "Employment Discrimination Against Bisexuals: An Empirical Study," *William & Mary Journal of Women and the Law* 21, no. 3 (2015): 699-741.

[7] See, for example, Susan Stryker, *Transgender History* (Berkeley, CA: Seal Press, 2008); Sylvia Rivera, "Bitch on Wheels: A Speech by Sylvia Rivera 2001," in *Street Transvestite Action Revolutionaries: Survival, Revolt, and Queer Antagonist Struggle* (Untorellipress, 2013), 36.

[8] Stein, *Rethinking,* 13.

1. Colonization and Cultural Contact, 16th Century-1776

Explorers and early European settlers that came to what is now the United States encountered Native American two-spirit people as early as the sixteenth century.[9] Judging Native American cultures based on their own European ideals, explorers and colonists perceived two-spirit people as engaging in same-sex sex, a practice deemed immoral. They reacted in various ways, ranging from curiosity to disgust. In many cases, two-spirit individuals, like the forty who were thrown to the dogs by Vasco Núñez de Balboa in Panama in 1513, met with violence and death.[10]

During this same period, colonists and slaves with same-sex desires or alternative gender expressions were subject to harsh penalties spelled out under colonial law, ranging from fines to exile to execution. And yet, few colonials were charged under these laws, and few received harsh penalties. Even within this context of religious condemnation and harsh laws, some people found ways to express their love and sexual desires. Those cases that were brought to trial often involved the use of force or abuse of minors.[11]

---

[9] Native American two spirits were male, female, and perhaps intersexed individuals who combined behaviors of both men and women with traits and social roles unique to their status. While these are often understood by those outside Native American cultures as third and fourth gender roles, within their own cultures, two-spirit identities are often more complex. See Roscoe (this volume) for a more in-depth discussion of two-spirit people.

[10] An early account comes from Spaniard Hernando de Alarcón who encountered a Yuman two-spirit person, who he described as “something amazing,” during his travels up the Colorado River in 1540. On the other side of the continent in 1564, René Goulaine de Laudonnière and Jacques Le Moyne established Fort Caroline in Florida and claimed the region (home of the Timucua people) for France. Le Moyne, an artist, portrayed several Timucuan two-spirit people carrying provisions, corpses, and stretchers of injured people. In his writing, Laudonnière described at least two encounters with two-spirit Timucua: one offering water to his party during a forced march, and later, another serving as emissary for a Timucuan leader. Will Roscoe, *Changing Ones: Third and Fourth Genders in Native North America* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1998), 4, 12, 143-144, 170-171; Stein, *Rethinking*, 14-15. The Fort Caroline National Memorial was established on January 16, 1953 and listed on the NRHP on October 15, 1866. The Timucuan Ecological and Historic Preserve in Florida was established and listed on the NRHP on February 16, 1988.

[11] Stein, *Rethinking,* 17. See also Thomas A. Foster, “Introduction: Long Before Stonewall,” in *Long Before Stonewall: Histories of Same-Sex Sexuality in America*, ed. Thomas A. Foster (New York: New York University Press, 2007), 5-18; and Elizabeth Reis, *Bodies in Doubt: An American History of Intersex* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009).

Exploration, colonization, and the resulting cultural contact between Europeans and indigenous people in what we now call the United States continued through the nineteenth century. Homosexual acts continued to be viewed as immoral throughout this period, as evidenced in the writing of a member of Captain James Cook's expedition to Hawai'i from 1776 to 1780. The Cook expedition had several encounters with Hawaiian two-spirit people during their trip. During one of these, at Kealakekua Bay on the island of Hawai'i in January 1779, a two-spirit served as emissary for the local chief. Reacting in disgust to the two-spirit Hawaiians, the expedition member described them as "disagreeable…and odious to a delicate mind."[12]

2. An Emerging Cause, 1776-1865

The preamble to the Declaration of Independence states "that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness." This is the first assertion of American civil rights. In 1788, with the ratification of the Constitution of the United States (and subsequent amendments), additional rights were granted to US citizens to "promote the general Welfare, and secure the Blessings of Liberty…" These rights, however, originally applied only to a small segment of the population living in the early republic: white men with property. Many of the civil rights struggles throughout American history have had at their core, an argument that everyone—regardless of gender, ethnicity, religion, ability, property ownership, or sexual orientation—are included in the protections of the Constitution.[13]

---

[12] Robert J. Morris, "*Aikāne*: Accounts of Hawaiian Same-Sex Relationships in the Journals of Captain Cook's Third Voyage (1776–80)," *Journal of Homosexuality* 19, no. 4 (1990): 21-54. The Kealakekua Bay Historic District was listed on the NRHP on December 12, 1973.

[13] NPS, *Civil Rights in America,* 4.

Civil rights movements during this period included abolition and women's rights. Anti-slavery groups proliferated in the United States beginning in the 1830s, and the First Women's Rights Convention was held in the Wesleyan Chapel in Seneca Falls, New York in 1848.[14] While there were people with same-sex attractions and relationships—like Mary Grew and Margaret Burleigh—who were active in both the abolition and women's rights movements, there was not yet a movement for the rights of sexual and gender minorities that we now consider under the LGBTQ umbrella.[15] Colonial-era laws making sodomy punishable by death were by and large carried over into the early years of the republic. By the turn of the nineteenth century, punishment for same-sex sex in most places had been reduced to lengthy prison terms and large fines, though it was not until the late 1860s that North and South Carolina removed the death penalty. This was also a time when cross-dressing became explicitly prohibited.[16] For example, in 1851 in Chicago, legislation was passed criminalizing people who "appear in a dress not belonging to his or her sex."[17] Laws were also passed against indecent behavior, prohibiting obscene publications, and the performance of immoral plays.[18] In these ways, the lives of LGBTQ individuals were limited and restricted by laws, in ways that the lives of heterosexual people were not.[19]

---

[14] Among the organizers of the First Women's Rights Convention was Elizabeth Cady Stanton, who later formed a close (some argue intimate) relationship with Susan B. Anthony. The Elizabeth Cady Stanton House, where she lived from 1847 through 1862, is located at 32 Washington Street, Seneca Falls, New York. It was listed on the NRHP on October 15, 1966 and designated an NHL on June 23, 1965. The Wesleyan Chapel is located at 126 Fall Street, Seneca Falls, New York. It was listed on the NRHP on August 29, 1980. Both of these places are part of the Women's Rights National Historical Park, established December 28, 1980.

[15] Mary Grew and Margaret Burleigh, well-known activists in both the abolition and women's rights movements, made no secret of the fact among friends that they were also a couple, sharing a home and a bed. Lillian Faderman, *To Believe in Women: What Lesbians Have Done For America – A History* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1999), 20-21.

[16] NPS, *Civil Rights in America.*

[17] Stein, *Rethinking,* 19; Stein, Crime, Punishment, and the Law, this volume; 1851 ordinance, City of Chicago book of ordinances, 1856, cited in Herzog-Konecny (this volume).

[18] See Stein (this volume).

[19] Laws against sodomy and cross-dressing could also be used against heterosexual people, but have generally been enforced only among LGBTQ people. For a discussion of the historical variability of sexual regulation, see George Chauncey, "'What Gay Studies Taught the Court': The Historians' Amicus Brief in Lawrence v. Texas," *GLQ: A Journal of Lesbian and Gay Studies* 10, no. 3 (2004): 509-538.

3. Reconstruction and Repression, 1865-1900

Following the Civil War, in response to efforts to restrict the rights of newly-freed African Americans and maintain the plantation system, Congress passed the Thirteenth through Fifteenth Amendments to the Constitution as well as the Civil Rights Acts of 1866 and 1875. The Thirteenth Amendment (ratified in 1865) abolished slavery and involuntary servitude, except as punishment for a crime. The Civil Rights Act of 1866 defined US citizenship and affirmed that all US citizens were equally protected under the law. This was followed in 1868 by the adoption of the Fourteenth Amendment, which provided a broad definition of United States citizenship, prohibited state and local governments from depriving people of life, liberty, or property without due process, and required states to provide equal protection under the law to all people under their jurisdiction. It has been the Fourteenth Amendment that has been the basis of many LGBTQ civil rights victories (and those of other civil rights cases). The Fifteenth Amendment (ratified in 1870) prohibits federal and state governments from denying a citizen the right to vote based on race, color, or previous condition of servitude. These are collectively known as the Reconstruction Amendments. The Civil Rights Act of 1875 guaranteed African Americans equal treatment in public accommodations, public transportation, and prohibited exclusion from jury service.[20]

The enfranchisement of African American men by the passage of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments essentially created a gender-based definition of citizenship in the United States and caused a rift among those working for women's rights. Some felt that guaranteeing only black men the right to vote was a necessary compromise following the Civil War;

---

[20] For more information on Reconstruction, see Eric Foner, *A Short History of Reconstruction, 1863-1877* (New York: Perennial Library, 1990). See also Susan Cianci Salvatore et al., *Racial Desegregation in Public Education in the United States Theme Study* (Washington, DC: National Park Service, 2000); Susan Cianci Salvatore et al., *Civil Rights in America: Racial Desegregation of Public Accommodations, A National Historic Landmarks Theme Study* (Washington, DC: National Park Service, 2004, rev. 2009); Susan Cianci Salvatore et al., *Civil Rights in America: Racial Voting Rights, A National Historic Landmarks Theme Study* (Washington, DC: National Park Service, 2007, rev. 2009).

others felt betrayed by the exclusion of women. Women's suffrage became the focus of women's rights work.[21] One of the most well-known activists for women's suffrage is Susan B. Anthony, who tirelessly traveled the country advocating for women's right to vote. She worked closely with Elizabeth Cady Stanton, who had been one of the organizers of the 1848 First Women's Rights Convention in Seneca Falls, New York. While Anthony never married, her letters make it clear that she had deeply meaningful, flirtatious, and affectionately loving—if not intimate—relationships with other women, including Stanton, Anna Dickinson, and Emily Gross.[22] The demands and restrictions on the lives (and property) of married women and mothers during this time made it much more likely that movements like suffrage, temperance, and abolition would be led by unmarried, "single" women who were more likely to be in loving, supportive, and intimate relationships with other women.

In the Jim Crow decades following Reconstruction, both Republican and Democratic parties traded away these hard-won civil rights in exchange for white southern votes. In addition, the 1883 US Supreme Court ruled that the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment applied only to state activities, and not those of individuals. In the 1896 case Plessy v. Ferguson, the US Supreme Court affirmed separate but equal public facilities, sanctioning segregation. As a result of these decisions, businesses, real estate agents, bankers, and others could legally refuse service to or fire African Americans, and public transportation, schools, and housing were segregated.[23]

---

[21] NPS, *Civil Rights in America.*

[22] Faderman, *To Believe,* 22-30. The Susan B. Anthony House is located at 17 Madison Street, Rochester, New York. It was listed on the NRHP on October 15, 1966 and designated an NHL on June 23, 1965. Stanton lived at the Elizabeth Cady Stanton House in Tenafly, New Jersey from 1868 through 1887, her most active years working towards women's suffrage. This house was added to the NRHP and designated an NHL on May 15, 1975.

[23] See, for example, William H. Chafe, *Remembering Jim Crow: African Americans Tell about Life in the Segregated South* (New York: New Press, 2001); Jerrold M. Packard, *American Nightmare: The History of Jim Crow* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2002); Michael J. Klarman, *From Jim Crow to Civil Rights: The Supreme Court and the Struggle for Racial Equality* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004).

The civil rights gains during this period were not equally shared. Women and Native Americans remained disenfranchised; Chinese were forbidden to immigrate to the United States after 1882, and other nonwhites allowed to immigrate were forbidden from becoming citizens. Additional laws criminalizing LGBTQ acts and identities were passed following the Civil War. These included the federal Comstock Act of 1873, which prohibited the mailing of obscenity, and was used (in concert with state and local laws it inspired) to censor LGBTQ speech and expression.[24] Recent studies have focused on "passing women" during this time (women who dress and live as men), as well as the experiences of those that we would now consider transgender.[25] In addition, same-sex attraction became increasingly medicalized in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries; those who were caught engaging in same-sex sex or who admitted same-sex attraction were commonly sent to mental institutions like the Willard Asylum, where they remained indefinitely (and often permanently) incarcerated.[26] It was the continued constricting of freedoms and rights through legislation like the Comstock Act, the perception of homosexuality as a danger to society, and new forms of punishment like medical institutionalization that laid the groundwork for the first glimmers of the LGBTQ civil rights movement that began during the Rekindling Civil Rights period, 1900-1941.

4. Rekindling Civil Rights, 1900-1941

Driven by the social reforms of the Progressive Era, the upheavals of World War I, and the impact and responses to the Great Depression,

---

[24] The Comstock Act was passed as the Act for the "Suppression of Trade in, and Circulation of, Obscene Literature and Articles of Immoral Use." It prohibited the US Postal System from being used to send erotica, contraceptives, abortifacients, sex toys, or any information about them. Vicki L. Eaklor, *Queer America: A People's GLBT History of the United States* (New York: New Press, 2008), 48; Molly McGarry, *Ghosts of Futures Past: Spiritualism and the Cultural Politics of Nineteenth-Century America* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008), 95-96, 114-115.

[25] See, for example, Clare Sears, *Arresting Dress: Cross-Dressing, Law, and Fascination in Nineteenth-Century San Francisco* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2015); Stryker, *Transgender History*; Stryker (this volume).

[26] For more on the medicalization of LGBTQ identities, see Batza and Stryker (this volume). The Willard Asylum for the Chronic Insane in Ovid, New York was listed on the NRHP on June 7, 1975.

American society and government underwent significant change in the early years of the twentieth century. The Progressive Era brought with it the passage of the Nineteenth Amendment, giving some women the right to vote (poor women and African American men and women remained disenfranchised by discriminatory identification, literacy, and residency laws until much later). World War I and New Deal programs following the Great Depression led many to hope for equality in hiring and jobs.[27]

As more and more people moved away from rural towns to urban centers for work, LGBTQ people began to find each other in greater numbers. Gay bars, like the Double Header, the White Horse Inn, the Crown Jewel, the Horseshoe, and Café Lafitte in Exile opened in the 1930s (as did lesbian bars, like Galante's and the Howdy Club).[29] Other bars, like Ralph Martin's, San Remo, and the Rendezvous Room at the Hotel Muehlebach hosted a

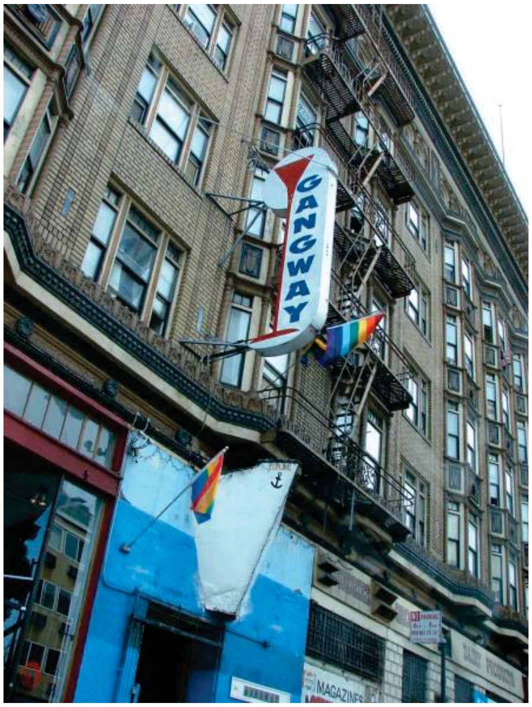


Figure 2: The Gangway in San Francisco, California. It was the target of a same-sex raid in 1911. Photo by teanltlkl, 2010.[28]

---

[27] NPS, *Framework.*

[28] License: CC BY-SA 2.0. https://www.flickr.com/photos/teanitiki/4577581840

[29] The Double Header, 407 Second Avenue, Ext. S, Seattle, Washington opened in 1934; it closed its doors on December 31, 2015. The White Horse Inn, at 6651 Telegraph Avenue, Oakland, California, opened immediately following the repeal of Prohibition in 1933 and remains in business. The Crown Jewel, 932 South Hill Street, Los Angeles, California (now demolished) had a clientele largely of businessmen who gathered discreetly after work in the 1930s and 1940s. "Less desirables" were kept out by the management's insistence on patrons producing a driver's license for entry. The Horseshoe (now demolished), located behind the Mayflower Hotel at Seventeenth Street NW, Washington, DC, was popular with both gay men and women in the 1930s. Café Lafitte in Exile, 901 Bourbon Street, New Orleans, Louisiana opened in 1933, and remains open. It is within the Vieux Carré Historic District, listed on the NRHP on October 15, 1966 and designated an NHL on December 21, 1965. In the 1930s, Galante's at 109 Wilkerson Street, Buffalo, New York (now demolished) was the premier gathering place for Buffalo's lesbians. The Howdy Club (now demolished), at 17 West 3rd Street, New York City, New York, was a lesbian bar open from the 1930s to 1940s.

mixed gay and straight clientele.[30] LGBTQ people also congregated in other types of establishments, including eateries like the Stewart Cafeteria; social halls like Webster Hall; and bathhouses like the Club Turkish Baths, the Riggs-Lafayette Turkish Baths, and the Mount Morris Turkish Baths.[31] It was also in an urban setting that, in the 1930s, Dr. Harry Benjamin began helping transgender individuals with their transition.[32] The Harlem Renaissance of the 1920s and 1930s included many open and semi-closeted gay, lesbian, and bisexual artists and luminaries, including Richard Bruce Nugent, Langston Hughes, Gladys Bentley, and Billy Strayhorn.[33] This concentration of LGBTQ people in urban spaces made them more visible and easier targets of persecution, but also laid the groundwork for the developing LGBTQ civil rights movement (Figure 2).[34]

---

[30] Ralph Martin's, 58 Elliott Street, Buffalo, New York (now demolished) catered to a broad demographic of mixed genders, orientations, and races from 1934 to 1951. San Remo on the northwest corner of Bleecker and MacDougal Streets, New York City, New York was, beginning in 1925, a watering hole popular with gay and straight bohemians. The Rendezvous Room at the Hotel Muehlebach, Twelfth and Baltimore, Kansas City, Missouri was a gay-friendly bar from the 1930s until the hotel closed in the 1980s.

[31] The Stewart Cafeteria, 116 Seventh Avenue South, New York City, New York opened in 1933 and quickly became popular with LGBTQ patrons. It closed in the mid-1930s and was replaced by the Life Cafeteria, equally as popular with the LGBTQ community. Webster Hall and Annex are located at 119-125 East 11th Street, New York City, New York. It was the site of masquerade and drag balls from 1910 to 1930. The Club Turkish Baths, 132 Turk Street, San Francisco, California opened in the 1930s and had a reputation as a safe place for gay men; they closed in 1983. The building is within the Uptown Tenderloin Historic District, NRHP February 5, 2009. The Mount Morris Turkish Baths, 1944 Madison Avenue in the Harlem neighborhood of New York City, New York catered to black men. They opened in 1893 and began attracting a gay and bisexual clientele in the 1930s. They closed in 2003. The Riggs-Lafayette Turkish Baths, 1426 G Street NW, Washington, DC, opened in 1913. Until 1929, they were male only, but after 1929 a women's section was opened. They closed in 1946. Gladys Bentley performed at the Ubangi Club, 131st Street at Seventh Avenue, Harlem, New York City, New York (now demolished). Musician Billy Strayhorn grew up at 7212 Tioga Street, Rear, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania (now demolished), where he was teased for being a "sissy." Later moving to New York City, he was part of the Harlem Renaissance. In 1939, he moved to an apartment with his lover, jazz pianist Aaron Bridgers in the Hamilton Heights neighborhood of New York City, New York. He wrote many of his famous tunes here, including "Take the A Train." The building is within the Hamilton Heights Historic District, listed on the NRHP on September 30, 1983.

[32] From 1930 through about 1955, Dr. Harry Benjamin operated his practice out of an office in the Medical-Dental Building at 450 Sutter Street, San Francisco, California. The building was listed on the NRHP on December 22, 2009.

[33] Richard Bruce Nugent met Langston Hughes at the S Street Salon, a literary salon run by Georgia Douglas Johnson in her Logan Circle neighborhood home in Washington, DC. It was one of the most important literary salons of the Harlem Renaissance. The building is a contributing property to the Greater U Street Historic District, added to the NRHP on December 31, 1998. The Langston Hughes House in Harlem, New York City, New York was added to the NRHP on October 29, 1982. Gladys Bentley performed at several venues, including the Ubangi Club and the Black Cat Club, 710 Montgomery Street, San Francisco, California. The Black Cat is a contributing resource to the Jackson Square Historic District, added to the NRHP on November 18, 1971. See Nan Alamilla Boyd, *Wide-Open Town: A History of Queer San Francisco to 1965* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003).

Eleanor Roosevelt was also active in social justice work and advocating for civil rights during this period. Married to President Franklin Delano Roosevelt, Eleanor also had a decades-long intimate relationship with reporter Lorena Hickok.[35] The two met in 1928 when Hickok interviewed Eleanor for the Associated Press, and their relationship blossomed when she covered the soon-to-be First Lady during Franklin Roosevelt's presidential campaign.[36] Eleanor was also friends with other female couples active in civil rights struggles of the time. These included writer Esther Lape and lawyer Elizabeth Read, influential suffragists, political reformers, and founders of the League of Women Voters, and suffragists and educators Nancy Cook and Marion Dickerman, co-owner and vice-principal (respectively) of the Todhunter School.[37] Nancy Cook and Marion Dickerman built the Stone Cottage at Val-Kill with Eleanor, and lived there until 1947. With Caroline O'Day, they founded the Val-Kill Furniture Shop in 1927, providing supplemental income for local farming families.[38]

---

[34] The Black Rabbit at 183 Bleecker Street, New York City, New York was a gay bar raided in 1900 by Anthony Comstock of the Society for the Suppression of Vice. The Ariston Baths, in the basement of the Ariston Hotel, 1732 Broadway, New York City, New York, were opened as early as 1897. This was the location of the first recorded police raid on a gay bathhouse in the United States, conducted in 1903. The Everard Turkish Bathhouse, 28 West 28th Street, New York City, New York opened in 1888 as a health/fitness spa for the general public, with an increasing gay clientele as bathhouses became safer places for gay men to congregate. The Everard was raided for lewd behavior, with nine arrests; in 1920, another raid resulted in fifteen arrests. It closed in 1985. The Gangway, at 841 Larkin Street, San Francisco, California, was the target of a same-sex raid in 1911, though did not become a primarily LGBTQ bar until the 1960s.

[35] From 1929 through 1933, Hickok lived in an apartment near the United Nations in New York City. Eleanor and Lorena spent a night together at the Mayflower Hotel, 1127 Connecticut Avenue NW, Washington, DC, in January 1933. The hotel was listed on the NRHP on November 14, 1983. The intimacy of Roosevelt and Hickok and other romantic friendships are the subject of considerable scholarship. See, for example, Leila J. Rupp, *A Desired Past: A Short History of Same-Sex Love in America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999); Leila J. Rupp, *Sapphistries: A Global History of Love Between Women* (New York: New York University Press, 2009); Lillian Faderman, *Surpassing the Love of Men: Romantic Friendship and Love Between Women from the Renaissance to the Present* (New York: Morrow, 1981); and Victoria Bissell Brown, "Queer or Not: What Jane Addams Teaches Us About Not Knowing," in *Out in Chicago: LGBT History at the Crossroads*, eds. Jill Austin and Jennifer Brier (Chicago: Chicago History Museum, 2011), 63-76.

[36] Blanche Wiesen Cook, *Eleanor Roosevelt: Volume One, 1884-1933* (New York: Viking Press, 1993), 2, 450; Hazel Rowley, *Franklin and Eleanor: An Extraordinary Marriage* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2010), 184; "Lorena Alice Hickok (1893-1968)," The Eleanor Roosevelt Papers Project, George Washington University website, accessed October 15, 2015, http://www.gwu.edu/~erpapers/teachinger/glossary/hickok-lorena.cfm.

[37] The Todhunter School was a school for girls in New York City that provided solid preparation for college at a time when few women pursued post-secondary education. The close relationships that Eleanor had with lesbian couples was particularly ironic, given the solidification of anti-gay policy under her husband; see Canaday, *The Straight State.*

Despite the advances of the era, the establishment of equal rights under the law remained unmet. Minorities, including African Americans and Latino/Latinas began to organize and litigate for their civil rights: the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) was established in 1909, and the Congress of Spanish Speaking People formed in 1939.[39] In the military, gay men continued to be the targets of unequal treatment and harassment. In World War I, they were perceived as both dangerous and ineffective fighters. In 1919, the year after the war ended, the US Articles of War categorized sodomy as a felony. Then Assistant Secretary of the Navy, Franklin Delano Roosevelt authorized an investigation of reported homosexual activities at the Newport, Rhode Island YMCA. Seventeen sailors were court-martialed, many sentenced to years in the brig.[40] Many of the first inmates at Alcatraz, which opened as a federal maximum security prison in 1933, were there on charges of sodomy—including Frank Bolt, Prisoner Number 1.[41] From the early years of the twentieth century, homosexuals began to be explicitly excluded from immigration to the United States under "moral turpitude" statues, a process that became coded into law in the 1950s. The result was an exclusion of LGBTQ immigrants at ports of entry, or the deportation of immigrants already on American soil.[42] Sexual psychopath laws, which were passed in twenty-six states and DC between 1937 and 1967, called for the indefinite civil commitment of sex offenders—a category that, at the time, included consensual same-sex encounters between adults.[43]

---

[38] Kenneth Davis, *Invincible Summer: An Intimate Portrait of the Roosevelts Based on the Recollections of Marion Dickerman* (New York: Atheneum Press, 1974); Cook, *Eleanor Volume One;* Cook, *Eleanor Roosevelt: Volume Two, 1933-1938* (New York: Viking Press, 1999); Val-Kill, Factory, State Route 9G, Hyde Park, Dutchess County, New York, HABS NY, 14-HYP, 8B (sheet 1 of 5), Library of Congress HABS/HAER collection. The Eleanor Roosevelt National Historical Site (Val-Kill; established on 5/27/1977) is located in Hyde Park, New York. It was added to the NRHP on March 20, 1980.

[39] NPS, *Framework,* 10.

[40] See Estes (this volume); Canaday, *The Straight State*, 72-75; and Randy Shilts, *Conduct Unbecoming: Gays & Lesbians in the U.S. Military* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1993), 15-16. The YMCA, now known as the Old Army-Navy YMCA, is located at 50 Washington Square, Newport, Rhode Island. It was listed on the NRHP on December 29, 1988.

[41] Alcatraz Federal Penitentiary, San Francisco, California was added to the NRHP on June 23, 1976 and designated an NHL Historic District on January 17, 1986. It became part of the NPS, incorporated into the Golden Gate National Recreation Area on October 27, 1972.

The early stirrings of a gay and lesbian movement began during this period, despite police harassment. These early stirrings were fueled, in part, by communities forming in urban areas. In 1924 Chicago, World War I veteran Henry Gerber and a small group of other men founded the Society for Human Rights. Operating out of Gerber's rooming-house residence, this was the first chartered gay rights group in the United States, working in part to combat the criminalization of homosexual acts.[44] While the Society for Human Rights ceased following police harassment in 1925 (Gerber and others were arrested but not charged, and the organization's files seized and not returned) Gerber remained active in homosexual and homophile movements into the 1960s, providing a connection across the twentieth century.[45]

---

[42] Canaday, *The Straight State*. Perhaps the most well-known port of entry into the United States is Ellis Island located in Upper New York Bay, New York and New Jersey. It was added to the NRHP on October 15, 1966 and designated the Statue of Liberty National Monument on October 15, 1965.

[43] Tamara Rice Lave, "Only Yesterday: The Rise and Fall of Twentieth Century Sexual Psychopath Laws," *Louisiana Law Review* 69, no. 3 (Spring 2009): 549-591. See also David K. Johnson, *The Lavender Scare: The Cold War Persecution of Gays and Lesbians in the Federal Government* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004).

[44] Gerber signed the application for a nonprofit charter for the Society for Human Rights as secretary; the Reverend John T. Graves signed as president. The document lists five other directors, including Vice President Al Meninger, who was married, despite the fact that the organization did not allow bisexual members. The Society for Human Rights published the first American gay civil rights publication, *Friendship and Freedom.* The rooming house where Henry Gerber lived (now known as the Henry Gerber House) is located within the Old Town Triangle Historic District (listed on the NRHP on November 8, 1984), Chicago, Illinois. The Gerber house was designated an NHL on June 19, 2015. Vern L. Bullough, *Before Stonewall: Activists for Gay and Lesbian Rights in Historical Context* (New York: Harrington Park Press, 2002), 25; Jonathan Farr, Amanda Hendrix-Komoto, Andrea Rottmann, April Slabosheski, and Michelle McClellan, National Historic Landmark Nomination (Draft): Henry Gerber House (Washington, DC: National Park Service, 2014); Adrian Brooks, *The Right Side of History: 100 Years of LGBTQI Activism* (New York: Cleis Press, 2015), 14.

[45] Farr et al., *Gerber House Nomination.*

5. Birth of the Civil Rights Movement, 1941-1954

Social change accelerated with the start of World War II. Women and minority men served in the military and worked in industry, and thousands of African Americans left the South, moving to the North where they could vote and find work. The ability to vote led both political parties to solicit African American support in elections. Direct action (strikes and protests) and threats of it led to changes in government policy, including the creation of the Federal Employment Practices Committee which both exposed discrimination against African Americans and Hispanics in employment, and helped minorities find work in the North. Women were also increasingly working outside the home, including serving in high-level government posts.[46]

At the same time that civil rights were once again becoming a national conversation, groups of people in the United States were having their rights infringed and revoked. Even though minorities served in the military, racial discrimination backed by federal law persisted. In 1942, President Roosevelt authorized the clearing of civilians from places designated as military zones. Almost 120,000 people of Japanese descent, as well as thousands of people with Italian and German ancestry were removed to internment camps scattered across the country. Many of these people were United States citizens, and many were LGBTQ.[47] Jiro Onuma, a gay man from the San Francisco Bay Area, was one of many Japanese immigrants to be rounded up. He was interred at the Topaz War Relocation Center in Millard County, Utah (Figure 3).[48]

---

[46] NPS, *Civil Rights Framework.*

[47] See "Brief Overview of the World War II Enemy Alien Control Program," National Archives website, accessed October 7, 2015, http://www.archives.gov/research/immigration/enemy-aliens-overview.html; Kathleen Hunter, "The War Relocation Centers of World War II: When Fear was Stronger than Justice," National Park Service website, Teaching with Historic Places Lesson Plans, accessed October 7, 2015, http://www.nps.gov/nr/twhp/wwwlps/lessons/89manzanar/89manzanar.htm.

[48] Jiro Onuma was a first generation Japanese immigrant who lived in the Oakland and San Francisco, California area for twenty years. Before World War II, he lived in a rooming house at 769 Brush Street, Oakland, California (since demolished). In 1943, he was sent to Topaz. In 1956, Jiro became a United States citizen. At that time, he was living at 1492 Ellis Street, San Francisco, California (now

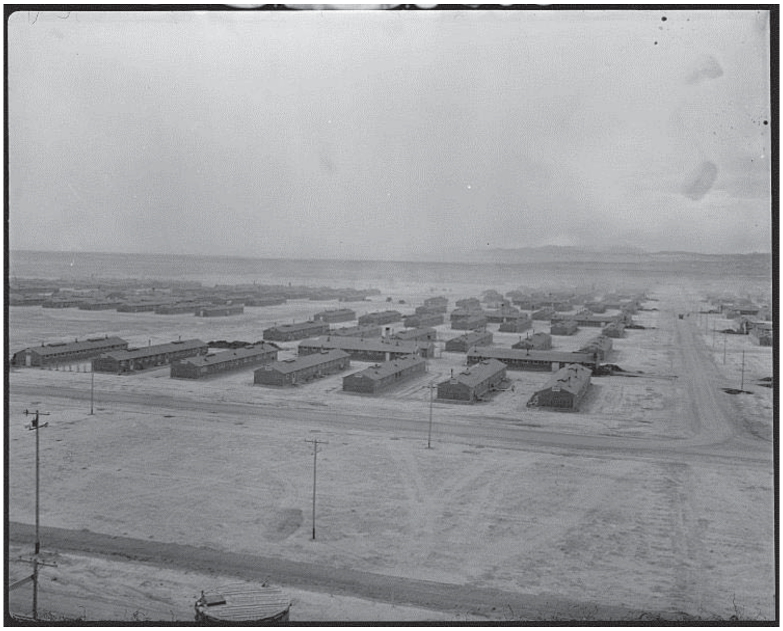


Figure 3: Aerial view of the Topaz War Relocation Center, Utah. Gay man Jiro Onuma was among those who were interred here. Photo by Francis Stewart, War Relocation Authority, 1943.[49]

Although technically banned from military service and excluded through psychiatric screening and categorization, gays, bisexuals, and lesbians still successfully enlisted or were conscripted. After the war, they fought to have their dishonorable discharges for sexual orientation reclassified as honorable; many gay and lesbian veterans went on to become active in the struggle for LGBTQ civil rights.[50] The homophile and later LGBTQ civil rights movements also drew heavily from those who had, before the Lavender Scare, been influenced by Marxism.[51] In 1948, the

---

demolished). See Tina Takemoto, "Looking for Jiro Onuma: A Queer Meditation on the Incarceration of Japanese Americans during WWII," *GLQ: A Journal of Lesbian and Gay Studies* 20, no. 3 (November 2013): 241-275. The Topaz War Relocation Center (also known as the Central Utah Relocation Center (Topaz) was listed on the NRHP on January 2, 1974 and designated an NHL on March 29, 2007. See also Sueyoshi (this volume).

[49] License: Public Domain. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Topaz,_Utah._A_panorama_view_of_the_Central_Utah_Relocation_Center,_taken_from_the_water_tower._-_NARA_-_536975.jpg

[50] A dishonorable discharge meant that veterans were ineligible for programs like the GI Bill. In New York City, the Veterans Benevolent Association, founded in 1945, fought to have dishonorable discharges overturned. Lillian Faderman, *The Gay Revolution: The Story of the Struggle* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2015), 55. See also Stein, *Rethinking*, 44-45; Eaklor, *Queer America,* 72; Estes (this volume). World War II veterans who went on to become active in LGBTQ civil rights include José Sarria, the first openly LGBTQ person to run for public office. For more discussion of gay men and lesbians in World War II, see Allan Bérubé, *Coming Out Under Fire: The History of Gay Men and Women in World War Two* (New York: Free Press, 1990).

[51] Leftists, including Marxists and socialists who became involved with LGBTQ civil rights include Harry Hay, cofounder of the Mattachine Society. The Lavender Scare connected communism and homosexuality and identified homosexuals as threats to national security. See David K. Johnson, *The Lavender Scare The Cold War Persecution of Gays and Lesbians in the Federal Government* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004); Daniel Hurewitz, *Bohemian Los Angeles and the Making of Modern Politics* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007)*;* Hobson, "Policing Gay LA," 188-212; and Boyd, *Wide-Open Town.*

Kinsey Report, *Sexual Behavior in the Human Male* was published, suggesting that there were millions of men in the United States who were attracted to other men.[52] In 1950, the US State Department identified homosexuals as security risks, leading to dismissal of government employees suspected of being gay as well as politically motivated police raids on gay bars.[53] The Immigration and Nationality Act (also known as the McCarran-Walter Act) of 1952 excluded people formerly associated with the Communist Party, and required that immigrants be of "good moral character," effectively preventing LGBTQ individuals from immigrating to, or even visiting, the United States.[54] Bar raids during this time may be the most significant aspect of LGBTQ life in this era, as well as street arrests for men and gender nonconformists. This was the backdrop against which the homophile movement emerged. The Mattachine Society was the first national homophile movement organization in the United States, founded in 1950 by Harry Hay and a small group made up predominantly of men.[55] Early meetings of the Mattachine Society took place in Los Angeles at the residence Hay shared with his wife and daughters, overlooking the Silver Lake Reservoir.[56] There were eventually Mattachine Society chapters in cities across the country, including Washington, DC; Detroit, Michigan; Chicago, Illinois; and Buffalo, New York (Figure 4).[57]

---

[52] Faderman, *Revolution,* 54. The Kinsey Institute for Research in Sex, Gender, and Reproduction is located at the University of Indiana, Bloomington, Indiana.

[53] Jonathan Katz, *Gay American History: Lesbians and Gay Men in the U.S.A., A Documentary* (New York: Crowell, 1976), 410-411; Barry Adam, The *Rise of a Gay and Lesbian Movement* (Boston: Twayne, 1987), 58-80.

[54] Canaday, *The Straight State*.

[55] A small number of women were involved with Mattachine at the beginning, but eventually stopped coming to meetings as discussions focused largely on male homosexuality. See Faderman, *Revolution,* 58.

[56] Harry Hay married Anita Platky in 1938, and they adopted two daughters. She always knew he was gay. Following the founding of Mattachine, however, which would lead to public disclosure of his homosexuality, Anita divorced Harry and was awarded sole custody of their daughters. See Faderman, *Revolution,* 53-59.

[57] In 1952, the same year they were incorporated, Mattachine moved into their first offices at 232 South Hill Street, Los Angeles, California (now demolished). The Mattachine Society moved their headquarters to the Williams Building, 693 Mission Street, San Francisco, California in 1954. Their national offices (along with those of other organizations, including the Daughters of Bilitis and Pan Graphic Press) were located in in the Williams Building into the 1960s and later moved to the former Japanese YWCA, 1830 Sutter Street, San Francisco, California. The founding meeting of the Detroit Chapter of the Mattachine Society, the first LGBTQ organization in Michigan, was in 1958 at the Fort Shelby Hotel, 525 West Lafayette Boulevard, Detroit, Michigan (listed on the NRHP on November 25,

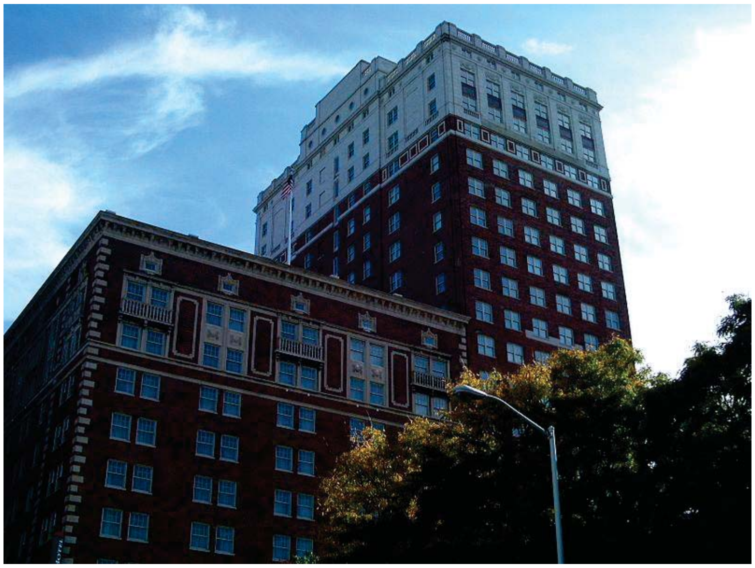


Figure 4: The Fort Shelby Hotel was the location of the founding meeting of Detroit's Mattachine Society in 1958; it was the first LGBTQ organization in Michigan. Photo by Mike Russell, 2009.[58]

Through discussion groups, members of the Mattachine Society talked about homosexual rights and oppression, and worked against police harassment. In 1953, there was an internal revolt, and Harry Hay and other "radicals" were removed from leadership, replaced by Hal Call as the new president.[59] While still focusing on civil rights for homosexuals, the Mattachine Society began emphasizing assimilation as a means to acceptance and gaining civil rights.[60] Other groups formed at this time; ONE, Inc. was founded by a group of men who initially met at Mattachine. In 1953, they began publishing their magazine, *One*, the first widely-distributed homosexual publication in the United States.[61] The following year, the United States postmaster in Los Angeles declared *One* obscene

---

1983). The Mattachine Society of the Niagara Frontier had their headquarters in the Avenue bar at Townsend Hall. This building was demolished in 1972 and replaced by the Buffalo City Court building. See Preservation Buffalo Niagara, "Buffalo's Early LGBT Roots," HistPres.com, June 30, 2014, accessed October 8, 2015, http://histpres.com/2014/06/buffalos-early-lgbt-roots, (web link no longer online, see archived link at https://web.archive.org/web/20151029061803/http://histpres.com/2014/06/buffalos-early-lgbt-roots).

[58] License: CC BY-SA 3.0. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:FortShelbyDoubletreeDetroit.jpg

[59] The meeting where Hay was ousted took place at the First Universalist Church, northwest corner of West Eighth Street and Crenshaw Boulevard, Los Angeles, California. From 1960 to 2000, Hal Call lived in the Nob Hill area of San Francisco, California.

[60] This assimilation approach, also used by many of the other homophile groups that sprang up around the country, emphasized that LGBTQ people were no different than straight people. It fostered a respectability politics that excluded drag queens, feminine men, masculine women, transgender people, and very often people of color, the working classes, and other "marginal" groups.

[61] The first gay publication in the United States was *Friendship and Freedom,* published by the Society for Human Rights in 1924-1925. The Society for Human Rights was founded by Henry Gerber. The first known lesbian publication in the world was *Vice Versa,* published in 1947 and 1948 by Edith Eyde under the pen name of Lisa Ben (an anagram of lesbian). She produced the publication during her shifts at RKO Studios (now CBS Paramount Television) at 780 N. Gower Street, Hollywood, California. Stein, *Rethinking,* 45.

and banned it from the mail. ONE, Inc. sued, the case made its way to the Supreme Court, and eventually Mattachine won the landmark First Amendment case, ONE, Inc. v. Oleson.[62]

Another landmark court case of this period was the 1951 California Supreme Court ruling in Stoumen v. Reilly. Ruling for Stoumen, the owner of the Black Cat in San Francisco, the court found that it was not illegal for a public restaurant or bar in California to serve homosexuals; in order for a liquor license to be revoked, proof of illegal or immoral activity was required.[63] Although it was still illegal under sodomy laws to engage in same-sex acts, this recognition of the right of public assembly for gay men and lesbians represented an important civil rights advance. Despite this legal recognition, however, bar raids continued with great frequency across the country.

6. The Modern Civil Rights Movement, 1954-1964

During this period, African Americans pushed for national constitutional equality and an end to segregation. In addition to presidential executive orders, this era saw the passage of three Civil Rights Acts. The Civil Rights Acts of 1957 and 1960 legislated voting rights and imposed penalties for infringing upon them. This era also saw the federal government's first military enforcement of civil rights law: in 1957, the governor of Arkansas mobilized the state's National Guard to prevent black students from entering Little Rock Central High School after Brown v. Board of Education declared “separate but equal” segregation a violation of the Constitution. In response, President Eisenhower deployed the 101st Airborne Division to Arkansas and federalized that state’s National Guard.[64]

---

[62] ONE's original law suit was rejected in the district courts, and they lost their case (ONE, Inc. v. Olesen) in the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals. The Supreme Court overturned the appeals court ruling, establishing that the magazine (and therefore descriptions of homosexuality) were not intrinsically obscene. The Ninth Circuit trial unfolded at the James R. Browning United States Court of Appeals Building, northeast corner of Mission and Seventh Streets, San Francisco, California. It was listed on the NRHP on October 14, 1971 and designated an NHL on October 16, 2012. See also Whitney Strub, *Obscenity Rules: Roth v. United States and the Long Struggle over Sexual Expression* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2013).

[63] Stein, *Rethinking,* 48; Boyd, *Wide-Open Town*. Sol Stoumen, the straight owner of the Black Cat Club at 710 Montgomery Street, San Francisco, California, fought repeated court battles against police harassment of his customers in the 1950s. The Black Cat Club is a contributing resource of the Jackson Square Historic District, listed on the NRHP on November 18, 1971. See also Graves and Watson (this volume).

These years were filled with highly publicized collective actions to achieve civil rights for African Americans—bus boycotts, sit-ins, and freedom rides. These led to the well-known March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom, where Martin Luther King, Jr. delivered his “I Have a Dream” speech. The march took place on the National Mall on August 23, 1963.[65] One of the key organizers for the March on Washington and Martin Luther King, Jr.’s early civil rights career, was gay man Bayard Rustin.[66] Between two hundred thousand and three hundred thousand people attended the March on Washington, which led in part to the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.[67] The successes of the African American civil rights movement during this period inspired other groups to employ similar tactics.

During this period, the homophile movement grew to include the Daughters of Bilitis (DOB), the first national lesbian organization. In 1955, San Francisco Filipina Rose Bamberger invited a group of eight women, including Del Martin and Phyllis Lyon, to start the DOB as a social alternative to lesbian bars (which were subject to police harassment).[68] Shortly after its founding, the focus of the DOB shifted to lesbian civil and political rights and support for those afraid of coming out. Like the early Mattachine Society, the early DOB was assimilationist, and discouraged masculine appearance in their members.[69] In 1956, the DOB began publishing their newsletter, *The Ladder*. Publications like *The Ladder*, ONE, Inc.'s *One,* and Mattachine's *Mattachine Review* served to build community across the country and advise people about their rights.

---

[64] Herb Boyd, “Little Rock Nine Paved the Way,” *New York Amsterdam News* 98, no. 40 (September 27, 2007): 28; Jean Edward Smith, *Eisenhower in War and Peace* (New York: Random House, 2012), 723; NPS, *Civil Rights Framework.*

[65] The National Mall was listed on the NRHP on October 15, 1966. It is part of the National Mall and Memorial Parks unit of the NPS, established in 1965.

[66] Bayard Rustin’s apartment, where he lived with his partner Walter Naegel during the planning of the March on Washington, is located in the Chelsea neighborhood of New York City, New York. It was listed on the NRHP on March 8, 2016. See John D’Emilio, *Lost Prophet: The Life and Times of Bayard Rustin* (New York: Free Press, 2003).

[67] Bayard Rustin’s childhood home is located in West Chester, Pennsylvania. He lived there from 1912 through 1930, and is where he learned Quaker ideals from his grandmother. While in high school, Rustin organized a nonviolent demonstration against local segregation. Rustin lived the last decades of his life in an apartment in the Chelsea neighborhood of New York City with his partner Walter Naegel. Charles C. Euchner, *Nobody Turn Me Around: A People’s History of the 1963 March on Washington* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2010); Henry Louis Gates, Jr., “Who Designed the March on Washington?” *The African Americans: Many Rivers to Cross*, PBS, 2013, accessed October 7, 2015, http://www.pbs.org/wnet/african-americans-many-rivers-to-cross/history/100-amazing-facts/who-designed-the-march-on-washington.

In 1961, Dr. Franklin E. Kameny, who had received his PhD in astronomy in 1956, co-founded Mattachine DC. Kameny was radicalized after being fired from his job at the Army Map Service in Washington, DC, and barred from further federal employment for failing to disclose his sexual orientation. He appealed his firing to the United States Supreme Court, who turned down his petition for judicial review (*certiorari*).[70] Kameny remained active in LGBTQ rights for the rest of his life, and was instrumental in having DC's sodomy laws overturned; having homosexuality reclassified as no longer a mental disorder in the American Psychiatric Association's *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders* in 1973 (Figure 5). Kameny's influential work has been widely commemorated. In addition to his house being listed on the NRHP, a portion of Seventeenth Street NW in Washington, DC, has been named Frank Kameny Way and Minor Planet 1999 RE44 was renamed *(40463) Frankkameny* in his honor by the International Astronomical Union.[71]

---

[68] Bamberger left the organization shortly after its founding. See JoAnne Myers, *Historical Dictionary of the Lesbian and Gay Liberation Movements* (Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press, 2013), 127. Two of the cofounders of the Daughters of Bilitis, Phyllis Lyon and Del Martin were living together at their home in San Francisco's Noe Valley neighborhood when the organization was founded. They continued to live together in their home in Noe Valley until Del passed away in 2008. The national office of the Daughters of Bilitis was located at 165 O'Farrell Street, San Francisco, California. The DOB's journal, *The Ladder,* was published by Pan Graphic Press at the Williams Building, 693 Mission Street, San Francisco, California. See also Marcia M. Gallo, *Different Daughters: A History of the Daughters of Bilitis and the Rise of the Lesbian Rights Movement* (New York: Carrol & Graf Publishers, 2006).

[69] Gallo, *Different Daughters*, 24.

[70] Dr. Franklin Kameny's Residence in northwestern DC was listed on the NRHP on November 2, 2011, shortly after his death on October 11, 2011.

[71] Minor Planet *(40463) Frankkameny* was discovered in 1999 and named in honor of Kameny on July 3, 2012.

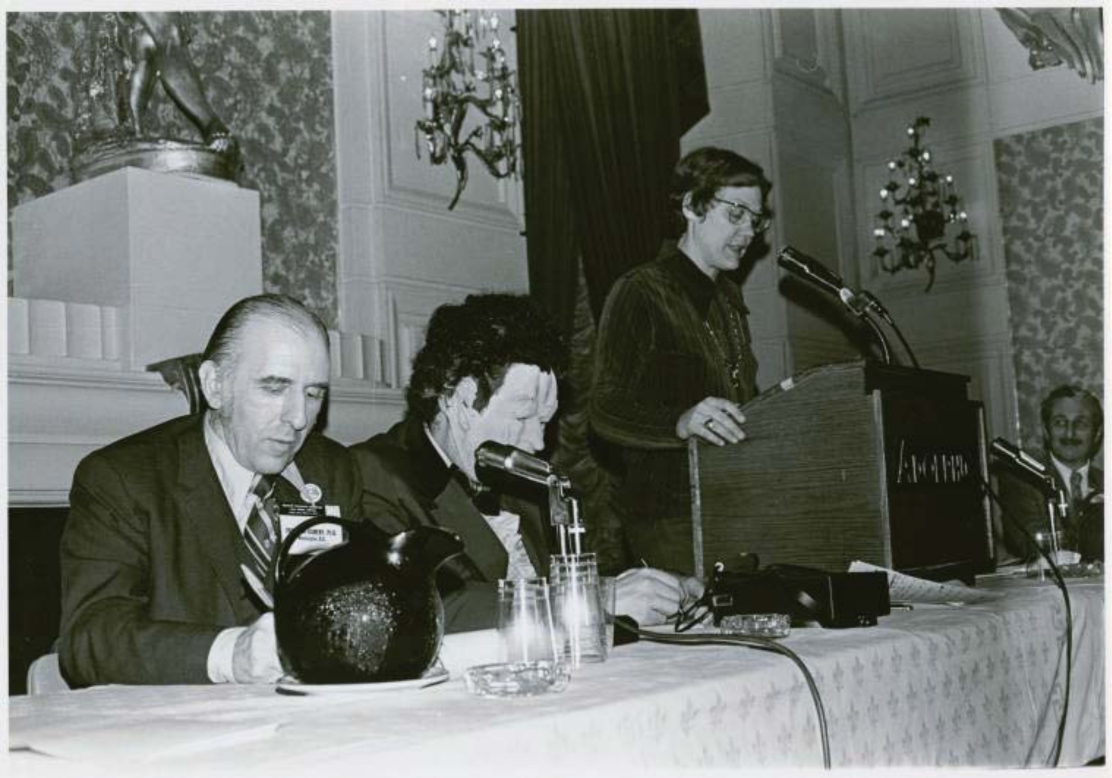


Figure 5: Dr. Franklin E. Kameny, Dr. Henry Anonymous (Dr. John E. Fryer), and Barbara Gittings at the 1972 American Psychological Association (APA)'s annual meeting at the Dallas Memorial Auditorium and Convention Center (now the Kay Bailey Hutchison Convention Center), Canton and Akard Streets. This was the first time a psychiatrist (Fryer) had addressed the APA as a gay man, though he needed to do so anonymously at the time to protect his career. The APA voted to remove homosexuality as a disease from the *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual* in during their annual meeting at the Sheraton Waikiki Hotel (2255 Kalakaua Avenue, Honolulu, Hawai'i) in 1973. Photo by Kay Tobin, 1972, courtesy of the New York Public Library (Barbara Gittings and Kay Tobin Lahusen Gay History Papers and Photographs Collection).

The same year that Frank Kameny cofounded Mattachine DC, in San Francisco, José Sarria became the first openly gay LGBTQ person to run for American public office, and perhaps the first in the world.[72] Returning to San Francisco in 1947, following his military service, Sarria began studies to become a teacher. His hopes of teaching were derailed when he was arrested on morals charges at the St. Francis Hotel.[73] In the 1950s and 1960s, Sarria performed as a popular drag queen at the Black Cat Café, noted especially for his parodies of operas and torch songs. As well as entertainment, his performances had an activist flavor, as he encouraged the LGBTQ patrons to come out of the closet: “united we stand, divided they catch us one by one.”[74] In 1961, Sarria ran for a position on the San Francisco Board of Supervisors, using the Black Cat as his informal campaign headquarters.[75] Though he did not win, the number of people who voted for him made it clear that LGBTQ people held clout in city politics: “From that day on, nobody ran for anything in San Francisco without knocking on the door of the gay community.”[76] In 1962, Sarria and others formed the Tavern Guild, the first US gay business association. The Guild raised money to help bar owners coordinate against police harassment and to help those arrested at gay bars.[77] He continued to be active in LGBTQ rights (see next section). In 1964, transman Reed Erickson founded the Erickson Educational Foundation (EEF) from his home in Baton Rouge, Louisiana. In operation for twenty years, the foundation funded research and activism in support of transgender people and LGBTQ rights. ONE, Inc. was one of the largest recipients of EEF funding.[78]

---

[72] Serkan Ozturk, "United We Stand, Divided They Catch Us One By One": The Extraordinary José Sarria," *Star Observer* (Australia), September 20, 2013, http://www.starobserver.com.au/news/united-we-stand-divided-they-catch-us-one-by-one-the-extraordinary-jose-sarria/109625.

[73] The St. Francis Hotel (now the Westin St. Francis) is located at 335 Powell Street, San Francisco, California. Bullough, *Before Stonewall*, 377; Michael R. Gorman, *The Empress is a Man: Stories from the Life of José Sarria* (New York: Harrington Park Press, 1998), 139.

Like Bayard Rustin, other LGBTQ people including Pauli Murray, James Baldwin, and Lorraine Hansberry also continued civil rights and social justice work in other contexts.[79] Pauli Murray was a civil rights activist, women’s rights activist, attorney (the first black person to receive a JD degree from Yale Law School), author, and the first black woman to be ordained as an Episcopal priest. In 2012, Murray was named an Episcopal Saint. Especially known in law for her pioneering work on gender discrimination, her book, *States' Laws on Race and Color* was referred to by Thurgood Marshall as the "bible" of the civil rights movement. Murray struggled with gender identity and sexuality. Attracted to women, Murray did not describe herself as homosexual. Instead, she wrote of feeling more like a man attracted to women, and described herself as having an "inverted sex instinct."[80] James Baldwin, whose book, *Giovanni's Room* (1956) caused controversy because of its homoerotic content, is also known for *Another Country* and *Tell Me How Long the Train's Been Gone.* Baldwin was also active in the civil rights movement, touring the South for the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) and gracing the cover of *Time* magazine in May 1963 as the face of civil rights activism.[81] Lorraine Hansberry was the first black woman to write a Broadway play. Her work, *A Raisin in the Sun* deals extensively with the lives of black Americans in Chicago during racial segregation. Hansberry grew up in a house on Chicago's south side from 1930 to 1938. In 1938, her parents bought and moved into a home in the all-white Woodlawn neighborhood of Chicago. They were sued by a member of the home owners' association for violating the restrictive covenant that prevented black people from buying property in that part of the city. The case, Hansberry v. Lee, made its way to the United States Supreme Court, which ruled in 1940 that the 54 percent of the association members who agreed to the restrictive covenant did not represent the 46 percent who had not – an important step in these restrictive covenants being declared unconstitutional.[82] In 1951, Lorraine moved to Harlem and fought against evictions and for other civil rights issues, including being involved with CORE. Married in 1953, she and her husband Robert Nemiroff separated in 1957, eventually divorcing, but remaining amicable. Hansberry identified as a lesbian; she wrote about feminism and homophobia, and contributed two letters to *The Ladder*.[83]

---

[74] Randy Shilts, *The Mayor of Castro Street* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1982), 52.

[75] The Black Cat was located at 710 Montgomery Street, San Francisco, California. It is a contributing resource to the Jackson Square Historic District, listed on the NRHP November 18, 1971. The Black Cat lost its liquor license in 1963 after years of police pressure. Boyd, *Wide-Open Town*; Neil Miller, *Out of the Past: Gay and Lesbian History from 1869 to the Present* (New York: Vintage Books, 1995), 347; Shilts, *Mayor of Castro Street*, 57.

[76] Ozturk, “United We Stand.”

[77] Bullough, *Before Stonewall*, 157; John D’Emilio, *Sexual Politics, Sexual Communities: The Making of a Homosexual Minority in the United States* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983), 189. The Tavern Guild was founded at Suzy-Q at 1741 Polk Street, San Francisco, California; see Johnson (this volume).

[78] A. H. Devor, “Reed Erickson and The Erickson Educational Foundation,” University of Victoria website, last revised September 18, 2013, http://web.uvic.ca/~erick123.

[79] NPS, *Civil Rights Framework.*

---

[80] Pauli Murray, *Song in a Weary Throat: An American Pilgrimage* (New York: Harper and Row, 1987); see also Kenneth W. Mack, *Representing the Race: The Creating of the Civil Rights Lawyer* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2012); Patricia Bell-Scott, *The Firebrand and the First Lady: Portrait of a Friendship: Pauli Murray, Eleanor Roosevelt, and the Struggle for Social Justice* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2016). The home that Murray grew up in, to open as the Pauli Murray Center for History and Social Justice, is located at 906 Carroll Street, Durham, North Carolina. In 1967 and 1968, Murray was vice president of Benedict College, Columbia, South Carolina; the Benedict College Historic District was added to the NRHP on April 20, 1987. She celebrated her first Eucharist as a priest at the Chapel of the Cross, 304 East Franklin Street, Chapel Hill, North Carolina on February 13, 1977; the church was added to the NRHP on February 1, 1972.

[81] Carol Polsgrove, *Divided Minds: Intellectuals and the Civil Rights Movement* (New York: Norton, 2001), 94-99, 155-156. Baldwin wrote *Another County* while living in an apartment in New York City's West Village that he rented from 1957-1963. The building is located within the Greenwich Village Historic District, listed on the NRHP on June 19, 1970. In 1965, Baldwin purchased a row house on New York City's Upper West Side; while at this location, he wrote *Tell Me How Long the Train's Been Gone*. He died in 1987.

7. Militancy and Backlash, 1964-1981

The Civil Rights Act of 1964 outlawed discrimination based on race, color, religion, sex, or national origin. It also ended the disenfranchisement of citizens through unequal voting registration requirements, and ended racial segregation in schools and in public accommodations. As gains were made during this period towards African American civil rights, an expanding array of new social movements and civil rights constituencies mobilized for similar protections.

These other social movements included homophile groups throughout the country, who continued to become more militant. They protested and worked against police entrapment, strove to educate professionals, including health professionals, about homosexuality, and fought against discrimination in government employment that had become entrenched during the McCarthy era (McCarthy linked Communism and homosexuality).[84] Militant protests and pushback against police harassment increasingly brought the struggle for LGBTQ rights into the streets and visible to wider America.

---

[82] Alison Shay, "Remembering Hansberry v. Lee," Publishing the Long Civil Rights Movement (website), November 12, 2012, https://lcrm.lib.unc.edu/blog/index.php/tag/hansberry-v-lee.

[83] The residence that Lorraine grew up in from 1930 to 1938 was located at 5330 South Calumet Avenue, Chicago, Illinois (now demolished). From 1953 to 1960, Hansberry and her husband/ex-husband lived in a Bleecker Street apartment in New York City's West Village. She wrote *A Raisin in the Sun* at this location. In 1960, Hansberry and Nemiroff moved to a Greenwich Village apartment, where Hansberry met Dorothy Secules. The two women remained together until Hansberry's death in 1965. See "Lorraine Hansberry House," Chicago Landmarks, City of Chicago website, http://webapps.cityofchicago.org/landmarksweb/web/landmarkdetails.htm?lanId=13024; Lyonette Louis-Jacques, "Lorraine Hansberry: Her Chicago Law Story," *Law News from the D'Angelo Law Library*, University of Chicago Law website, March 6, 2013, http://news.lib.uchicago.edu/blog/2013/03/06/lorraine-hansberry-her-chicago-law-story.

[84] NPS, *Civil Rights Framework.*

Militant protests by homophile groups began in the mid-1960s. These pickets included those at the Pentagon and the White House. In April 1965, Frank Kameny and Mattachine DC picketed the White House in one of the earliest public protests for LGBTQ rights.[85] Perhaps the most iconic, however, are the pickets in front of Independence Hall in Philadelphia that took place every Fourth of July from 1965 to 1969.[86] These Annual Reminders were organized by members of the New York City and Washington, DC, chapters of the Mattachine Society, Philadelphia's Janus Society, and the New York chapter of the Daughters of Bilitis, organized under the collective name, East Coast Homophile Organizations (ECHO).[87] With a "respectable" dress code in effect (suits and ties for men, dresses for women), members of ECHO marched in front of Independence Hall carrying signs that read, "Homosexuals Should Be Judged As Individuals" and "Homosexual Bill of Rights," reminding onlookers that the Declaration of Independence had not brought freedom to all Americans.[88]

Taking cues from the successes of the African American civil rights movement, like the one on February 1, 1960 at the Greensboro, North Carolina Woolworth store, LGBTQ activists also staged sit-ins and sip-ins to protest their lack of rights of assembly and access to public accommodation. On April 25, 1965, three teenagers (two men and a woman) staged a sit-in at Dewey's Restaurant in Philadelphia, protesting the establishment's refusal to serve homosexuals and people wearing "non-conformist" clothing. When the police arrived, the protesters and their legal representative were arrested for disorderly conduct. The Janus Society, Philadelphia's homophile organization, paraded in front of Dewey's for days and distributed thousands of leaflets in protest. A week later, another sit-in occurred, and the police were again called, but refused to arrest anyone, saying they had no authority to ask peaceful protesters to leave. The owner of Dewey's changed his policy on serving queers, and the protest was considered a success.[89]

---

[85] NPS, *Civil Rights Framework.* The Pentagon Office Building Complex in Arlington, Virginia was listed on the NRHP on July 27, 1989 and designated an NHL on October 5, 1992. The White House is located at 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue NW, Washington, DC. It was designated an NHL on December 19, 1960.

[86] Independence Hall is part of Independence National Historical Park, created June 28, 1948. It was designated an NHL District on October 15, 1966.

[87] Gittings, *Revolution,* 188-189.

[88] Martin Duberman, *Stonewall* (New York: Dutton, 1993), 113; John Loughery, *The Other Side of Silence: Men's Lives and Gay Identities: A Twentieth-Century History* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1998), 271.

In New York City the following year, members of the New York City Mattachine Society staged a sip-in to try to force the New York State Liquor Authority to stop raiding and revoking licenses and otherwise harassing establishments that served homosexuals. Sitting at the bar of Julius' Bar on April 21, 1966, the activists ordered drinks. As they were being served, they handed the bartender a note reading, "We are homosexuals. We are orderly. We intend to remain orderly, and we are asking for service." In response, the barkeep stopped serving them, saying that the State Liquor Authority forbade him from serving homosexuals. The Mattachine Society sued, and the New York State Appellate Court ruled that the Constitution protected the rights of peaceful assembly, even for homosexuals, and that the State Liquor Authority could no longer prohibit people from congregating in gay bars. The Sip-In at Julius' cleared the legal path for openly gay bars in New York City, though police harassment and raids continued.[90]

---

[89] Dewey's coffee house was located at 219 South Seventeenth Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. See Marc Stein, "The First Gay Sit-In Happened 40 Years Ago," *History News Network,* May 9, 2005, accessed September 26, 2015, http://historynewsnetwork.org/article/11652; Faderman, *Revolution,* 116-117. The Janus Society had offices in the Middle City Building, 34 South Seventeenth Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

[90] Julius' Bar is located at 159 West 10th Street at Waverly Place, New York City, New York, within the Greenwich Village Historic District. Scott Simon, "Remembering a 1966 'Sip-In' for Gay Rights," *Weekend Edition Saturday*, NPR, June 28, 2008, accessed October 15, 2015, http://www.npr.org/templates/story/story.php?storyId=91993823; Faderman, *Revolution,* 118-119.

Impromptu riots against police harassment include those at Cooper's Donuts (Los Angeles), Compton's Cafeteria (San Francisco), the Zephyr Restaurant (Washington, DC), and the Stonewall Inn (New York City) were often started by queens and other gender-variant people, hustlers, and people of color. Tucked in between two gay bars in Los Angeles, Cooper's Donuts was a popular hangout for queers. In May 1959, police arrested two hustlers, two queens, and a young man who was cruising other patrons. Customers and others in the area, tired of police harassment, rioted in response. Several of them were beaten and others arrested.[91] In August 1966, young queens and queers at Compton's

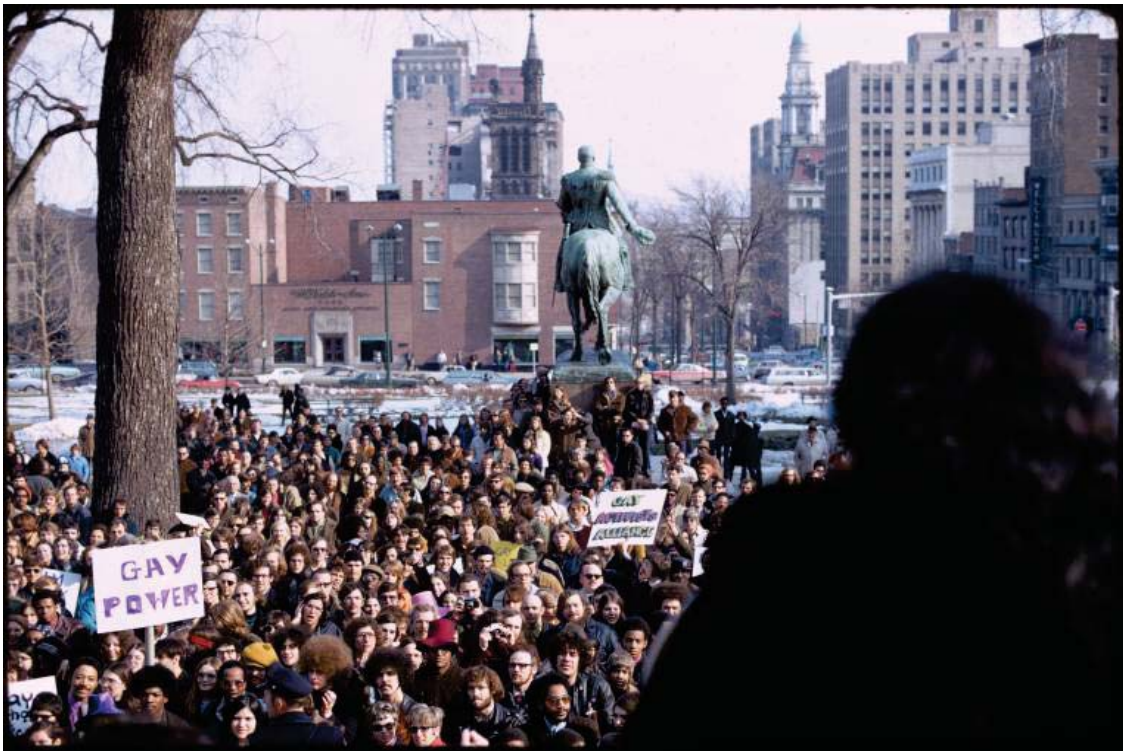


Figure 6: Speakers' view, 1971 Gay Rights Rally, New York State Capitol Building, Albany, New York. The New York State Capitol Building was added to the NRHP on February 18, 1971 and designated an NHL on January 29, 1979. It is part of the Lafayette Park Historic District, added to the NRHP on November 15, 1978. Photo by Diana Davies, courtesy of the New York Public Library (Diana Davies Photographs Collection, b14442517).

---

[91] Novelist John Rechy was among those at Cooper's Donuts the night of the riot. Rechy, a Mexican American, is best known for his novel, *City of Night,* which broke literary inhibitions in portraying the life of young gay hustlers. His home is in El Paso, Texas. Evan Moffitt, "10 Years Before Stonewall, There Was the Cooper's Donuts Riot," *Out Magazine,* May 31, 2015, accessed October 19, 2015, http://www.out.com/today-gay-history/2015/5/31/today-gay-history-10-years-stonewall-there-was-coopers-donuts-riot. Cooper's Donuts was located at 554 or 557 South Main Street, Los Angeles, California.

Cafeteria, a twenty-four hour hangout popular with the gay community, also rebelled following police harassment.[92]

In June 1969, patrons of the then mafia-run Stonewall Inn in New York City's Greenwich Village, fought back against police harassment. Instead of acquiescing to police demands, the queens, hustlers, gay men, and lesbian patrons—many of whom, including queens Marsha P. "Pay it No Mind" Johnson and Sylvia Rivera, were working class and people of color—fought back, forcing the police to retreat.[93] This event is generally recognized as the birth of the Gay Liberation Movement, and continues to be remembered by LGBTQ Pride celebrations and protests across the country (and internationally) that take place in June (Figure 6). These pride celebrations, which began as street protests for LGBTQ rights simultaneously in New York City, Los Angeles, and Chicago were an abrupt break from the Annual Reminders that had taken place in Philadelphia from 1965 through 1969.[94]

The Gay Liberation Front formed in New York City almost immediately following the Stonewall Riots, and groups with similar names quickly formed across the country, including Los Angeles, Washington, DC, Iowa City, Buffalo, New York, and Milwaukee, Wisconsin.[95] They advocated for direct action and the sexual liberation of all people. In December 1969, just months after the founding of the GLF, some New York City members split off to form the Gay Activists' Alliance (GAA) (Figure 7). The split was in reaction to the perceived chaos and obstructionism of the GLF, and its commitment to multi-issue, multi-movement, coalition politics—the GAA instead wanted to focus on gay rights.[96] While some members of the GLF worked to distance themselves from drag queens and other gender-variant people, the GAA actively began to exclude transgender people, including making fun of them and not allowing them to speak at public rallies, including the 1973 Christopher Street Liberation Rally, during which Sylvia Rivera took over the stage.[97]

---

[92] Compton's Cafeteria was located at 101 Taylor Street, San Francisco, California. Many of the youth at Compton's were members of Vanguard, the first LGBTQ youth organization in the United States. From 1965 to 1967, they operated out of Glide Memorial Church, 330 Ellis Street, San Francisco, California. Both buildings are contributing elements to the Uptown Tenderloin Historic District, listed on the NRHP on February 5, 2009. Stryker, *Transgender History;* Christina Hanhardt, *Safe Space: Gay Neighborhood History and the Politics of Violence* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2013); *Screaming Queens: The Riot at Compton's Cafeteria,* directed by Victor Silverman and Susan Stryker (San Francisco: Frameline, 2005).

[93] According to Stormé DeLarverie, the only female member of The Jewel Box Review, and who was at Stonewall the night of the revolt, "It was a rebellion, it was an uprising, it was a civil rights disobedience—it wasn't no damn riot." Kristi K., "Something Like a Super Lesbian: Stormé DeLarverie (In Memoriam)," *The K Word,* May 28, 2014, accessed October 27, 2015, http://thekword.com/2014/05/28/something-like-a-super-lesbian-storme-delarverie-in-memoriam. The body of Marsha P. Johnson was recovered from the waters off of Pier 45 (also known as the Christopher Street Pier) in New York City in 1992. Since the 1970s, the Pier has been a meeting place and refuge for gay men, drag queens, and other members of the African American ballroom community and culture. Susan Stryker, *Transgender History* (Berkeley, CA: Seal Press, 2008), 82-86; Tim Retzloff, "Eliding Trans Latino/a Queer Experience in US LGBT History: José Sarria and Sylvia Rivera Reexamined," *CENTRO: Journal of the Center for Puerto Rican Studies* 19, no. 1 (2007): 140-161.

[94] Duberman, *Stonewall*; David Carter, *Stonewall: The Riots that Sparked the Gay Revolution* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2004). Stonewall (51-53 Christopher Street, Christopher Park and surrounding streets, New York City, New York) was listed on the NRHP on June 28, 1999 and designated an NHL on February 16, 2000.

---

[95] The Gay Liberation Front did not have "chapters;" each of the groups were independent from one another. In 1970 and 1971, the New York City group met at the Church of the Holy Apostles, 296 Ninth Avenue, New York City, New York. The building was added to the NRHP on April 26, 1972. In 1969 in Los Angeles, Morris Kight, Harry Hay, and others founded the GLF chapter at Morris Kight's House in the Westlake neighborhood of Los Angeles. They opened the first gay coffee house, held several "gay-ins" at Griffith Park (4730 Crystal Springs Drive, Los Angeles, California), and were involved in establishing LA's first gay pride parade, as well as the city's first gay community center at 1612-1614 Wilshire Boulevard, Los Angeles, California (now demolished), which has become the Los Angeles LGBT Center, 1625 North Schrader Boulevard, Los Angeles, California. In Washington, DC, members of the GLF rented a house on S Street NW from 1971 to 1974, from where they offered meeting space, published a newsletter, and hosted support groups. They held newcomer and youth group meetings at the Quaker House, 2121 Decatur Place NW, Washington, DC—a location that also hosted lesbian organizations like Rising Women's Coffee House and in the 1980s, a coffeehouse where people living with HIV/AIDS could meet. The GLF of Rochester, New York operated out of 201 Todd Union at the University of Rochester, River Station, Rochester, New York from 1971 to 1973 and published the *Empty Closet* newsletter. They became the Gay Alliance of the Genesee Valley in June 1973. In April 1974, the University of Iowa's GLF and Gay People's Liberation Alliance from Iowa State University (which formed initially as the GLF in 1971) co-organized the first Midwest Gay Pride Conference, held at the Iowa Memorial Union, 125 North Madison Street, Iowa City, Iowa. The GLF also organized at SUNY Buffalo and at the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee in 1970.

[96] Arthur Bell, *Dancing the Gay Lib Blues: A Year in the Homosexual Liberation Movement* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1971); Faderman, *Revolution,* 258-259. The GAA had their New York City headquarters at the Firehouse, 99 Wooster Street, New York City, New York from 1971-1974, when arsonists set fire to the building. This served as a mailing address for the New York City chapter of the Radicalesbians in the early 1970s. The GAA Firehouse is located in the SoHo-Cast Iron Historic District, listed on the NRHP and as a NHL on June 29, 1978.

[97] Jessi Gan, "'Still at the Back of the Bus': Sylvia Rivera's Struggle," *CENTRO Journal* 19, no. 1 (2007): 124-139. The Gay Activist Alliance operated out of the Gay Activist Alliance Firehouse, 99 Wooster Street, New York City, New York. It is located within the SoHo-Cast Iron Historic District, added to the NRHP and designated an NHL on June 29, 1978. See "Sylvia Rivera, 'Y'all Better Quiet Down' (1973)," YouTube video, posted by Luz Violeta, published October 22, 2014, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9QiigzZCEtQ.

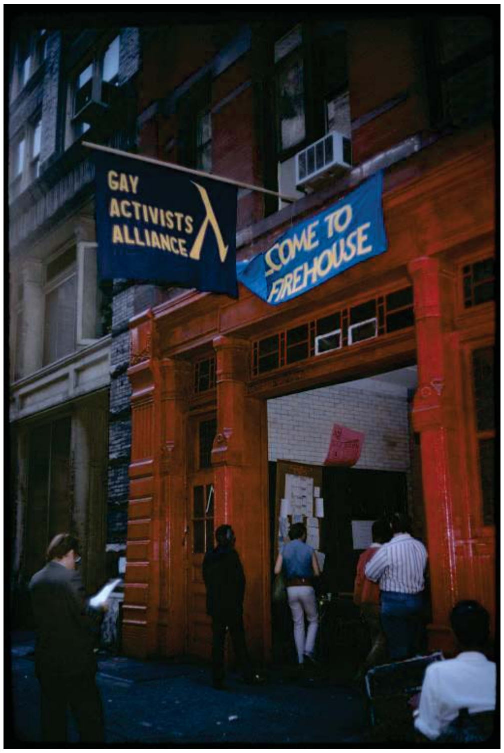


Figure 7: Gay Activists' Alliance Firehouse, New York City. Photo by Diana Davies, 1971, courtesy of the New York Public Library (Diana Davies Photographs Collection, b14442517).

The Queens Liberation Front (QLF) was founded in 1969 by drag queen Lee Brewster and heterosexual transvestite Bunny Eisenhower. With a membership of drag queens, transvestites, and others that we would now describe as transgender, they formed in response to their erasure from the policies and agendas of the GLF, including attempted exclusion from the 1970 Christopher Street Liberation March, the first event to commemorate the Stonewall Riots.[98] Stonewall was not the end of riots against harassment. In August 1970, a gay liberation student group occupied New York University's Weinstein Hall in protest of the university's refusal to allow gay dances on campus. The students broke off their sit-in when the Tactical Police Force arrived. Frustrated by the refusal of the group to defend itself against the police, the more radical Street Transvestites for Gay Power was formed (later to become Street Transvestites Action Revolutionaries).[99] On November 28, 1970, members of the GLF, in town to attend the Black Panthers' Revolutionary People's Constitutional

---

[98] Stryker, *Transgender History,* 87. See also Ehn Nothin, "Queens Against Society," in *Street Transvestite Action Revolutionaries: Survival, Revolt, and Queer Antagonist Struggle* (Untorellipress, 2013), 6, online at https://untorellipress.noblogs.org/post/2013/03/12/street-transvestite-action-revolutionaries-survival-revolt-and-queer-antagonist-struggle, accessed October 27, 2015.

[99] "We are not quite sure what you people really want. IF you want Gay Liberation then you're going to have to fight for it. We don't mean tomorrow or the next day, we are talking about today… If you're ready to tell people that you want to be free, then your ready to fight. And if your not ready then shut up and crawl back into your closets. But let us ask you this, Can you really live in a closet? We can't," Street Transvestites for Gay Power, Statement on the 1971 NYU Occupation, in *Street Transvestite Action Revolutionaries*, 18; Nothin, Queens, 9; Sylvia Rivera and Marsha P. Johnson, two women of color, were instrumental in STAR. Weinstein Hall is located at 5 University Place, New York City, New York. See "An Army of Lovers Cannot Lose: The Occupation of NYU's Weinstein Hall," Researching Greenwich Village History website, December 14, 2011, https://greenwichvillagehistory.wordpress.com/tag/weinstein-hall.

Convention, were refused service at the Zephyr Restaurant in Washington, DC. In the ensuing riot, twelve GLF members, who became known as the DC Twelve, were arrested.[100]

Lesbian feminism, likewise, grew out of this period. Angry at the exclusion of lesbians (described as a "lavender menace" by National Organization of Women President Betty Friedan in 1969) from both the First and Second Congresses to Unite Women in 1969 and 1970, a group of lesbians planned an action for the opening session of the Second Congress.[101] Dubbing themselves the Lavender Menace, the group turned off power to the auditorium just as the first speaker arrived at the microphone. When the power was turned back on, about seventeen

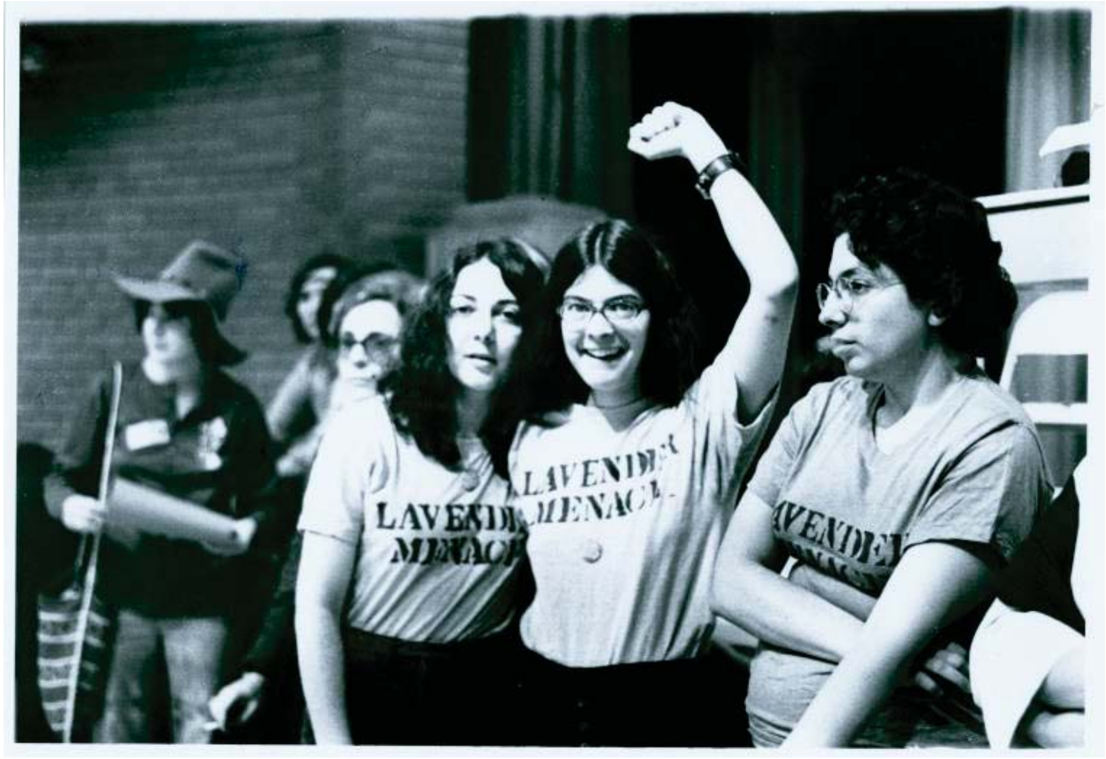


Figure 8: Three members of the Lavender Menace protesting at the 1970 Second Congress to United Women, held at Intermediate School 70, New York City. Photo by Diana Davies, 1970, courtesy of the New York Public Library (Diana Davies Photographs Collection, b14442517).

---

[100] The Zephyr Restaurant was located at 4912 Wisconsin Avenue NW, Washington, DC; All Souls Unitarian Church is at 1500 Harvard Street NW, Washington, DC.

[101] The opening session of the Second Congress was held at Intermediate School 70, 333 West 18th Street, New York City, New York.

women wearing Lavender Menace t-shirts lined the auditorium (Figure 8). They passed out copies of their manifesto, “The Woman-Identified Woman,” and spoke about their anger at being excluded from the women’s movement.[102] Many of the woman involved in the Lavender Menace “zap” at the Second Congress to Unite Women continued their lesbian feminist work, including the founding of Radicalesbians. With independent chapters across the country, they were among the first groups to challenge the heterosexism of the women’s movement.[103] The Lavender Menace action and the work of the Radicalesbians bore fruit in lesbians’ inclusion in the broader women’s rights movement. In 1971, the National Organization for Women passed a resolution stating “that a women’s right to her own person includes the right to define and express her own sexuality and to choose her own lifestyle.”[104] They also stated that forcing lesbian mothers to stay in marriages or live in the closet in order to keep their children was unjust, and committed to offer legal and moral support in a legal test case involving the child custody rights of lesbian mothers.[105]

In 1971, the Furies Collective, a group of a dozen women, moved into a house in the Capitol Hill neighborhood of Washington, DC.[106] Over the next two years, they published *The Furies* and an issue of *motive* (a youth magazine of the United Methodist Church). In these publications, the Furies "firmly placed lesbian feminism within the women's movement and legitimized the needs and priorities of lesbians on a national scale… Their ideological and intellectual roles in leading lesbianism and feminism, as they defined themselves and confronted issues of sexism, male supremacy, economic difference and oppression, racism, and gender identity, were significant, far-reaching, and continue to the present."[107] Feminist bookstores across the country were important places for lesbians and bisexual women to meet, explore and share ideas, and to organize.[108]

---

[102] Karla Jay, *Tales of the Lavender Menace: A Memoir of Liberation* (New York: Basic Books, 1999).

[103] Radicalesbians, “The Woman Identified Woman,” in *The Second Wave: A Reader in Feminist Theory*, ed. Linda Nicholson (New York: Routledge, 1997), 153-157; Susan Brownmiller, *In Our Time: Memoir of a Revolution* (New York: Dial Press, 1999). In 1972, *motive* (a publication of the United Methodist Church) printed a list of lesbian organizations across the country. Many of the addresses were c/o other organizations; others were stand-alone addresses, often private residences. Some locations of Radicalesbians listed in *motive* include: c/o the Gay Activists Alliance, 31 West Woodruff, Chicago, Illinois; c/o the Women’s Center in the Lower Garden district of New Orleans, Louisiana; Bloomington Radicalesbians, 415 East Smith Avenue, Bloomington, Indiana (now demolished); c/o the Women’s Center, 595 Massachusetts Avenue, Cambridge, Massachusetts; c/o the Gay Activists Alliance Firehouse, 99 Wooster Street, New York City, New York; Radicalesbians of Cornell University, 24 Willard Straight Hall, Cornell University, Ithaca, New York; a residence in the Weinland Park neighborhood of Columbus, Ohio; and c/o the Women’s Center in the Cedar Park neighborhood of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

[104] See “NOW: Leading the Fight, Timeline of NOW’s Work on Lesbian Rights,” National Organization for Women website, http://now.org/resource/now-leading-the-fight.

[105] National Organization for Women, “NOW: Leading the Fight.” For more on parental custody rights of LGBTQ parents, see Daniel Winunwe Rivers, *Radical Relations: Lesbian Mothers, Gay Fathers, and Their Children in the United States since World War II* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2013); and Baim (this volume).

[106] The Furies Collective House was added to the NRHP on May 2, 2016.

It was also during this time that lesbians of color organized among themselves, as their needs and concerns were not being met by the white feminist movement. In 1974, the Combahee River Collective formed in Boston, Massachusetts after several women attended the first regional meeting of the National Black Feminist Organization (NBFO) in 1973 in New York City.[109] With a more radical vision for social change than the NBFO, the women organized as the CRC, with a commitment to address the needs of black lesbians as well as black feminists.[110] Their work, as well as those of Latina/Chicana feminists and others were instrumental in framing and understanding intersectionality both in civil rights and more broadly: "we attempt to bridge the contradictions in our experience. We are the colored in a white feminist movement. We are the feminists among the people of our culture. We are often the lesbians among the straight. We do this by bridging by naming ourselves and by telling our stories in our own words."[111] In 1977, a group of multiracial, multi-class women joined together and founded Astraea, a grant-making organization designed specifically to address the lack of funding for women and women's projects, particularly for lesbians and women of color. The Astraea Lesbian Foundation for Justice, which grew from a lesbian feminist vision, continues its "commitment to feminism, progressive social change, and an end to all forms of exploitation and discrimination."[112]

---

[107] Mark Meinke, "National Register of Historic Places Nomination: The Furies Collective House," on file, National Park Service, Washington, DC.

[108] The number of women's and LGBTQ bookstores are declining. In the mid-1990s, there were approximately 120 feminist bookstores in the United States; ten years later, there were less than 70, and in 2014, an article described only 13 self-described feminist bookstores remaining in existence. Lesbians could also find feminist community at LGBTQ bookstores. Lesbian feminism has a history of excluding bisexual women; see Hutchins (this volume). See Kristen Hogan, *The Feminist Bookstore Movement: Lesbian Antiracism and Feminist Accountability* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2016); Anjali Enjeti, "The Last 13 Feminist Bookstores in the U.S. and Canada," *Paste*, May 9, 2014, https://www.pastemagazine.com/blogs/lists/2014/05/the-last-13-feminist-bookstores-in-the-us-and-canada.html; Kathleen Liddle, "More than a Bookstore: The Continuing Relevance of Feminist Bookstores for the Lesbian Community," *Journal of Lesbian Studies* 9, no. 1-2 (2005): 145-159; and Anne Enke, *Finding the Movement: Sexuality, Contested Space, and Feminist Activism* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2007). See also Hanhardt, Gieseking, and Johnson (this volume).

[109] The first regional conference of the NFBO was held at the end of 1973 at the Cathedral of St. John the Divine, Amsterdam Avenue between West 110th and West 113th Streets, New York City, New York. The Cathedral has other LGBTQ associations, including the site of funeral services for James Baldwin and Audre Lorde, as well as a memorial service for Eleanor Roosevelt.

[110] Duchess Harris, "From the Kennedy Commission to the Combahee Collective: Black Feminist Organizing, 1960-80," in *Sisters in the Struggle: African American Women in the Civil Rights-Black Power Movement,* eds. Bettye Collier-Thomas and V.P. Franklin (New York: New York University Press, 2001), 280-305; Barbara Smith, "Doing it from Scratch: The Challenge of Black Lesbian Organizing," in *The Truth That Never Hurts: Writings on Race, Gender, and Freedom* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1998), 167-177. The Combahee River Collective met at the Women's Center, 595 Massachusetts Avenue, Cambridge, Massachusetts in the mid-1970s.

In 1971, a group of feminist women founded San Francisco's Women's Centers as a place where women's projects in the Bay Area could start out. In 1979, the group purchased their current home in San Francisco's Mission District.[113] The founding director was lesbian Latina activist, Carmen Vazquez. The building has provided a home and meeting space to many lesbian feminist and LGBTQ organizations (as well as those whose mandates encompass LGBTQ people), including Ellas en Acción (an organization for lesbian and bisexual Latinas); La Casa de Las Madres, a women's shelter founded in 1976; Lava Mae, providing mobile toilets and showers for the homeless (homeless youth are disproportionately LGBTQ); the Lavender Youth Recreation & Information Center (LYRIC), the oldest queer youth organization in the United States, cofounded in 1988 by Donna Keiko Ozawa; "Becoming Visible," a conference of African American lesbians; ACT UP, and Queer Nation.

---

[111] Cherrie Moraga, "Entering the Lives of Others: Theory in the Flesh," in *This Bridge Called My Back: Writings by Radical Women of Color,* eds. Cherrie Moraga and Gloria Anzaldúa (New York: Kitchen Table/Women of Color Press, 1983), 98-101. For a more in-depth discussion of intersectionality relative to LGBTQ history, see Springate – Intersectionality (this volume). See also González and Hernández, Harris, and Sueyoshi (this volume).

[112] Jamie, "Astraea, A Lesbian Foundation for Justice: The Autostraddle Interview," *Autostraddle,* December 24, 2012, http://www.autostraddle.com/astraea-a-lesbian-foundation-for-justice-the-autostraddle-interview-152395; "About Astrea," Astraea Lesbian Foundation for Justice website, http://www.astraeafoundation.org/who-we-are/about. The Astraea Lesbian Foundation for Justice is located at 116 East 16th Street, New York City, New York.

[113] The Women's Building is located at 3543 Eighteenth Street, San Francisco, California.

Several important LGBTQ civil rights groups were formed during this period. These include the Society for Individual Rights (discussed above), Lambda Legal, and the National Gay Task Force (now the National LGBTQ Task Force). The Society for Individual Rights (SIR) was formed in San Francisco in 1964, positioning itself as a more open, democratic, and community-based organization than the homophile groups that preceded it.[114] Among its founders was José Sarria. In April 1966, SIR opened the SIR Center, the first LGBTQ community center in the United States. In 1969, the Committee for Homosexual Freedom was formed by activists who found SIR to be too conservative.[115]

Feeling alienated as Latinos from the white LGBTQ communities, politics, and organizations and alienated as gay men from their Latino communities, in 1975 Rodrigo Reyes, Manuel Hernandez Valadez, and Jesus Barragan cofounded the Gay Latino/a Alliance (GALA). The first meeting of about twenty men was held at Valadez' home in San Jose, California. The second meeting, considered by many to be the founding meeting of the organization, was held at the SIR Center and attended by up to sixty men and women.[116] From the beginning, GALA combined social and political activities, engaging with race, sexuality, and culture: "Politics and dancing mutually supported one another; the funds GALA raised through the dances and other social events underwrote political activism."[117] Throughout their existence, GALA walked a tightrope between meeting their constituents' needs as LGBTQ people, and their needs as Latino/as—a balancing act that often unavoidably led to decisions that alienated other groups. Within the group, Latina women felt unwelcome, and this schism within the group remained unresolved. GALA folded in 1983.[118]

---

[114] Gorman, *The Empress is a Man*, 197-198; Miller, *Out of the Past*, 347; D'Emilio, *Sexual Politics*, 191; Stein, *Rethinking,* 66; Faderman, *Revolution,* 178-179; Bill Brent, "Society for Individual Rights (SIR)," *FoundSF*, 1998, http://www.foundsf.org/index.php?title=Society_for_Individual_Rights_(SIR). The Society for Individual Rights was founded in a residential building in the Haight-Ashbury neighborhood of San Francisco and in 1966 opened the SIR Center, the first LGBTQ community center, at 83 Sixth Street, San Francisco, California. SIR became the largest homophile organization in the country before ceasing operations in the early 1970s. Graves and Watson (this volume). A section of Sixteenth Street in San Francisco, California was renamed José Sarria Court in 2006 in his honor. See also Cynthia Laird, "Breaking: Jose Sarria Dies," *Bay Area Reporter,* August 15, 2013, http://ebar.com/news/article.php?sec=news&article=69020.

[115] Stein, *Rethinking,* 66; Faderman, *Revolution,* 178-179. The SIR Center was located at 83 Sixth Street, San Francisco, California. For more examples of organizing in San Francisco, including the formation of the Bay Area Gay Liberation group in response to police harassment in San Francisco, see Graves and Watson and Hanhardt (this volume).

[116] Horacio N. Roque Ramirez, "'That's MY Place!': Negotiating Racial, Sexual, and Gender Politics in San Francisco's Gay Latino Alliance, 1975-1983," *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 12, no. 2 (April 2003): 224-258. For more on Latino/a organizing, see González and Hernández (this volume).

The Lambda Legal Defense and Education Fund (Lambda Legal) was formed by gay attorneys in 1973. They had tried to incorporate in 1971, but were denied as the organization was deemed contrary to public policy. The denial was overturned by the New York Court of Appeals in 1973.[119] Since its inception, Lambda Legal continues to work towards full legal protection for LGBTQ Americans through drafting laws, meeting with lawmakers, and bringing cases to trial—including People v. West 12 Tenants Corp. in 1983 that helped establish that it was, under disability laws, illegal to discriminate against people with HIV and Lawrence v. Texas, the United States Supreme Court decision in 2003 that made same-sex sexual activity legal throughout the United States.[120]

Declaring that "gay liberation has become a nine-to-five job," a group of men and women interested in bringing gay liberation into the mainstream of American civil rights announced the formation of the National Gay Task Force in New York City in October 1973. This was in response to the noisy protests of direct action groups like the GAA. From the beginning, the NGTF was intended to be a professional group; "off the street and into the boardrooms."[121] The group focuses on national issues, seeking to bring gay liberation into the mainstream of American civil rights.[122]

---

[117] Ramirez, That's MY Place!, 241.
[118] Ramierez, That's MY Place!
[119] See "History," Lambda Legal website, http://www.lambdalegal.org/about-us/history. See also Stein (this volume). The National Headquarters of Lambda Legal are at 120 Wall Street, New York City, New York.
[120] Lambda Legal, History.
[121] Faderman, *Revolution,* 260.
[122] The National LGBTQ Task Force headquarters are at 1325 Massachusetts Avenue NW, Washington, DC.

In 1974, the first civil rights bill to prevent discrimination based on sexual orientation was introduced in Congress. It, and the others that followed, were rejected.[123] While the civil rights bill failed, advances in federal employment came slowly.[124] In 1973, the federal Civil Service Commission announced that homosexuality was no longer enough to determine someone as unsuitable for hire; in 1975, the Commission dropped "immoral conduct" as a reason for disqualification. In 1975, decorated Air Force Sergeant Leonard Matlovich came out publicly in protest of the military ban on homosexual service. The Air Force discharged him, and he appeared on the cover of *Time* magazine.[125] In 1981, the US military tightened restrictions on service with the policy that "Homosexuality is incompatible with military service."[126]

The first local protections against discrimination based on sexual orientation were passed in East Lansing and Ann Arbor, Michigan in 1972. In 1973, the District of Columbia banned discrimination in all employment based on sexual orientation. At the state level, in 1975, Pennsylvania became the first state to ban public sector employment discrimination based on sexual orientation,[127] and in 1982, Wisconsin was the first state to ban sexual orientation discrimination in both the public and private sectors. Since then, twenty-one states plus the District of Columbia have enacted bans on employment discrimination based on sexual orientation. These hard-won advances in LGBTQ civil rights met with increasing conservative backlash from 1976 through 1981.

---

[123] See Stein (this volume).

[124] For an overview of the role of LGBTQ individuals in the American labor movement, see Miriam Frank, *Out in the Union: A Labor History of Queer America* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2014). An in-depth investigation of LGBTQ experience in the blue-collar workforce is presented in Anne Balay, *Steel Closets: Voices of Gay, Lesbian, and Transgender Steelworkers* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2014). See also Wendell Ricketts, ed., *Blue, Too: More Writing by (for or about) Working-Class Queers* (FourCats Press, 2014) and Allan Bérubé, *My Desire for History: Essays in Gay, Community, & Labor History* (Chapel Hill: North Carolina University Press, 2011).

[125] "I am a Homosexual," *Time,* September 8, 1975. Matlovich died in 1988, and is buried in Congressional Cemetery in Washington, DC. The epitaph on his headstone reads, "When I was in the military, they gave me a medal for killing two men and a discharge for loving one." Congressional Cemetery was listed on the NRHP on June 23, 1969 and designated an NHL on June 14, 2011.

[126] See Estes (this volume).

[127] Eskridge, *Gaylaw,* 130.

It was in this social climate that, in January 1974, Kathy Kozachenko was elected to the Ann Arbor City Council, becoming the first openly LGBTQ candidate to win a seat in the United States. In November of that same year, Elaine Noble was the second openly LGBTQ candidate to win a seat, and the first to win a seat in a state legislature.[128] In 1972, Harvey Milk arrived in San Francisco, and became active in city politics. In 1973 and 1975, he ran for a seat on the San Francisco Board of Supervisors, using his Castro Camera storefront as a campaign headquarters.[129] In 1976, City Mayor George Moscone appointed Milk to the Board of Permit Appeals, a position which lasted only five weeks before Milk announced he was running for California State Assembly—a race which he narrowly lost.[130] In 1977, sixteen years after José Sarria ran for the same position, Milk won a seat on the San Francisco Board of Supervisors. In response to an increasing number of death threats, Milk made a recording of his thoughts about politics, LGBTQ people and the power of being visible, and who he would want to succeed him if he were killed. In the recording, he says, "If a bullet should enter my brain, let that bullet destroy every closet door."[131] One of the first things Milk did in office was to sponsor a bill that outlawed discrimination in the city of San Francisco based on sexual orientation. It passed, with only a single no vote—that of Supervisor Dan White, who Milk had alienated by voting against him.[132] On November 28, 1978, Dan White snuck a gun past city hall security and shot and killed both Mayor Moscone and Harvey Milk.[133] Tens of thousands of people spontaneously gathered in the streets for a peaceful candlelight vigil that moved from the Castro to city hall.[134] In May 1979, when White was acquitted of first degree murder charges and found guilty of voluntary manslaughter, people again took to the streets—this time in angry protest. Police and protesters clashed in the Castro and outside city hall in what became known as the White Night riots.[135]

---

[128] Ron Schlittler, "Out and Elected in the USA: 1974-2004," *OutHistory*, http://www.outhistory.org/exhibits/show/out-and-elected/intro/schlittler-intro. Ann Arbor City Council meets at 301 East Huron Street, Ann Arbor, Michigan. The Massachusetts State House in Boston, Massachusetts was added to the NRHP on October 15, 1966 and designated an NHL on December 19, 1960. It is a contributing element to the Beacon Hill Historic District, also added to the NRHP on October 15, 1966 and designated an NHL District on December 19, 1960.

[129] Milk lived in an apartment above his shop, located at 573-575 Castro Street, San Francisco, California.

[130] Shilts, *The Mayor of Castro Street*, 80, 138, 149; San Francisco Chronicle Staff, "S.F. Vote Tally: Supervisors," *San Francisco Chronicle*, November 7, 1973, 3.

[131] Warren Hinckle, *Gayslayer! The Story of How Dan White Killed Harvey Milk and George Moscone & Got Away with Murder* (New York: Silver Dollar Books, 1985), 13-14.

[132] Hinckle, *Gayslayer!*, 48; Shilts, *The Mayor of Castro Street*, 199.

[133] *The Times of Harvey Milk,* directed by Rob Epstein (San Francisco: Telling Pictures, 1984); Stein, *Rethinking*, 141. San Francisco City Hall is located at 1 Dr. Carlton B. Goodlett Place, San Francisco, California. It is a contributing element to the San Francisco Civic Center Historic District added to the NRHP on October 10, 1978 and designated an NHL on February 27, 1987.

Perhaps no one embodies the conservative backlash against LGBTQ civil rights of the late 1970s more than Anita Bryant. A runner-up in the Miss America Beauty Pageant, she was a household name in 1970s America as a million-seller singer (including Paper Roses) and as a spokesperson for Coca-Cola, Tupperware, Kraft Foods, and the Florida Citrus Commission.[136] In late 1976, Dade County, Florida, commissioners were working to include homosexuality in the county's nondiscrimination ordinance. The ordinance, adding "affectional or sexual preference" to the nondiscrimination ordinance passed by a vote of five to three.[137] Leveraging her national platform, Bryant founded the organization Save Our Children, and began collecting signatures calling for the repeal of the ordinance. Only 10,000 signatures were needed to add the repeal of the ordinance to the upcoming ballot; Bryant and her colleagues collected 64,304. At election, the nondiscrimination amendment was overturned by a margin of more than two to one.[138] Following her success in Florida, Bryant took her campaign on the road, opposing antidiscrimination measures across the country. In Florida, State Senator Peterson sponsored two bills: one prohibiting homosexuals from adopting children, the second making the prohibition on same-sex marriage explicit in the law. Both bills passed with minimal opposition.[139] In California, spurred by Anita Bryant's successes, legislator John Briggs sponsored California Proposition 6 (more commonly known as the Briggs Initiative) which would have banned gays and lesbians from working in the state's public schools. It was the first attempt to restrict the rights of gays and lesbians using a statewide ballot measure.[140]

---

[134] Les Ledbetter, "2 Deaths Mourned by San Franciscans," *New York Times*, November 28, 1978, 1.
[135] Epstein, *The Times of Harvey Milk*; Mike Weiss, *Double Play: The Hidden Passions Behind the Double Assassination of George Moscone and Harvey Milk,* 2nd ed. (San Francisco: Vince Emery Productions, 2010); Shilts, *The Mayor of Castro Street*; John D'Emilio, "Gay Politics and Community in San Francisco since World War II," in *Hidden From History: Reclaiming the Gay and Lesbian Past,* eds. Martin Bauml Duberman, Martha Vicinus, and George Chauncey, Jr. (New York: New American Library, 1989).
[136] Faderman, *Revolution,* 329-330.
[137] Faderman, *Revolution,* 333.
[138] Faderman, *Revolution,* 335-339, 352-352.

LGBTQ people across the country mobilized in response to Bryant's campaign. Gay bars across the country stopped serving orange juice, and LGBTQ activists, as well as heterosexuals who disliked the anti-sex tone of Bryant's crusade, protested her appearances and performances bearing slogans like "Save Our Children: Defend Lesbian Mothers" and "A Day Without Rights is Like A Day Without Sunshine." In the entertainment world, the punk band Dead Kennedys mocked her in their song, "The Moral Majority" and actor Jane Curtin satirized her regularly on Saturday Night Live.[141] Opposition to the Briggs Initiative came from those including Harvey Milk, California Governor (and future President) Ronald Reagan, and President Jimmy Carter.[142] The Briggs Initiative, on the California State ballot of November 7, 1978, was soundly defeated.

Bryant's opposition to LGBTQ rights brought communities throughout the United States together. Richmond, Virginia's first gay rights rally took place on October 8, 1977 at Monroe Park following an Anita Bryant concert. [143] At the Indiana State Fairgrounds in Indianapolis, eight hundred people came together in October 1977 to protest an Anita Bryant rally in support of a state bill that would criminalize sodomy. The protest galvanized the city's LGBTQ community to political action; "Anita Bryant was probably the best thing that happened to the gay community," recalled a protestor.[144] In St. Louis, Missouri, a mass rally took place at the local Metropolitan Community Church to protest Bryant's Save Our Children campaign.[145]

---

[139] Faderman, *Revolution,* 354-356. Florida was not the first state to pass a law defining marriage as the union of a man and a woman. That dubious distinction goes to Maryland, who passed such a law in 1973. See Stein, this volume for more details on the laws surrounding marriage and domestic partnerships.

[140] Craig Rimmerman, *From Identity to Politics: The Lesbian and Gay Movements in the United States* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2001).

[141] Faderman, *Revolution,* 361-364; Eric Marcus, *Making Gay History: The Half-Century Fight for Lesbian and Gay Equal Rights* (New York: Harper, 2002).

[142] Simon LeVay and Elisabeth Nonas, *City of Friends: A Portrait of the Gay and Lesbian Community in America* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1997); Ronald Reagan, "Editorial: Two Ill-advised California Trends," *Los Angeles Herald-Examiner,* November 1, 1978, A19; Harvey Milk, *An Archive of Hope: Harvey Milk's Speeches and Writings,* eds. Jason Edward Black and Charles E. Morris (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2013). The Log Cabin Republicans, an LGBTQ group of Republicans, was formed in response to the Briggs Initiative.

[143] Monroe Park, located on West Main Street, Richmond Virginia, is a contributing resource to the Monroe Park Historic District, listed on the NRHP on July 5, 1984.

The October 14, 1979 March on Washington for Lesbian and Gay Rights was organized in part as a response to Bryant's campaign, in part in response to the November 27, 1978 assassination of Harvey Milk in California, and in part as a commemoration of the tenth anniversary of the Stonewall Riots.[146] The first community meeting was held at the Beit Simchat Torah Synagogue in New York City in spring of 1979; the first national planning meeting for the march took place at the Friends Meeting House, Philadelphia.[147] Organizers of the march demanded a national lesbian and gay rights bill, the repeal of all anti-lesbian and gay laws, the end to discrimination in gay-parent custody cases, and protections for gay and lesbian youth.[148] Over one hundred thousand people marched and gathered on the National Mall. Banners at the march remembered Harvey Milk as a hero, tweaked Anita Bryant ("Eat Your Heart Out, Anita!"), and came out of the closet as mothers ("My Son Is Gay, And That's Okay") and as military veterans ("I Served My Country as a Gay American USN 1969-1973 / I Demand My Rights"). While the 1979 National March on Washington for Lesbian and Gay Rights did not lead to any direct progress in Washington, it served an important role in the growing movement for LGBTQ rights, including bringing people together from across the country, including from small towns and cities.[149] Held the same weekend as the 1979 March on Washington for Lesbian and Gay Rights was the First National Conference of Third World Lesbians and Gays organized by the National Coalition of Black Lesbians and Gays and held at the Harambee House Hotel at Howard University. Among the speakers was Audre Lorde. The conference was a key event in organizing by LGBTQ people of color.[150]

---

[144] Will Higgins, "The Strange But True History of Indianapolis' Gay Bars," *IndyStar,* June 8, 2012, accessed October 15, 2015, http://www.indystar.com/story/life/2013/12/12/indianapolis-gay-bars/3997591/.

[145] Stephen L. Brawley, "CWE Tour," Saint Louis LGBT History Project website, accessed October 18, 2015, http://www.stlouislgbthistory.com/about/services/tours/cwe-tour.html. Now a private residence, the Metropolitan Community Church was located in the Central West End neighborhood of St. Louis, Missouri.

[146] Eaklor, *Queer America,* 173.

[147] Rick Landman, "The First March on Washington for Lesbian and Gay Rights was held on October 14, 1979," Infotrue Educational Experiences website, accessed October 14, 2015, http://www.infotrue.com/wash.html; Faderman, *Revolution,* 411. Congregation Beit Simchat Torah was established in 1973. Beginning in 1975, they worshipped at their synagogue at 57 Bethune Street, New York City, New York. In early 2016, they relocated to 130 West 30th Street, New York City, New York. David W. Dunlap, "Gay Congregation Celebrates Its Identity With New Home in Manhattan," *New York Times*, February 3, 2016, http://www.nytimes.com/2016/02/04/nyregion/gay-congregation-celebrates-its-identity-with-new-home-in-manhattan.html. The Friends Meeting House is located at 320 Arch Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. It was listed on the NRHP on May 27, 1971 and designated an NHL on June 23, 2011.

[148] Eaklor, *Queer America,* 173; Amin Ghaziani, *The Dividends of Dissent: How Conflict and Culture Work in Lesbian and Gay Marches on Washington* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008).

8. The Second Revolution: The Age of AIDS, 1981-1993

The disease that would be identified as AIDS was first reported in June 1981.[151] Originally identified in the gay male community, it was referred to in the press as Gay Related Immune Deficiency (GRID) or gay cancer. In July 1982, it became formally known as Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome (AIDS).[152] Gay men became the targets of increased discrimination in health care, employment, housing, and other areas of everyday life, as people feared getting the disease even via casual contact. Those who became ill were evicted, denied medical treatment and insurance, and were excluded from funeral homes and cemeteries.[153] The federal government was either dismissive or, in the case of President Ronald Reagan, silent, about the disease—it was not until halfway through his second term that President Reagan publicly uttered the word "AIDS."[154] Federal policy, influenced by conservative religious values, meant that abstinence-only HIV-prevention was promoted to the exclusion of proven approaches like sex education, needle exchange, and condom distribution through the worst years of the epidemic.[155]

---

[149] Faderman, *Revolution,* 413-414.

[150] The Harambee House Hotel was located on the 2200 block of Georgia Avenue NW, Washington, DC. One of the key organizers was A. Billy S. Jones (now Jones-Hennin), a bisexual African American man. See Harris and Hutchins (this volume) for more information.

[151] Centers for Disease Control, "Kaposi's Sarcoma and *Pneumocystis* Pneumonia Among Homosexual Men – New York City and California," *Morbidity and Mortality Weekly Report* 30, no. 25 (1981): 305-307. Research has shown that HIV had infected humans as early as 1959, as evidenced by the presence of the virus in a preserved tissue sample of a Congolese man. See T. Zhu et al., "An African HIV-1 Sequence from 1959 and Implications for the Origin of the Epidemic," *Nature* 391, no. 6667 (1998): 594-597. In May 1969, sixteen-year-old African American teenager Robert Rayford died at what is now the Washington University Medical Center, S. Euclid and Forest Park Avenue, St. Louis, Missouri. Later testing of his preserved blood and tissue detected a virus very closely related or identical to HIV-1. See R.F. Garry et al., "Documentation of an AIDS Virus Infection in the United States in 1968," *Journal of the American Medical Association* 260, no. 14 (1988): 2085-2087.

[152] Unmesh Kher, "July 27, 1982: A Name for the Plague," *Time,* March 31, 2003.

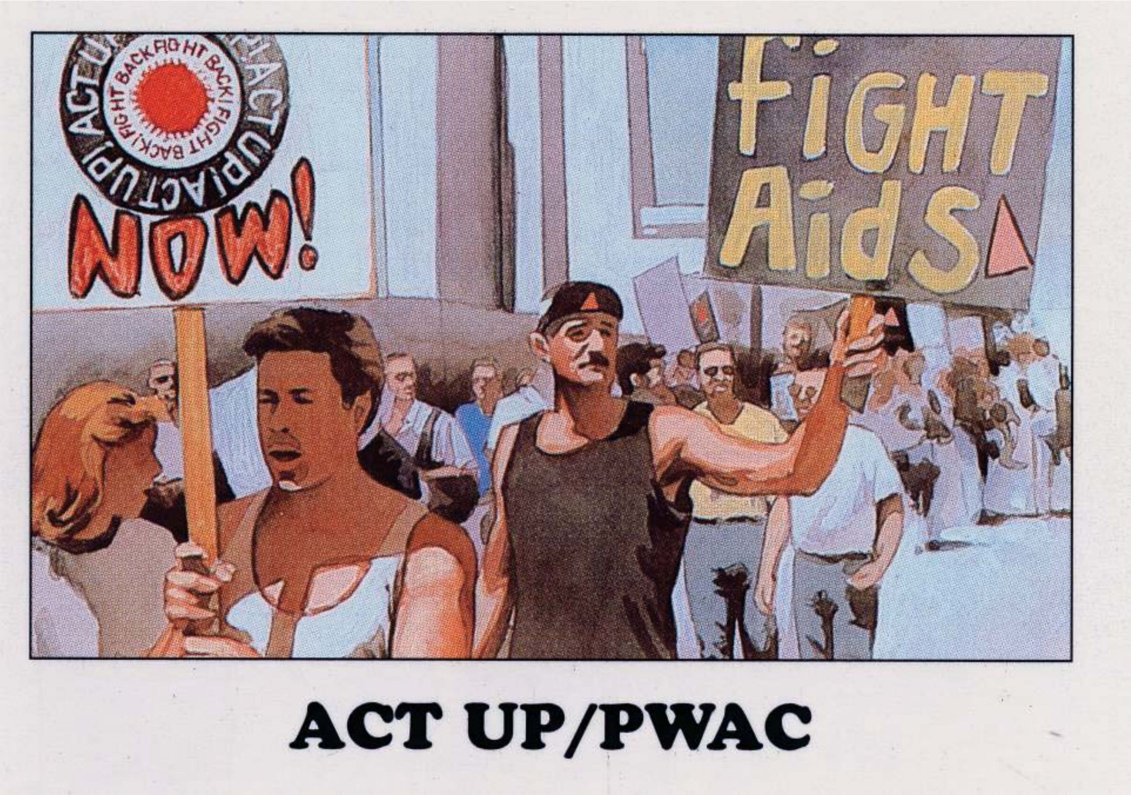

ACT UP! ACT UP! ACT UP!
FIGHT BACK! FIGHT BACK! FIGHT BACK!
NOW!
fight Aids
ACT UP/PWAC

Figure 9: AIDS awareness card depicting ACT UP/PWAC (People With AIDS Coalition), 1993. Courtesy of the Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender (LGBT) Collection, Archives Center, National Museum of American History, Smithsonian Institution.

---

[153] The Arthur J. Sullivan Funeral Home at 2254 Market Street, San Francisco was one of the few funeral homes who would provide funeral services for those who died from AIDS. Donna J. Graves and Shayne E. Watson, *Citywide Historic Context Statement for LGBTQ History in San Francisco* (San Francisco: City and County of San Francisco, October 2015), 293-294.

[154] Herbert N. Foerstel, *Toxic Mix? A Handbook of Science and Politics* (Santa Barbara, CA: Greenwood Press, 2010), 99.

[155] Foerstel, *Toxic Mix,* 137.

On March 10, 1987, activist Larry Kramer (who in 1982 had helped form the Gay Men's Health Crisis) gave an impassioned speech at the Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender Community Center (The Center) in New York City, addressing the lack of response by the government to the escalating AIDS crisis. Shortly thereafter, a group of people met at the Center and formed ACT UP, the AIDS Coalition to Unleash Power.[156] Like Mattachine and GLF earlier, dozens of groups across the country formed under the banner of ACT UP in a shift to militant AIDS activism (Figure 9). Protests included die-ins; protests against hospitals for denying care;[157] protests against those who profiteered from the disease;[158] education against AIDS-phobia;[159] and protests against government inaction.[160]

---

[156] Stein, *Rethinking,* 158; Faderman, *Gay Revolution,* 427-428. The Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender Community Center (known as The Center) is located at 208 W. 13th Street, New York City, New York. It is located in the Greenwich Village Historic District, listed on the NRHP on June 19, 1979. The Gay Men's Health Crisis (GMHC) was founded at 318 West 22nd Street, New York City, New York in 1982 in response to the nascent AIDS epidemic in New York City. See also the LGBTQ Health chapter by Katie Batza (this volume) for more details on HIV/AIDS.

[157] On October 11, 1988, ACT UP organized a day-long "Seize Control of the FDA" to demand quick and equal access to AIDS therapies and the elimination of double-blind drug testing that would mean someone with AIDS would be receiving a placebo. The protest took part at the FDA, 5600 Fishers Lane, Rockville, Maryland and effectively shut down the agency. As a result, ACT UP began to be included in policy and decision-making in federal agencies including the National Institutes of Health and the Food and Drug Administration. United Press International, "Police Arrest AIDS Protesters Blocking Access to FDA Offices," *Los Angeles Times,* October 11, 1988, accessed October 15, 2015, http://articles.latimes.com/1988-10-11/news/mn-3909_1_police-arrest-aids-protesters; Douglas Crimp, "Before Occupy: How AIDS Activists Seized Control of the FDA in 1988," *Atlantic,* December 6, 2011, accessed October 15, 2015, http://www.theatlantic.com/health/archive/2011/12/before-occupy-how-aids-activists-seized-control-of-the-fda-in-1988/249302. From April 20-23, 1990 at the Cook County Hospital, 1835 West Harrison Street, Chicago, Illinois, ACT UP protested the hospital's failure to create an AIDS treatment ward for women.

[158] On March 24, 1987, ACT UP staged their first demonstration against Wall Street profiteering from the epidemic. This protest took place at Trinity Church, 74 Trinity Place, New York City, New York. A year later, activists met again here to protest profiteering; they marched from Trinity to the intersection of Broadway and Wall Street. Trinity Church was listed on the NRHP and designated an NHL on December 8, 1976.

[159] In 1988, the Jackson Brewing Company at Folsom and Eleventh Streets in San Francisco, California (listed on the NRHP on April 8, 1993) was the location for filming of the NBC drama, *Midnight Caller*. A planned episode revolved around a bisexual man murdered by a woman after deliberately spreading HIV. Protesters from ACT UP-San Francisco and other groups protested the filming, citing the encouragement of AIDS-phobia. ACT UP-San Francisco held their weekly meetings at the Women's Building of San Francisco in the late 1980s and early 1990s. The Women's Building is located at 3542 Eighteenth Street, San Francisco, California.

[160] On October 11, 1992, ACT UP incorporated the actual physical remains of the deceased in a protest. The flyer for the ASHES protest read, "Bring your Grief and Rage About AIDS to a Political Funeral in Washington D.C. … On October 11th, we will carry the actual ashes of people we love in funeral procession to the White House. In an act of grief and rage and love, we will deposit their ashes on the White House lawn. Join us to protest twelve years of genocidal AIDS policy." Quoted in Deborah B. Gould, *Moving Politics: Emotion and ACT UP's Fight against AIDS*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009), 230. The White House is located at 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue NW, Washington, DC. It

While they were perhaps the premier AIDS direct action group formed during this period, they were not the only one. Other groups included Stop AIDS Now or Else (SANOE) in San Francisco.[161]

In June 1987, overwhelmed by the number of dead to AIDS, activist Cleve Jones and others met in a San Francisco storefront and formed the NAMES Project Foundation, home of the AIDS Memorial Quilt.[163] The Quilt,

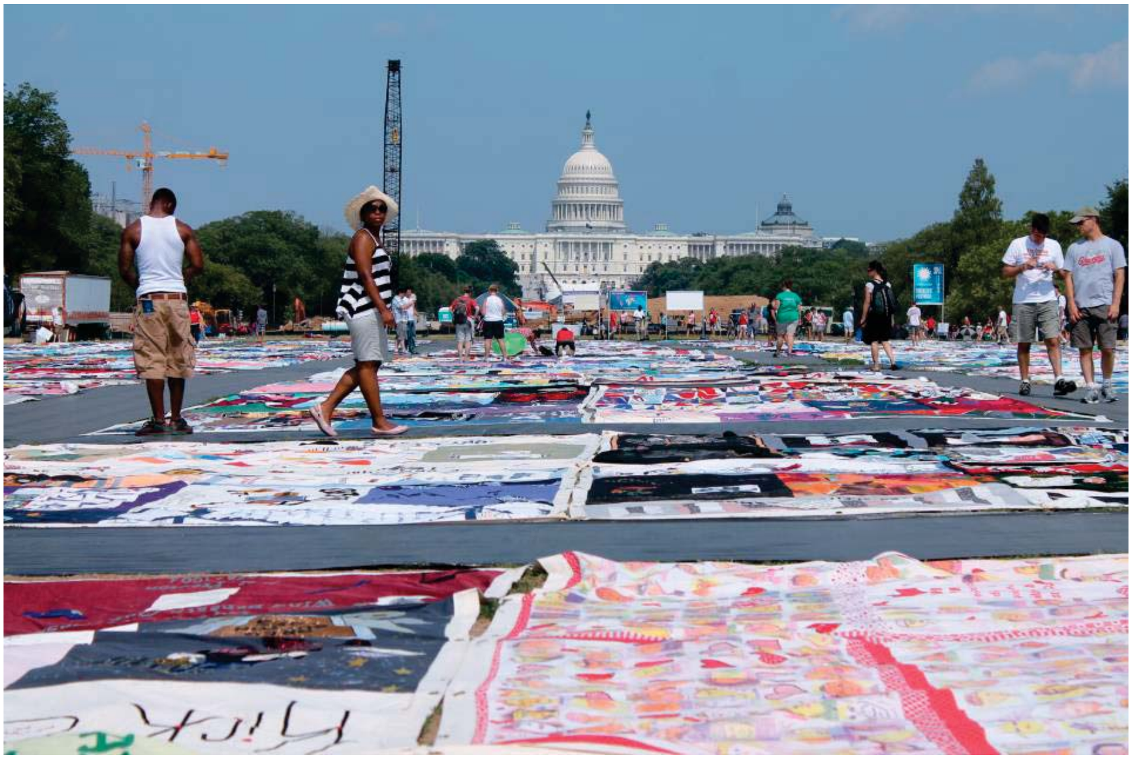


Figure 10: People walking among the panels of the AIDS Quilt on the National Mall, July 4, 2012 as part of the 46th Annual Smithsonian Folklife Festival, Washington, DC. Photo by Elvert Barnes.[162]

---

was designated an NHL on December 19, 1960. On April 6, 2012, ACT UP San Francisco threw ashes of a deceased member of the group onto the steps of Mission Dolores Basilica in a demonstration marking the twenty-fifth anniversary of the founding of ACT UP. David Duran, "ACT UP tosses ashes at SF Church," *Bay Area Reporter,* April 12, 2012, accessed October 16, 2015, http://www.ebar.com/news/article.php?sec=news&article=67605. Mission Dolores (also known as the Mission San Francisco De Asís), located at 320 Dolores Street, San Francisco, California, was listed on the NRHP on March 16, 1972.

[161] On January 31, 1989, SANOE held a sit-in on the Golden Gate Bridge, blocking morning rush hour traffic as they handed out flyers insisting that AIDS was a concern to everyone. This was the only sit-in to take place on the bridge. In 1990, Congress passed a law making it a felony to block traffic on the bridge.

[162] License: CC BY-SA 2.0. https://www.flickr.com/photos/perspective/7531448426

[163] See "The AIDS Memorial Quilt," NAMES Project Foundation website, accessed October 12, 2015, http://www.aidsquilt.org/about/the-aids-memorial-quilt. The organizers of the NAMES Project Foundation met at the Jose Theater, 2362 Market Street, San Francisco, California. This building became the home of the NAMES Project from its founding in 1987 until 2001, when the Quilt was moved to a warehouse in Atlanta, Georgia.

then comprised of 1,920 panels that took up space larger than a football field, was displayed for the first time on the National Mall in Washington, DC, during the 1987 National March on Washington for Lesbian and Gay Rights. The Quilt has continued to grow, and is currently made up of more than forty-eight thousand panels commemorating the life of someone who has died of AIDS (Figure 10). The Quilt is so large that the last time it was displayed in its entirety was in October 1996, when it covered the entire two-mile long National Mall.[164]

The second National March on Washington for Lesbian and Gay Rights took place on October 11, 1987, bringing unprecedented press coverage for the movement. It was fueled in part by government apathy to the spread of AIDS as well as the US Supreme Court ruling in Bowers v. Hardwick in 1986 that upheld the constitutionality of state sodomy laws that criminalized sex between two consenting men.[165] The event included several days of planned events, including acts of civil disobedience at the Supreme Court building protesting Bowers v. Hardwick and a mass wedding and protest at the Internal Revenue Service.[166] The march of approximately 750,000 who convened from around the country was led by Cesar Chavez, Jessie Jackson, Whoopi Goldberg, and others (many of whom gave speeches when protesters convened on the National Mall), followed by people with AIDS and their supporters. Demands of the organizers included legal recognition of lesbian and gay relationships; the repeal of all laws making sodomy between consenting adults a crime; the passage of a lesbian and gay civil rights bill; an end to discrimination against those with (or perceived to have) HIV/AIDS; and an increase in funding for AIDS education, research, and care. In protest of the exclusion of transgender community from the platform of the march, transgender attorney Phyllis Frye called on the transgender contingent she was marching with to stop, halting the parade. At the next march, in 1993, the transgender community was explicitly included.[167] As a result of the 1987 march, many participants returned home and started local ACT UP chapters. National Coming Out Day was established a year later in commemoration of the march.[168]

---

[164] Names Project Foundation, AIDS Memorial Quilt.

[165] These same issues fueled the founding of several LGBTQ philanthropic and grant-making organizations during this period. Unlike later groups, many of these focused on regional, rather than national-scale, funding. These organizations include the Horizons Foundation founded in 1985 in the San Francisco Bay area; and the Pride Foundation founded in Seattle in 1985; and the Stonewall Community Foundation founded in 1990 in New York City. See “Our History,” Horizons Foundation website, http://www.horizonsfoundation.org/about/our-history; “Our History,” Pride Foundation website, http://www.pridefoundation.org/history; “Strategic Impact Over Time,” Stonewall Community Foundation website, https://stonewallfoundation.org/about/history.

[166] Marc Stein, “Memories of the 1987 March on Washington – August 2013,” *OutHistory*, August 2013, accessed October 15, 2015, http://outhistory.org/exhibits/show/march-on-washington/exhibit/by-marc-stein. The United States Supreme Court Building is located at 1 First Street NE, Washington, DC. It was designated an NHL on May 4, 1987. The Internal Revenue Service Building is located at Twelfth Street and Pennsylvania Avenue NW, Washington, DC. It is part of the Pennsylvania Avenue National Historic Site, designated on September 30, 1965 and added to the NRHP on October 15, 1966.

In the atmosphere of the AIDS epidemic, the pushback against LGBTQ civil rights continued. In 1986, the United States Supreme Court upheld Georgia's sodomy law in their decision in Bowers v. Hardwick. Their language "ridiculed and renounced the notion that same-sex love, intimacy, and sex were protected by the US Constitution."[169] Acting out of fear of the spread of AIDS, bathhouses across the country were closed in the 1980s, limiting the number of places that gay men could socialize.[170] Gay bashing and other attacks on LGBTQ people increased. In 1991, California Governor Pete Wilson vetoed Assembly Bill 101 (AB101), a bill that would have guaranteed statewide protection from discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation by private employers. Angered by the betrayal of a governor who had generally been seen as supportive of the LGBTQ communities, fifty thousand people protested in the streets of San

---

[167] Kim Hogstrom, "Swinging for the Fences: Houston's Phyllis Frye Paved the Way for the Modern Transgender Movement," *OutSmart*, June 1, 2016, http://www.outsmartmagazine.com/2016/06/swinging-for-the-fences-houstons-phyllis-frye-paved-the-way-for-the-modern-transgender-movement. Phyllis Frye and her partner lived in the Westbury neighborhood of Houston, Texas.

[168] Ghaziani, *Dividends of Dissent.* Marc Stein, Memories of the 1987 March on Washington.

[169] Stein (this volume).

[170] A very few bathhouses escaped closure. Among these were the predominantly African American Mount Morris Turkish Baths, 1944 Madison Avenue, Harlem, New York City, New York and Man's Country, 5017 North Clark Street, Chicago, Illinois, owned by politically-connected Chuck Renslow.

Francisco in what became known as the AB101 Veto Riots.[171] The future of LGBTQ civil rights seemed bleak.

Frustrated by the increase in gay bashing, homophobia, and an anti-sex ethos that followed on the heels of the AIDS pandemic, and angered by what they perceived as the commercialization of the LGBTQ rights movement, the direct action group Queer Nation was founded on March 20, 1990 at a meeting at the Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender Community Services Center (The Center) in New York City.[173] One month after their founding in New York City, Queer Nation San Francisco formed, meeting weekly at the Women's Building.[174] Other Queer Nation chapters quickly sprang up across the country, including in Michigan, Georgia, Massachusetts, Virginia, Illinois, Ohio, South Carolina, Texas, Florida, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Tennessee, and the state of Washington (Figure 11). Queer Nation used similar direct action methods to ACT UP, and there was an overlap in membership. The group rejected assimilationism and a politics of respectability, chanting "We're Here,

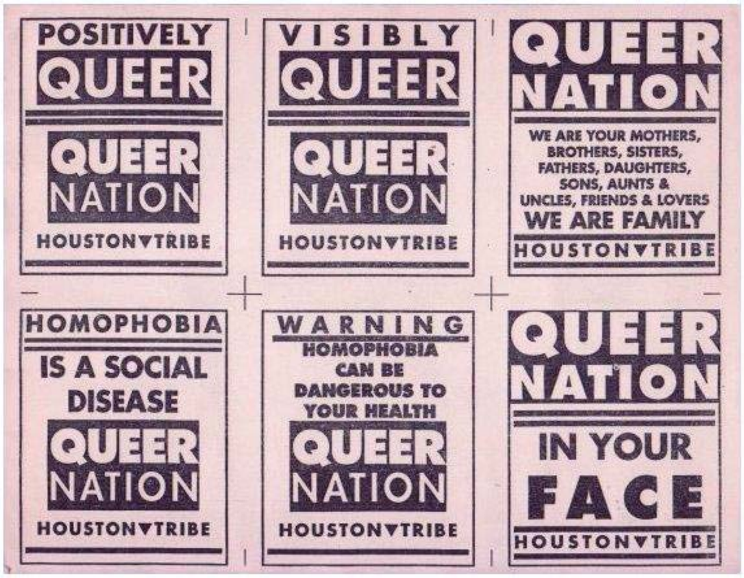

POSITIVELY QUEER
QUEER NATION
HOUSTON▼TRIBE
VISIBLY QUEER
QUEER NATION
HOUSTON▼TRIBE
QUEER NATION
WE ARE YOUR MOTHERS, BROTHERS, SISTERS, FATHERS, DAUGHTERS, SONS, AUNTS & UNCLES, FRIENDS & LOVERS
WE ARE FAMILY
HOUSTON▼TRIBE
HOMOPHOBIA IS A SOCIAL DISEASE
QUEER NATION
HOUSTON▼TRIBE
WARNING
HOMOPHOBIA CAN BE DANGEROUS TO YOUR HEALTH
QUEER NATION
HOUSTON▼TRIBE
QUEER NATION
IN YOUR FACE
HOUSTON▼TRIBE

Figure 11: Promotional material used by Queer Nation Houston.[172]

---

[171] Rachel, "20 Years Ago Today in Gay History: The AB101 Veto Riots Would've Blown Your Mind," *Autostraddle*, September 30, 2011, http://www.autostraddle.com/twenty-years-ago-today-in-gay-history-the-ab101-veto-riots-112443; Terry Friedman, "Courts Offer Wilson A Healing Opportunity: Equality," *Los Angeles Times*, February 9, 1992, http://articles.latimes.com/1992-02-09/opinion/op-3349_1_job-discrimination.

[172] License: Public Domain. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Queer_Nation_Houston_x6.jpg

[173] Eaklor, *Queer America,* 177, 205.

[174] Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender Historical Society, Guide to the Queer Nation Records, 1990-1996, accessed October 16, 2015, http://www.oac.cdlib.org/view?docId=tf029000gc;query=queer%20nation;style=oac4;view=admin#descgrp-1.7.2. The Women's Building of San Francisco is located at 3543 Eighteenth Street, San Francisco, California.

We're Queer, Get Used to It!" and "Out of the Closets and Into the Streets" during their protest actions.[175] While they did not spearhead the use of outing as a political strategy, Queer Nation did approve of (and use) outing of those who were in the closet, and yet actively working against the rights of LGBTQ people.[176]

Just as Queer Nation was faltering in 1992, Transgender Nation in San Francisco and the Lesbian Avengers in New York City were forming.[177] Transgender Nation formed following the publication of Sandy Stone's 1991 "The Empire Strikes Back: A Posttranssexual Manifesto" and Leslie Feinberg's *Transgender Liberation* pamphlet in 1992. This new transgender liberation rejected transgender assimilation, just as Queer Nation had rejected assimilation and respectability politics.[178] In 1993, Transgender Nation staged a protest at the annual meeting of the American Psychiatric Association that resulted in the arrest of three protesters. They also provided courtroom support for transgender women arrested on charges of prostitution, and insisted that lesbian, gay, and bisexual groups in San Francisco make their positions known regarding transgender inclusion, "thereby demonstrating whether those groups were part of the new queer movement or the old gay and lesbian movement."[179] Although short-lived, Transgender Nation was among those at the leading edge of transgender visibility and inclusion in LGBTQ groups and politics. In 1994, transgender people played a large role in the twenty-fifth anniversary commemorations of Stonewall (albeit relegated to the "alternative" march and rally), and by 1995, many formerly gay and lesbian and gay, lesbian, and bisexual organizations were beginning to add the "T" (for transgender) to their names.[180]

---

[175] Stein, *Rethinking,* 186.

[176] Outing is the revealing of the LGBTQ identity of a closeted person. Warren Johansson and William A. Percy, *Outing: Shattering the Conspiracy of Silence* (New York: Harrington Park Press, 1994), 256-266.

[177] Stein, *Rethinking,* 184.

[178] Stein, *Rethinking,* 186. Leslie Feinberg was the author of the 1993 novel, *Stone Butch Blues*. Leslie and hir partner, Minnie Bruce Pratt, who has written extensively about race, class, gender, and sexual theory, lived in Syracuse, New York at the time of Leslie's death. Minnie Bruce Pratt, "Leslie Feinberg – A Communist Who Revolutionized Transgender Rights," *Workers World,* November 18, 2014, accessed October 12, 2015, http://www.workers.org/articles/2014/11/18/leslie-feinberg.

[179] Stryker, *Transgender History,* 136.

These were also the years that saw the birth of the Dyke March. In May 1992, several women met at the home of Latina Ana Maria Simo for the first organizing meeting of the Lesbian Avengers.[181] Shortly thereafter, the group recruited members at the June 1992 New York City Pride Parade by handing out flyers. Like so many New York City groups before them, they held their first meeting at The Center. A direct action group in the tradition of Queer Nation, the Lesbian Avengers focused on issues vital to lesbian survival and visibility, rather than on issues like AIDS and abortion which were perceived as less relevant. Frustrated with lesbian invisibility and misogyny in the LGBT community, the Lesbian Avengers took to the streets.[182] At the 1993 March on Washington for Lesbian, Gay and Bi Equal Rights and Liberation, Lesbian Avengers and members of the ACT UP Women's Network brought together twenty thousand women, marching without a permit. The Dyke March, as it came to be known, has become a tradition across the country, traditionally taking place a day or two before Pride celebrations in cities across the country and around the world.[183]

Citing racism and a lack of attention to the intersectional politics of ethnicity and LGBTQ civil rights and HIV/AIDS programs, this period was also one of people of color organizing among themselves.[184] Disproportionately affected by HIV/AIDS, and yet often excluded from prevention and health care programs, organizing among people of color became a matter of life and death, and organizing focused predominantly on prevention and education rather than direct action/street activism. For example, formed from meetings held during the 1987 March on Washington, the Latina/o Lesbian and Gay Organization (LLEGÓ) worked to organize and network Latina/o LGBTQ people, including mobilizing community efforts in HIV prevention both within the United States and abroad until they folded in 2004.[185] In the 1990s, there was an increase in queer Asian American activism that included an upsurge in the number of South Asian queer groups around the country. This included groups in California, New York, Washington, DC, Atlanta, Philadelphia, Boston, Austin, and Seattle as well as online.[186] By the 1990s, Native American two-spirit organizations had also formed as places of community and HIV/AIDS-related services.[187] Likewise, African Americans, feeling excluded from the broader movement, founded their own African American Gay Pride festival in Washington, DC. Organized in 1991 to raise funds for HIV/AIDS support in the African American community, the first African American Pride festival in the nation was held on May 25, 1991 at Banneker Field. A crowd of 750 to 800 people attended the first event, raising nearly $3,000 for local AIDS organizations. The Black Lesbian and Gay Pride event continues to be held annually in DC over Memorial Day weekend.[188]

---

[180] Stryker, *Transgender History,* 137.

[181] Simo's home was located in the Bowery neighborhood of New York City.

[182] "Action Outline," Lesbian Avengers website (also known as the Lesbian Avenger Organizing Handbook), http://www.actupny.org/documents/Avengers.html, accessed October 2, 2015; Newsweek Staff, "The Power And The Pride," *Newsweek,* June 20, 1993, accessed October 15, 2015, http://www.newsweek.com/id/121057.

[183] Sarah Schulman, "What Became of Freedom Summer?" *The Gay and Lesbian Review* 11, no. 1 (2004); Eaklor, *Queer America,* 203. See also Kelly J. Cogswell, *Eating Fire: My Life as a Lesbian Avenger* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2014).

[184] Stein, *Rethinking,* 187. See also Jennifer Brier, *Infectious Ideas: U.S. Political Responses to the AIDS Crisis* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2011); Kevin Mumford, *Not Straight, Not White: Black Gay Men from the March on Washington to the AIDS Crisis* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2016); David Román, *Acts of Intervention: Performance, Gay Culture, and AIDS* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1998); Martin Duberman, *Hold Tight Gently: Michael Callen, Essex Hemphill, and the Battlefield of AIDS* (New York: The New Press, 2014); and Batza (this volume).

---

[185] Uriel Quesada, Letitia Gomez, and Salvador Vidal-Ortiz, eds., *Queer Brown Voices: Personal Narratives of Latina/o LGBT Activism* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2015); “Latino/a Lesbiana & Gay Organization (LLEGÓ) Fact Sheet,” circa 1993, Queer Resources Directory website, http://www.qrd.org/qrd/orgs/LLEGO/llego.fact.sheet; The Latino/a Lesbian & Gay Organization (LLEGÓ) Records, Nettie Lee Benson Latin American Collection, University of Texas Libraries, University of Texas at Austin website, http://www.lib.utexas.edu/taro/utlac/00273/lac-00273.html. See also González and Hernández (this volume).

[186] See Amy Sueyoshi (this volume).

[187] See Roscoe (this volume).

[188] DC Black Pride website, accessed October 19, 2015, http://dcblackpride.org. Banneker Field is located at 2500 Georgia Avenue. The associated Banneker Recreation Center was listed on the NRHP in 1986. In Los Angeles, the owner of Jewel’s Catch One, 4067 West Pico Boulevard (the nation’s first black gay and lesbian disco, opened in 1972) opened the Village Health Foundation (4075 West Pico Boulevard, Los Angeles, California), a nonprofit medical clinic, and Rue’s House (4067 West Pico Boulevard, Los Angeles, California) the first residential home for homeless women and children with HIV/AIDS in the United States. Karen Ocamb, “Historic Catch One Disco Celebrates 40th Anniversary,” *The Bilerico Project*, May 15, 2013, http://bilerico.lgbtqnation.com/2013/05/historic_catch_one_disco_celebrates_40th_anniversa.php; Lina Lecaro, “After 42 Years, Jewel’s Catch One Says Goodbye,” *LA Weekly*, July 20, 2015,

Bisexuals also worked during this period to increase their visibility and representation in the quest for gender and sexual minority civil rights. In 1985, the East Coast Bisexual Network (later the Bisexual Resource Center) was formed in Boston, Massachusetts. They worked to provide resources and support for those attracted to more than one gender.[189] In 1990, more than four hundred people attended the First National Bisexual Conference in San Francisco, which led to the founding of the North American Bisexual Network (now BiNet USA). This, along with the publication in 1991 of *Bi Any Other Name: Bisexual People Speak Out* (edited by Loraine Hutchins and Lani Ka'ahumanu) spurred an upsurge in bisexual activism.[190]

The 1993 March on Washington included both transgender people and bisexuals in their call for civil rights (though transgender was voted out of the name of the march).[191] Officially called the 1993 March on Washington for Lesbian, Gay and Bi Equal Rights and Liberation, participation estimates ranged from eight hundred thousand to over one million for the march and the gathering afterwards on the National Mall on April 25, 1993.[192] The demands of the organizers included: the passage of a lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender civil rights bill and an end to discrimination by state and federal governments including the military and repeal of all anti-sodomy laws; a massive increase in funding for AIDS education, research, and care and universal access to health care; legislation to prevent discrimination in areas of family diversity, custody, adoption, and foster care; full and equal inclusion of lesbians, gays,

---

http://www.laweekly.com/music/after-42-years-jewels-catch-one-says-goodbye-5821546. See also Harris (this volume).

[189] The Bisexual Resource Center is located at 29 Stanhope Street, Boston, Massachusetts.

[190] Stein, *Rethinking,* 186. Loraine Hutchins did much of her research for *Bi Any Other Name* at Lammas Crafts and Books, 1426 Twenty-First Street NW, Washington, DC (located within the Dupont Circle Historic District). The First National Bisexual Conference was held at Mission High School, 3750 Eighteenth Street, San Francisco, California. See also Hutchins (this volume).

[191] Stryker, *Transgender History,* 136-137. See also Stryker (this volume).

[192] Nadine Smith, "The 20th Anniversary of the LGBT March on Washington: How Far Have We Come?" *Huffington Post,* April 25, 2013, accessed October 19, 2015, http://www.huffingtonpost.com/nadine-smith/the-20th-anniversary-of-the-lgbt-march-on-washington_b_3149185.html. Two additional Marches on Washington took place: The Millenium March on Washington in 2000, and the National Equality March in 2009.

bisexuals, and transgender people in the educational system; and an end to discrimination and violent oppression based on actual or perceived sexual orientation, identification, race, religion, identity, sex and gender expression, disability, age, class, or AIDS/HIV infection.[193] Speakers and performers at the 1993 March included Melissa Etheridge, RuPaul, Eartha Kitt, Urvashi Vaid, and Jesse Jackson. A week of events in and around DC took place around the march, including demonstrations in support of same-sex marriage.[194]

9. Battle for Federal Rights, 1993-2016

Much of the last generation of the LGBTQ civil rights movement has focused primarily on winning federal rights, including protection from discrimination in military service and marriage equality. Though these are federal rights, many of these battles have been fought at the local level, with activists and groups—including LGBTQ philanthropic organizations—mobilized in communities and states across the country.[195] The battle for same-sex marriage, in particular, has been more of a state-fought battle than a federal one, though the ultimate resolution of the issue came from the United States Supreme Court.[196]

---

[193] See "Platform of the 1993 March on Washington for Lesbian, Gay and Bi Equal Rights and Liberation," Queer Resources Directory website, accessed October 16, 2015, http://www.qrd.org/qrd/events/mow/mow-full.platform.

[194] Updated List of Events Scheduled During the Week of the March on Washington for Lesbian, Gay and Bi Equal Rights and Liberation, Queer Resources Directory website, accessed October 16, 2015, http://www.qrd.org/qrd/events/mow/mow-events.FINAL.

[195] Several key LGBTQ philanthropic organizations with a national scope were founded during this era, funding LGBTQ civil rights and social justice causes. These include the Gill Foundation, founded by Tim Gill in Colorado in 1994, and the Arcus Foundation founded by Jon Stryker in Kalamazoo, Michigan in 2000. See "Tim Gill," Gill Foundation website, http://gillfoundation.org/board-member/tim-gill; Global Giving Matters Staff, "Interview with Jon Stryker – A Journey to Inclusive Philanthropy," *Global Giving Matters*, Summer 2008, Synergos website, http://www.synergos.org/globalgivingmatters/features/0807stryker.htm. See also Dirk Johnson, "Grants for Gay Services Grow and Go Mainstream," *New York Times*, November 12, 2007, http://www.nytimes.com/2007/11/12/giving/12GILL.html; Anastasia Ustinova, "Philanthropists Ensure Gay Community's Future," *San Francisco Chronicle,* March 31, 2008, http://www.sfgate.com/news/article/Philanthropists-ensure-gay-community-s-future-3289534.php; Lyle Matthew Kan and Ben Francisco Maulbeck, *2014 Tracking Report: Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender Grantmaking by U.S. Foundations* (New York: Funders for LGBTQ Issues, 2016), http://www.lgbtfunders.org/files/2014_Tracking_Report.pdf.

From 1970 through the 1990s, many veterans pushed to have the ban on gays, lesbians, and bisexuals serving in the military overturned.[197] In 1993, with the passage of “Don’t Ask, Don’t Tell,” it became illegal to ask about a troop’s sexual orientation; but it remained legal to dishonorably discharge them if they disclosed or were found out. Don’t Ask Don’t Tell was repealed in 2010 with the passage of the Military Readiness Enhancement Act. Since 2011, gay, lesbian, bisexual, and queer military personnel have been able to serve openly.[198] As of June 30, 2016, transgender Americans have been able to serve openly in the US military.[199]

Despite the pall cast over LGBTQ civil rights by the US Supreme Court in their 1986 Bowers v. Hardwick decision upholding the illegality of sodomy, it did not last; individual states, either through court cases or legislative action, continued to eliminate their sodomy statutes. Bowers v. Hardwick was overturned in 2003 by the US Supreme Court in Lawrence v. Texas, which, by making same-sex sexual activity legal throughout the United States, provided the legal foundation for the subsequent rulings United States v. Windsor (2013) and Obergefell v. Hodges (2015). The movement towards civil marriage rights for same-sex couples in the United States has its roots in the 1970s.[200] It reached the national political stage in 1993, when the Hawai’i Supreme Court ruled in Baehr v. Miike

---

[196] The battles for open LGBTQ service and same-sex marriage have relied heavily on assimilation and respectability politics; that lesbians, gays, bisexuals, and transgender people are no different from heterosexuals, and therefore deserve to have the same civil rights.

[197] For more details, see Estes (this volume).

[198] Estes, *Ask & Tell*, 210-254; Nathaniel Frank, *Unfriendly Fire: How the Gay Ban Undermines the Military and Weakens America* (New York: Macmillan, 2010). See Estes (this volume).

[199] Sunnivie Brydum, “Pentagon on Trans Troops: ‘These Are the Kind of People We Want,’” *Advocate*, June 30, 2016, http://www.advocate.com/transgender/2016/6/30/breaking-pentagon-ends-ban-transgender-service-members.

[200] In 1971, the Minnesota Supreme Court ruled in Baker v. Nelson that denying marriage licenses to same-sex couples did not violate the United States Constitution. Andrew Gumbel, “The Great Undoing?” *Advocate,* June 20, 2009, accessed October 15, 2015, http://www.advocate.com/news/2009/06/20/great-undoing. For more details on the fight for same-sex marriage, see Stein and Baim (this volume).

(originally Baehr v. Lewin) that the state's prohibition of same-sex marriage might be unconstitutional.[201] This led to actions at the federal level (including the passage of the Defense of Marriage Act, denying federal recognition of same-sex marriages, signed into law on September 21, 1996) and at state levels where legislative action and ballot initiatives made explicit the restriction of marriage to male-female couples. On November 18, 2003, the Massachusetts Supreme Court ruled in Goodridge v. Department of Public Health that denying same-sex marriage violated the state constitution. On May 17, 2004, Massachusetts became the first state to issue same-sex marriage licenses.[202] Like the Hawai'i decision, the change in Massachusetts brought reaction from opponents, and additional states banned same-sex marriage. A key opponent was President Bush, who called for a constitutional amendment limiting marriage to one man and one woman.[203] These prohibitions were fought in the courts and in legislatures in states across the country. Cases eventually found their way to the United States Supreme Court. In June 2013, in United States v. Windsor, the US Supreme Court struck down the law barring federal recognition of same-sex marriage.[204] On June 26, 2015 in Obergefell v. Hodges, the US Supreme Court made same-sex marriage legal in all fifty states, ruling that the right to marry was guaranteed to same-sex couples by the Due Process and Equal Protection Clauses of the Fourteenth Amendment.[205]

---

[201] Baehr v. Lewin, 74 Haw. 530, 852 P.2d44 (1993), reconsideration and clarification granted in part, 74 Haw. 645, 852 P.2d 74 (1993).

[202] Kathleen Burge, "SJC: Gay Marriage Legal in Mass.: Court Gives the State Six Months to Comply with Ruling," *Boston Globe,* November 18, 2003, accessed October 16, 2015, http://www.boston.com/news/local/massachusetts/articles/2003/11/18/sjc_gay_marriage_legal_in_mass; Pam Belluck, "Massachusetts Arrives at Moment for Same-Sex Marriage," *New York Times,* May 17, 2004, accessed October 16, 2015, http://www.nytimes.com/2004/05/17/national/17CND-GAYS.html. The first marriage license issued to a same-sex couple in the United States was at 12:01 a.m., May 17, 2004 at Cambridge City Hall, 795 Massachusetts Avenue, Cambridge, Massachusetts (listed on the NRHP on April 3, 1982, amended March 12, 1990).

[203] Belluck, "Massachusetts Arrives."

[204] Adam Liptak, "Supreme Court Bolsters Gay Marriage with Two Major Rulings," *New York Times,* June 26, 2013, accessed October 15, 2015, http://www.nytimes.com/2013/06/27/us/politics/supreme-court-gay-marriage.html. Edith Windsor met Thea Spyer in 1963 at Portofino, 206 Thompson Street, New York City, New York. Portofino was an Italian restaurant that, on Friday nights, was a discreet meeting place for lesbians. Edith and Clara married in Canada in 2007. When Thea died in 2009, Edith received a large bill for inheritance tax, prompting the lawsuit.

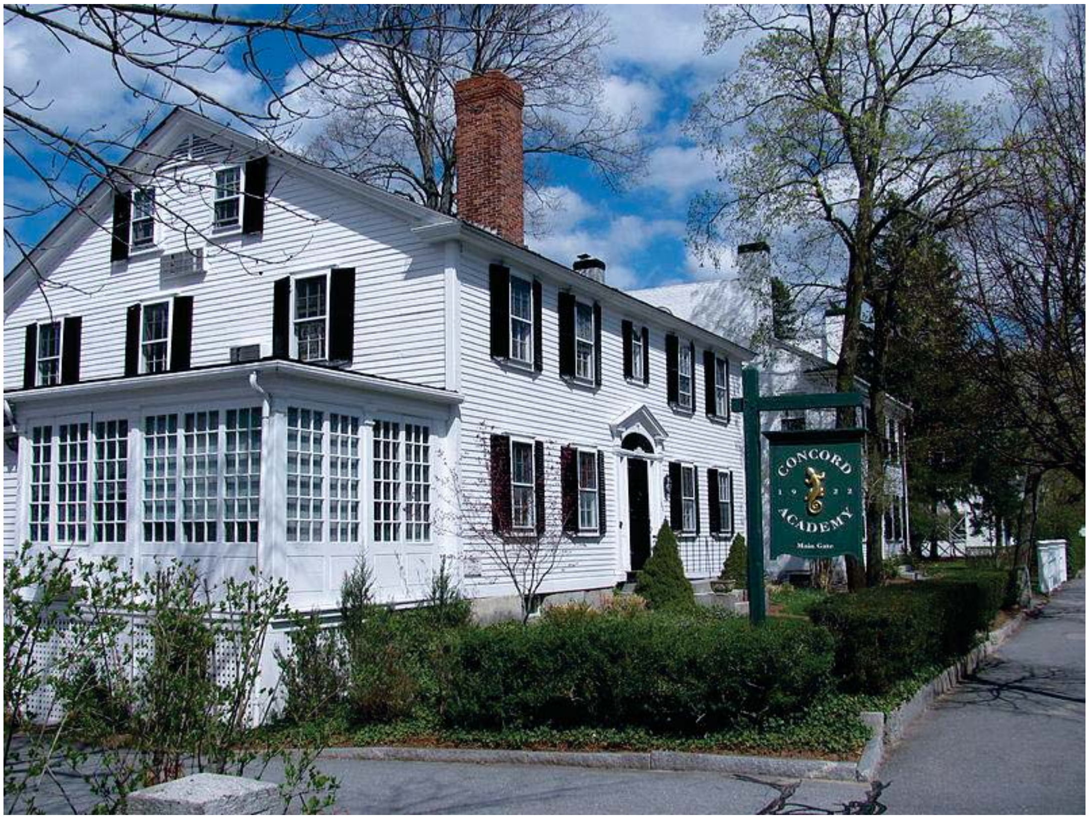


Figure 12: The first Gay-Straight Alliance was founded in 1988 at the Concord Academy, Concord, Massachusetts. Photo by John Phelan, 2010.[206]

Other organizing on the local level, unprecedented in years previous, has been the formation of thousands of Gay-Straight Alliances (GSAs) in schools across the country. These organizations, found mostly in high schools and post-secondary institutions, are founded to help provide a safe, supportive environment for LGBTQ youth and their straight allies.[207] The first GSA was founded in 1988 at Concord Academy by history teacher Kevin Jennings and a female student; the number of them increased dramatically in the following years (Figure 12).[208] Although established locally, the existence of GSAs is a matter of federal civil rights. In 1998, the Salt Lake City Board of Education struck dozens of "non-curricular" student clubs from their list of clubs approved to meet on school property. Three civil rights groups, the American Civil Liberties Union, Lambda Legal, and the National Center for Lesbian Rights, sued the board of education alleging that the sole purpose of the cuts was to prevent a single group, the GSA, from meeting on school property. In 1999, the US District Court for the District of Utah ruled that denying access to a school-based GSA was a violation of the Federal Equal Access Act.[209] Despite the court's ruling, some schools continue to try to block the formation of GSAs.[210]

---

[205] Lyle Denniston, "Opinion Analysis: Marriage Now Open to Same-Sex Couples," *SCOTUS blog,* June 26, 2015, accessed October 15, 2015, http://www.scotusblog.com/2015/06/opinion-analysis-marriage-now-open-to-same-sex-couples.

[206] License: CC BY 3.0. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Concord_Academy,_MA.jpg

[207] Some GSAs have changed their name from Gay Straight Alliance to Gender and Sexuality Alliance to be inclusive of bisexual and transgender people. The specific inclusion of straight allies distinguishes GSAs from earlier student-led groups.

While transgender people continued to be erased and excluded from movements relying on respectability politics during this period, especially surrounding marriage equality, the years after 1993 have been a time of increased national organizing, visibility, and legal victories.[211]

The International Conference on Transgender Law and Employment Policy (ICTLEP) held their first meeting in Houston, Texas in 1992.[212] In

---

[208] Jennings went on to found the Gay, Lesbian Straight Education Network (GLSEN), an organization to end discrimination and bullying based on sexual orientation and gender identity in K-12 schools, online at http://www.glsen.org. GLSEN's national headquarters are at 110 William Street, New York City, New York. See "GLSEN Founder Stepping Down," *Advocate*, January 18, 2008. Concord Academy, an independent college preparatory school, is located at 166 Main Street, Concord, Massachusetts.

[209] Jennifer Toomer-Cook and Marjorie Cortez, "3 Groups Sue S.L. Board Over Club," *Deseret News*, March 19, 1998, http://www.deseretnews.com/article/619419/3-groups-sue-SL-board-over-clubs.html; Utah-East High Gay/Straight Alliance v. Board of Education of Salt Lake City School District, 81 F. Supp.2d 1166, 1197 (D. Utah 1999), Justia website, http://law.justia.com/cases/federal/district-courts/FSupp2/81/1166/2420894. East High School is located at 840 1300 E, Salt Lake City, Utah.

[210] Kate Royals, "Proposed LGBT Club Prompts New Rankin School Policy," *Clarion-Ledger,* January 15, 2015, http://www.clarionledger.com/story/news/local/2015/01/14/rankin-schools-gay-club-policy/21745481.

[211] Amy McCarthy, "As Marriage Equality Marches Forward, Don't Forget the Trans People Left Behind," *Policy.Mic,* May 9, 2013, accessed October 18, 2015, http://mic.com/articles/40629/as-marriage-equality-marches-forward-don-t-forget-the-trans-people-left-behind.

[212] The International Conference on Transgender Law and Employment Policy was founded by transgender attorney, Phyllis Frye and others. The first through third conferences were held at what is now the Hilton Houston Southwest, 6780 Southwest Freeway, Houston, Texas. Phyllis Frye was in law school and living with her wife in the Westbury neighborhood of Houston, Texas when she began transitioning to female in 1976. As early as 1973, she had been reaching out to attorneys, schools, and organizations to advocate for transgender rights and visibility. Despite harassment and discrimination, Frye went on to be a successful attorney. In November 2010, she was sworn in as an

1993 at the Second ICTLEP, also in Houston, the organization published an "International Bill of Gender Rights," "Health Law Standards of Care for Transsexualism," and "Policy for the Imprisoned, Transgendered." Among other goals, the ICTLEP worked with other organizations including the National Lesbian and Gay Law Association to have transgender protections included in the Employment Non-Discrimination Act (ENDA)—a fight that they ultimately lost during the mid-1990s battles for ENDA, as other lesbian and gay rights organizations, including the Human Rights Campaign fought against them.[213] Other transgender organizations founded after 1993 have been instrumental in changing the legal landscape for transgender people, both at the state and federal levels. These organizations include the National Transgender Advocacy Coalition;[214] the Sylvia Rivera Law Project;[215] the Transgender Law Center;[216] and the National Center for Transgender Equality in Washington, DC.[217]

---

associate judge for the City of Houston Municipal Courts—Texas' first transgender judge. Her swearing in was just days after Victoria Kolakowski became the first openly transgender trial judge in the United States when she was elected to a seat on the Alameda County, California Superior Court. John Wright, "Phyllis Frye Becomes Texas' 1st Trans Judge," *Dallas Voice,* November 17, 2010, http://www.dallasvoice.com/phyllis-frye-texas-1st-transgender-judge-1052664.html; Cristan Williams, "Phyllis Frye: Lifetime Achievement Award," *TransAdvocate,* 2013, http://transadvocate.com/phyllis-frye-lifetime-achievement-award_n_9114.htm. The Central Municipal Courts Building (Herbert W. Gee Municipal Courthouse) is located at 1400 Lubbock Street, Houston, Texas. The headquarters of the Alameda County California Superior Court is 1221 Oak Street, Oakland, California.

[213] Feeling that transgender lawyers and law had become significantly integrated into the larger lesbian and gay organizations, including the National Gay and Lesbian Task Force and the National LGBT Bar Association (and their Lavender Law Conferences), the sixth and last ICTLEP conference was held in 1997. Phyllis Randolph Frye, "History of the International Conference on Transgender Law and Employment Policy, Inc.," Transgender Legal website, last updated January 28, 2001, http://www.transgenderlegal.com/ictlephis1.htm. ENDA was finally introduced with language providing protections that included transgender individuals in 2009. Despite repeated attempts since its first introduction to Congress in 1994, the Employment Non-Discrimination Act has yet to become law. In 2014, several high-profile LGBTQ civil rights groups withdrew their support from a version of ENDA that provided extensive religious exemptions to the proposed non-discrimination statute. See Lisa Keen, Keen News Service, "Frank Introduces Trans-Inclusive ENDA," *Windy City Times,* June 24, 2009, http://www.windycitymediagroup.com/gay/lesbian/news/ARTICLE.php?AID=21636; Jennifer Bendery and Amanda Terkel, "Gay Rights Groups Pull Support For ENDA Over Sweeping Religious Exemption," *Huffington Post,* last updated August 5, 2014, http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2014/07/08/enda-religious-exemption_n_5568736.html.

[214] The National Transgender Advocacy Coalition was in existence from 1999 to circa 2008. Working for transgender rights, they also sought inclusion of gender identity and expression protections in ENDA. Early on, they operated out of a PO Box in Free Union, Virginia before changing to a PO Box in Washington, DC.

[215] The Sylvia Rivera Law Project (SRLP) was founded in New York City in 2002 by Dean Spade. The mission of the SLRP is to guarantee that everyone is free to self-determine, without facing harassment, discrimination, or violence, their gender identity and expression, regardless of race or

Despite increased visibility of transgender people and changing laws, transgender people are often targets of violence. Over twenty transgender people, mostly women of color, were murdered in the United States in 2015.[218] By July 2016, there had been at least an additional fifteen transgender murders. The National Transgender Discrimination Survey (conducted in 2008) found that transgender and gender nonconforming people also face pervasive discrimination in almost all aspects of their lives: in childhood homes, education, employment, doctor's offices, in the legal system, housing, and public accommodations including shopping, dining, etc. For people of color, anti-transgender bias combined with structural and interpersonal racism, is "especially devastating."[219]

Transgender activists and allies have made some advances in securing transgender rights, though there remains a long way to go. In 2012, the US Equal Employment Opportunity Commission ruled that discriminating against someone because they are transgender is discrimination based on sex, and violates the Civil Rights Act of 1964. In 2014, the US Attorney General announced that the US Department of Justice will follow suit. Also in recent years, the US Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) announced that discrimination against transgender tenants and

---

income. They work from an understanding that this goal is inextricably intertwined with racial, social, and economic justice. The SRLP is named in honor of transgender activist Sylvia Rivera. See "About SRLP," Sylvia Rivera Law Project website, http://srlp.org/about. The SRLP is located in the Miss Major-Jay Toole Building for Social Justice, 147 West 24th Street, New York City, New York.

[216] The Transgender Law Center was founded by Dylan Vade and Chris Daley in San Francisco, California in 2002. They began by hosting biweekly free legal clinics. They had their first office in the San Francisco LGBT Community Center, 1800 Market Street, San Francisco, California. Their national headquarters are currently at 1629 Telegraph Avenue, Oakland, California. Joel P. Engardio, "Legal Precedent," *SF Weekly*, June 12, 2002, http://www.sfweekly.com/sanfrancisco/legal-precedent/Content?oid=2145186; "10th Anniversary Timeline," Transgender Law Center website, http://transgenderlawcenter.org/about/history/timeline.

[217] Founded by Mara Kiesling in 2003, the National Center for Transgender Equality advocates for transgender equality in Washington, DC. See "History," The National Center for Transgender Equality website, http://www.transequality.org/history. The NCTE is located at 1400 Sixteenth Street NW, Washington, DC.

[218] Dawn Ennis, "Victim Number 21: Trans Woman Murdered in Maryland," *Advocate,* October 16, 2015, accessed October 17, 2015, http://www.advocate.com/transgender/2015/10/16/victim-number-21-trans-woman-murdered-maryland; Amanda Gernentz Hanson, "The Transgender Murder Crisis: Why Were There So Many Killings in 2015?" *Law Street Media*, January 22, 2016, http://lawstreetmedia.com/issues/law-and-politics/transgender-murder-crisis-many-murders-2015.

[219] Jaime M. Grant et al., *Injustice at Every Turn: A Report of the National Transgender Discrimination Survey* (Washington, DC: National Center for Transgender Equality and National Gay and Lesbian Task Force, 2011), 2.

home buyers based on their gender identity may be illegal sex discrimination per the Fair Housing Act. They have also told homeless shelters that they cannot discriminate based on gender identity or nonconformity. In early 2015, the Obama Administration issued guidance on transgender students' access to school bathrooms. These areas of law continue to evolve. While many states are pushing back against these changes, the American Civil Liberties Union hopes to see courts rule that gender expression is protected both by the First Amendment and the Due Process Clause of the US Constitution, which establishes rights to liberty, privacy, and autonomy.[220]

Going Forward

The road of LGBTQ civil rights has been long and twisting, and despite the groundbreaking civil rights advances at the highest levels of government and the law, there is still no federal law protecting LGBTQ people from discrimination. As well, there continue to be attempts to abrogate the rights of LGBTQ people in the United States.[221] Civil rights issues that continue to affect LGBTQ people, particularly those of color and transgender individuals, include: increased incidence of violence; employment discrimination including on-the-job harassment, not being hired, or being fired; poverty—LGBTQ people are more likely to live below the poverty line; and in the provision of appropriate health care.[222] Much work remains to be done.

---

[220] See "Know Your Rights: Transgender People and the Law," American Civil Liberties Union website, accessed October 16, 2015, https://www.aclu.org/know-your-rights/transgender-people-and-law.

[221] For example, regarding the legalization of same-sex marriage by the United States Supreme Court, see Nicole Hensley, "Louisiana, Texas Governors Vow to Fight Supreme Court Ruling on Gay Marriage While Others Pledge to Comply," *New York Daily News,* June 26, 2015, accessed October 19, 2015, http://www.nydailynews.com/news/national/governors-vow-disobey-scotus-ruling-gay-marriage-article-1.2272503; Jonathan Topaz and Nick Gass, "Republican Presidential Candidates Condemn Gay-Marriage Ruling," *Politico,* June 26, 2015, accessed October 19, 2015, http://www.politico.com/story/2015/06/2016-candidates-react-supreme-court-gay-marriage-ruling-119466; Mark H. Creech, "Supreme Court Gay Marriage Decision Will Be Overturned, By Us or By God," *Christian Post,* July 2, 2015, accessed October 19, 2015, http://www.christianpost.com/news/supreme-court-gay-marriage-decision-will-be-overturned-by-us-or-by-god-141113.

---

[222] Editorial Board*,* “The Challenges that Remain After Marriage Equality,” *New York Times,* July 29, 2015, accessed October 20, 2015, http://www.nytimes.com/2015/07/29/opinion/the-challenges-that-remain-after-marriage-equality.html; Annamarya Scaccia, “4 LGBT Issues to Focus on Now That We Have Marriage Equality,” *Rolling Stone,* June 29, 2015, accessed October 20, 2015, http://www.rollingstone.com/politics/news/4-lgbt-issues-to-focus-on-now-that-we-have-marriage-equality-20150629.

19

HISTORICAL LANDMARKS AND LANDSCAPES OF LGBTQ LAW

Marc Stein

The American historical landscape is filled with sites where people who engaged in same-sex sex and transgressed gender binaries struggled to survive and thrive. In these locations, “sinners,” “deviants,” and “perverts” often viewed law as oppressive. Immigrants, poor people, and people of color who violated sex and gender norms had multiple reasons for seeing law as implicated in the construction and reconstruction of social hierarchies. Over time, however, people who identified or were classified as lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, or queer (LGBTQ) increasingly came to see law as a potential resource for protecting, defending, and improving their lives. In these contexts, law was a complicated and multifaceted resource, simultaneously freeing, limiting, and producing human sexes, genders, and sexualities. This chapter offers an introduction to historical landscapes and landmarks of US LGBTQ law, beginning with the European colonization of the Americas and concluding with developments in the 1970s and 1980s.[1]

Colonial and Early US Laws

When Europeans first invaded the Americas in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, they did not generally recognize or respect Native American understandings of sex, gender, sexuality, or law. Unlike Native American societies, the colonies established by Europeans typically criminalized same-sex sex and gender-crossing acts. They did so in the context of broader restrictions on non-marital and non-procreative sex and general bans on deception and disguise. In most cases, Dutch, English, French, and Spanish laws initially applied in their territories overseas, but colonial statutes soon supplemented and superseded European laws. For example, sodomy was made a capital crime by Virginia (1610), Plymouth (1636), and Massachusetts (1641), followed by most of England's other colonies. These laws generally applied to anal intercourse, sometimes punished other forms of non-procreative sex, and tended to be used to police same-sex sex, sexual violence, and sex with minors. Of the early English colonial statutes, New Haven's (1656) was unique in referring to acts committed by women, though women in other colonies were occasionally arrested for having same-sex sex. Prosecutions for same-sex sex were relatively rare, but several people were executed for committing same-sex sexual acts.[2]

---

[1] In this chapter I use gender and sexual terms that are generally favored today (including lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender) as well as historical terms (such as "deviant" and "pervert") that are generally rejected today. I use analytic terms such as "same-sex sex" and "gender-crossing acts" to address behaviors rather than identities or communities. I use "queer" to reference same-sex and gender-crossing desires, behaviors, and identities. I refer to "LGBTQ acts, identities, and communities" when discussing the larger chronology of US history, though I do not mean to imply that LGBTQ identities existed in North America before the late nineteenth century or are relevant in all of the twentieth or twenty-first century contexts that are discussed.

[2] Other early sodomy and buggery laws were passed by Connecticut (1642), Rhode Island (1647), New York (1665), New Jersey (1668), Pennsylvania (1676), New Hampshire (1679), South Carolina (1712), Delaware (1719), Maryland (1776), and North Carolina (1778). Early prosecutions for same-sex sex have been documented in Virginia (1624), Massachusetts (1629, 1642, and 1712), New Hampshire (1635 and 1663), Plymouth (1637, 1642, and 1649), New Netherland (1646, 1658, and 1660), New

In colonial America the criminalization of sexual transgression intersected with the criminalization of gender transgression. In 1629, for example, Thomas/Thomasine Hall, a resident of Warrosquyoake, Virginia, was accused of inappropriately wearing women's clothing, but one of the things that prompted these accusations was a rumor that Hall was having nonmarital sex with a woman, which was a more serious offense if Hall was a man. After intrusive investigations of Hall's body, Virginia's General Court at Jamestown decided that Hall was a man and woman and required Hall to dress in partially male and partially female clothing, which was a form of public humiliation.[3]

Beginning with a brief experiment in the late seventeenth century, capital punishment for sodomy, buggery, and other "crimes against nature" was replaced by less extreme penalties, including castration, whipping, life imprisonment, and lengthy prison terms. Pennsylvania removed its death penalty for sodomy in 1682, but restored it for "negroes" in 1700 and everyone else in 1718. The Continental Army began court-martialing soldiers for sodomy in 1778. In 1786, Pennsylvania more permanently eliminated its death penalty for sodomy; it was followed by New York and New Jersey in 1796, Rhode Island in 1798, and other states in the early nineteenth century. Maryland in 1793 and Virginia in 1800 eliminated the death penalty for sodomy for free people but not slaves. North and South Carolina did not remove their

---

Haven (1646 and 1653), North Carolina (1718), and Georgia (1734). The best documented English colonial case concerns Nicholas Sension of Windsor, Connecticut (1677). See Jonathan Ned Katz, *Gay/Lesbian Almanac* (New York: Harper, 1983), 66-133; William Eskridge, *Gaylaw: Challenging the Apartheid of the Closet* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1999), 17-56, 328-272; William Eskridge, *Dishonorable Passions: Sodomy Laws in America* (New York: Viking, 2008), 16-20, 388-407; Richard Godbeer, *Sexual Revolution in Early America* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002), 44-51; and Stephen Robertson, "Shifting the Scene of the Crime: Sodomy and the American History of Sexual Violence," *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 19, no. 2 (2010): 223-242. For New Spain, see Ramón Gutiérrez, *When Jesus Came, the Corn Mothers Went Away: Marriage, Sexuality, and Power in New Mexico, 1500-1846* (Palo Alto, CA: Stanford University Press, 1991); and Tracy Brown, "'Abominable Sin in Colonial New Mexico: Spanish and Pueblo Perceptions of Same-Sex Sexuality," in *Long Before Stonewall: Histories of Same-Sex Sexuality in Early America*, ed. Thomas Foster (New York: New York University Press, 2007), 51-77.

[3] Kathleen Brown, "'Changed…into the Fashion of Man': The Politics of Sexual Difference in a Seventeenth-Century Anglo-American Settlement," *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 6 (1995): 171-193. Jamestown was designated a National Historic Site on December 18, 1940, and added to the NRHP on October 15, 1966.

death penalties for buggery until 1868-69. By this time most states criminalized sodomy, buggery, and crimes against nature and punished these offenses with lengthy prison terms. Three Ohio cities—Cincinnati (1819), Dayton (1842), and Columbus (1848)—were among the first to pass laws against indecent behavior. Cincinnati and Dayton, Ohio (1849) and Chicago, Illinois (1851) were among the first to prohibit obscene publications and immoral plays. Early state laws against obscenity, which previously had been a common law offense, were passed by Illinois (1845), California (1858), and Pennsylvania (1860). Laws against buggery, crimes against nature, immorality, indecency, obscenity, and sodomy targeted multiple gender and sexual transgressions, but tended to be used to police same-sex sex, public sex, sex work, sexual violence, and sex with minors.[4]

Before the mid-nineteenth century, state and local governments banned cross-dressing as part of the broader criminalization of deception and disguise. Beginning in the 1840s, however, various cities began to more specifically prohibit men from wearing women's clothing and women from wearing men's clothing. Some of the earliest to do so were Columbus, Ohio (1848), Chicago, Illinois (1851), and Wilmington, Delaware (1856).[5] These laws joined the broad array of prohibitions on non-normative sex, gender, and sexuality that existed in the pre-Civil War era.

---

[4] Other laws against indecency were passed by Chicago, IL (1851), Louisville, KY (1853), Cleveland, OH (1854), New Orleans, LA (1856), Springfield, IL (1856), Memphis, TN (1857), Newark, NJ (1858), Toledo, OH (1858), Charleston, SC (1858), Kansas City, MO (1860), Houston, TX (1861), St. Louis, MO (1864), and Wilmington, DE (1865). Laws against obscene publications and/or immoral plays were also passed by New Orleans, LA (1856), New York, NY (1856), Springfield, IL (1856), Memphis, TN (1857), Charleston, SC (1858), Newark, NJ (1858), Toledo, OH (1858), Kansas City, MO (1860), and St. Louis, MO (1864). Before these laws were passed, indecency and obscenity were treated as common law offenses (crimes designated as such by judges rather than legislators). See Katz, *Gay American History*, 38; Katz, *Gay/Lesbian* Almanac, 66-133; and Eskridge, *Gaylaw*, 338-341.

[5] Other early examples were Springfield, IL (1856), Newark, NJ (1858), Charleston, SC (1858), Kansas City, MO (1860), Houston, TX (1861), Toledo, OH (1862), Memphis, TN (1863), San Francisco, CA (1863), and St. Louis, MO (1864). See Eskridge, *Gaylaw*, 338-341; Clare Sears, *Arresting Dress: Cross-Dressing, Law, and Fascination in Nineteenth-Century San Francisco* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2015), 3-6, 23-77; and Susan Stryker, *Transgender History* (Berkeley, CA: Seal, 2008), 32-33.

Post-Civil War Federal, State, and Local Laws

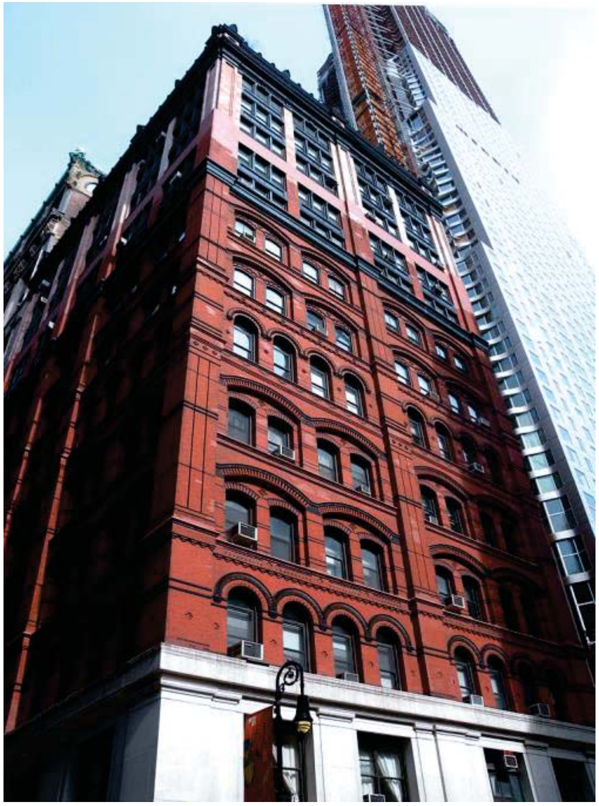


Figure 1: The Nassau-Beekman Building (formerly the Morse Building), office location of the New York Society for the Suppression of Vice, led by Anthony Comstock. Photo by Jim Henderson, 2010.[6]

After the Civil War, federal, state, and local governments responded to the increased presence and visibility of gender and sexual transgression with new laws that criminalized LGBTQ acts, identities, and communities. One of the most powerful was the 1873 Comstock Act, enacted by the US Congress, which prohibited the mailing of obscenity. Over the next century the Comstock Act and the laws it inspired were used to censor LGBTQ speech and expression in publications, plays, photographs, and films (Figure 1). In 1882, 1891, and 1917, Congress passed restrictive immigration statutes that targeted (among other groups) individuals convicted of crimes of “moral turpitude” and those who were “constitutional psychopathic inferiors.” In 1916, Congress prohibited assault with intent to commit sodomy in the US military; four years later Congress made sodomy itself a crime in the military and broadened its definition to include anal or oral copulation between men or between a man and a woman. In 1921, new army regulations provided for the rejection of recruits based on “sexual perversion," "sexual psychopathy," and bodies that exhibited signs of the "opposite sex."[7]

---

[6] License: Public Domain. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Morse_Bldg_jeh.JPG

State and local governments also passed new laws that targeted LGBTQ acts, identities, and communities. The best estimates are that by the early twentieth century, thousands and perhaps tens of thousands of individuals were arrested each year for violating these laws. The last three states to pass laws against sodomy, buggery, and crimes against nature were Wyoming (1890), Iowa (1892), and Washington (1893). Beginning with Pennsylvania (1879), New York (1886), and Massachusetts (1887), most states updated their sex laws to make it clear that they applied to oral sex and sex between women. These were supplemented by new laws against disorderly conduct, immorality, indecency, lewdness, loitering, solicitation, and vagrancy. These ambiguously-defined statutes, used more frequently than laws against sodomy, buggery, and crimes against nature, provided local authorities with broad discretion to arrest individuals for various reasons. People of color, poor people, immigrants, and people who violated gender norms were distinctly vulnerable. Public indecency statutes, for example, were passed by San Francisco, California (1866), Little Rock, Arkansas (1868), Portland, Oregon (1868), and Indianapolis, Indiana (1869). The earliest states to ban public indecency were Massachusetts (1860), California (1872), Washington (1875), Illinois (1877), and New York (1890). Some of the earliest laws against lewd solicitation were adopted by San Jose (1882) and Los Angeles, California (1883), Columbia, Missouri (1883), and Portland, Oregon (1883).

---

[7] Andrea Friedman, "Censorship, Obscenity, and Pornography Law and Policy," in *Encyclopedia of Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender History in America (ELGBT)*, ed. Marc Stein, 3 vols, (New York: Scribners, 2003), 1: 202-205; Elizabeth Hillman, "Military Law and Policy," *ELGBT*, 2: 262-65; Eskridge, *Gaylaw*, 13-56; and Margot Canaday, *The Straight State: Sexuality and Citizenship in Twentieth-Century America* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2009), 19-90. The Comstock Act was named for Anthony Comstock, leader of the New York Society for the Suppression of Vice, which had offices in the Nassau-Beekman Building (formerly the Morse Building), 140-142 Nassau Street, New York, NY. On the New York Society, see George Chauncey, *Gay New York: Gender, Urban Culture, and the Making of the Gay Male World, 1890-1940* (New York: Basic, 1994), 138-139, 146-148, 210, 215-216, 230-231, 280. In 1919-20 there was a major investigation of homosexuality at the Newport Naval Training Station and the nearby Army-Navy Young Men's Christian Association, 50 Washington Square, Newport, Rhode Island; see George Chauncey, "Christian Brotherhood or Sexual Perversion?: Homosexual Identities and the Construction of Sexual Boundaries in the World War I Era," *Journal of Social History* 19 (1985): 189-212. The Army-Navy Young Men's Christian Association was listed on the NRHP on December 29, 1988.

Meanwhile more cities passed laws against obscene publications and immoral plays. Some introduced bans on indecent films—among the earliest were San Diego, California (1899), Chicago, Illinois (1907), Detroit, Michigan (1907), Seattle, Washington (1907), and Sioux Falls, South Dakota (1908). Additional cities prohibited cross-dressing. Some states, beginning with California (1909), Iowa (1911), and Oregon (1917), authorized the sterilization of convicted "perverts" and "degenerates." Building on a 1911 Massachusetts law that permitted indefinite sentencing for "mental defectives," Michigan (1935), Illinois (1938), California (1939), and Minnesota (1939) authorized indefinite confinement in mental institutions for sex offenders. In 1898, New Jersey provided immunity for the murder of individuals attempting to commit sodomy.[8]

State and local liquor laws also targeted LGBTQ acts, identities, and communities. Before national alcohol prohibition was enacted in 1919, many municipalities required liquor licensees to demonstrate "good character" and not serve "disreputable persons," both of which were used to discriminate against LGBTQ people. After prohibition was repealed in 1933, states began to regulate the sale of liquor and many, led by New York and New Jersey, required licensees to exhibit "good moral character," maintain "orderly" premises, and avoid serving "degenerates" and

---

[8] Other early examples of states that updated their sodomy, buggery, and related statutes are Ohio (1889), Wyoming (1890), North Dakota (1895), Louisiana (1896), and Wisconsin (1897). Other early examples of cities that passed ordinances against public indecency are Detroit, MI (1870), Lincoln, NE (1870), Salt Lake City, UT (1872), Atlanta, GA (1873), and Grand Rapids, MI (1873). Early post-Civil War laws against cross-dressing were passed by Atlanta, GA (1873), Minneapolis, MN (1877), Oakland, CA (1879), Dallas, TX (1880), and Salt Lake City, UT (1880). Other states that passed sex offender sterilization laws are Washington (1921), Utah (1925), Idaho (1925), North Dakota (1927), Nebraska (1929), and Oklahoma (1935). See Eskridge, *Gaylaw*, 17-56, 338-341, 354-355; Eskridge, *Dishonorable Passions*, 49-59, 388-407; and Robertson, "Shifting the Scene of the Crime." Some of the more significant local and regional studies of anti-LGBTQ policing in this era focus on Long Beach, CA [Sharon Ullman, "'The Twentieth Century Way': Female Impersonation and Sexual Practice in Turn-of-the-Century America," *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 5, no. 4 (1995): 573-600]; Los Angeles, CA [Daniel Hurewitz, *Bohemian Los Angeles and the Making of Modern Politics* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007)]; New York, NY [Chauncey, *Gay New York*]; San Francisco, CA [Nan Alamilla Boyd, *Wide Open Town: A History of Queer San Francisco to 1965* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003) and Sears, *Arresting Dress*]; the Pacific Northwest [Peter Boag, *Same-Sex Affairs: Constructing and Controlling Homosexuality in the Pacific Northwest* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003]; the West [Peter Boag, *Re-Dressing America's Frontier Past* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011) and Nayan Shah, *Stranger Intimacy: Contesting Race, Sexuality, and the Law in the North American West* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011)].

"female impersonators." Over the next several decades, these laws were used to target hundreds of commercial establishments frequented by LGBTQ people.[9]

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, federal, state, and local officials policed LGBTQ acts, identities, and communities through legal, quasi-legal, and extra-legal means. In many locations, for example, local police and state liquor control officials demanded payoffs from LGBTQ bar owners to avoid raids and closures. Law enforcement officers routinely committed acts of physical and sexual violence against LGBTQ people (and especially people of color, poor people, and people who transgressed gender norms). Many judges, lawyers, bail bondsmen, and police participated in blackmail and extortion schemes that targeted LGBTQ people. Undercover police also entrapped LGBTQ people, persuading them to engage in illegal sexual acts that they might otherwise have not committed.[10]

Resistance to anti-LGBTQ laws took many forms in the pre-World War II era. Millions disobeyed these laws without penalty and many who were arrested or detained denied that they had broken the law. Some began to challenge the criminalization of LGBTQ acts, identities, and communities more directly. In 1866, feminist dress reformer Eliza DeWolf successfully appealed her conviction for violating San Francisco's law against cross-dressing by arguing that California had not given the city the power to regulate dress. In 1890, after Dick/Mamie Ruble was arrested for violating the same law, Ruble told the judge: "I'm neither a man nor a woman and I've got no sex at all." Ruble was declared insane and committed to the Stockton Asylum. In 1903, Milton Matson unsuccessfully challenged his arrest for cross-dressing in San Francisco by arguing that he was a man; he was sentenced to sixty days in the city's jail for women. Anarchist Emma Goldman regularly denounced the criminalization of homosexuality during her national lecture tours in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.[11]

---

[9] Eskridge, *Gaylaw*, 45-49. See also the local studies listed in note 7.
[10] See the local studies listed in note 7.

There were other notable challenges in Illinois and New York. In 1924, Henry Gerber established the Society for Human Rights in Chicago to "ameliorate the plight of homosexuals" (Figure 2). In 1925, however, after Gerber and the group's other leaders were arrested, charged with sex crimes, and threatened with obscenity prosecutions, they abandoned their efforts.[12] In 1927, Mae West denounced the criminalization of homosexuality while unsuccessfully defending productions of her play *Sex* in New York City; her play *Drag* in nearby Bridgeport and Stamford, Connecticut, and Paterson and Bayonne, New Jersey; and Edouard Bournet's play *The Captive* in New York City. West was sentenced to ten days in prison on obscenity charges.[13] In 1929, American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) cofounder Morris Ernst successfully defended Pascal Covici and Donald Friede when they were charged with violating New York's obscenity law for publishing Radclyffe Hall's novel *The Well of Loneliness*.[14] In 1940, Gloria Bar and Grill, a New York City gay bar, unsuccessfully challenged its license revocation by asserting, "There is no rule or regulation…which provides that a sex variant may not be served."[15] These and other actions challenged the criminalization of LGBTQ acts, identities, and communities.

---

[11] Sears, *Arresting Dress*, 74-75, 142-146. The Stockton State Hospital, at 612 East Magnolia Street, Stockton, CA, closed in 1996 and is now occupied by the Stockton Center at California State University, Stanislaus. San Francisco's Women's Jail, also called the Ingleside Jail, was damaged in the 1906 earthquake; the property is now occupied by the City College of San Francisco across from Balboa Park. On Goldman, see Terence Kissack, *Free Comrades: Anarchism and Homosexuality in the United States, 1895-1917* (Oakland, CA: AK, 2008). Goldman lived from 1903 to 1913 in New York City's East Village.

[12] Marc Stein, *Rethinking the Gay and Lesbian Movement* (New York: Routledge, 2012), 37-40. Gerber's home in the Lincoln Park neighborhood of Chicago, Illinois was designated an NHL on June 19, 2015.

[13] Chauncey, *Gay New York*, 311-13. *Sex* was performed at Daly's 63rd Street Theatre (22 West Sixty-third Street, New York City, NY); the building was demolished in 1957.

[14] Leslie Taylor, "'I Made Up My Mind to Get It': The American Trial of *The Well of Loneliness*, New York City, 1928-29," *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 10, no. 2 (2001): 250-286. Covici-Friede was based at 79 West 45th Street, New York City, New York (now demolished).

[15] Chauncey, *Gay New York*, 339. Gloria's was located near the intersection of Third Avenue and 40th Street, New York City, New York.

Figure 2: The Henry Gerber House, Chicago, Illinois. Photo by Thshriver, 2013.[16]

Federal, State, and Local Laws in the 1940s, 1950s, and 1960s

LGBTQ acts, identities, and communities were subjected to increased legal repression in the 1940s, 1950s, and 1960s, but there was also increased LGBTQ legal resistance. In 1941, just before the United States entered World War II, the US military adopted new policies that rejected the enlistment of homosexuals. One year later, new rules stipulated that those who "habitually or occasionally" engaged in homosexual acts were unfit for service, as were men with "feminine" characteristics. In 1943-44, some of these policies were relaxed or revised in the context of wartime military needs, but in 1945 US officials reaffirmed the ban on homosexuals in the military and the Veterans Administration announced that individuals discharged because of homosexuality were ineligible

---

[16] License: CC BY-SA 3.0. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Gerber,_Henry_House_2.JPG

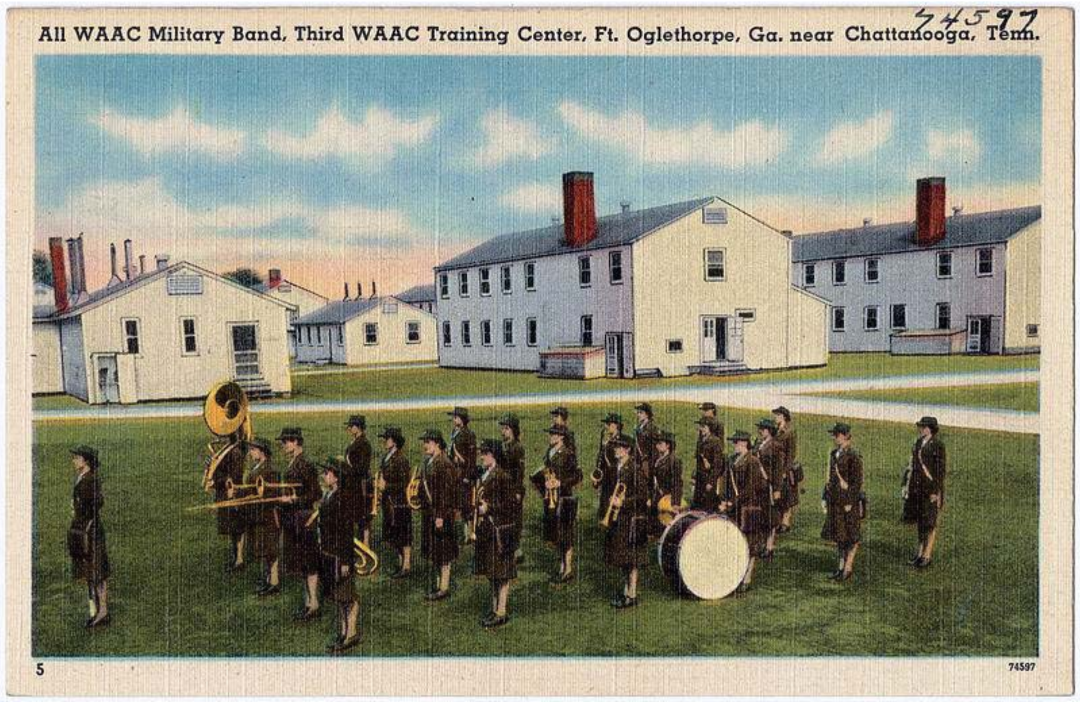

All WAAC Military Band, Third WAAC Training Center, Ft. Oglethorpe, Ga. near Chattanooga, Tenn.
74597
5
74597

Figure 3: One of the more in-depth investigations of homosexuality during World War II was at the Women's Army Corps Training Center at Fort Oglethorpe, Georgia. Postcard, ca. 1942-1943, from the collections of the Boston Public Library.[17]

for veterans' benefits. The best estimate is that these policies resulted in five thousand recruitment rejections and nine thousand discharges during World War II. In 1950, Congress provided a five-year prison term and dishonorable discharge for service members convicted of sodomy. Ten years later, the US Army formally deemed transsexuals ineligible for enlistment. In the 1940s, 1950s, and 1960s, the US military discharged more than fifty thousand individuals based on allegations of homosexuality (Figure 3).[18]

---

[17] License: CC BY 2.0. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:All_WAAC_Military_Band,_Third_WAAC_Training_Cente,_Ft._Oglethorpe,_Ga.,_near_Chattanooga,_Tenn._%286843436993%29.jpg

[18] Hillman, "Military Law and Policy"; Allan Bérubé, *Coming Out Under Fire: The History of Gay Men and Women in World War Two* (New York: Free Press, 1990); Leisa Meyer, *Creating GI Jane: Sexuality and Power in the Women's Army Corps During World War II* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996), 148-178; Canaday, *The Straight State*, 137-173; Joanne Meyerowitz, *How Sex Changed: A History of Transsexuality in the United States* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2002), 243; and Eskridge, *Gaylaw*, 381. One of the more in-depth investigations of homosexuality during World War II focused on the Women's Army Corps Training Center at Fort Oglethorpe in Catoosa County, Georgia. The Fort Oglethorpe Historic District was listed on the NRHP on April 20, 1979.

In the early years of the Cold War, the federal government introduced new anti-LGBTQ laws. In 1947, President Harry Truman established a loyalty security program for federal civil servants; among those targeted for exclusion and termination were homosexuals. In 1951, Federal Bureau of Investigation Director J. Edgar Hoover initiated a project that targeted “sex deviates.” In 1953, President Dwight Eisenhower issued an executive order that explicitly named “sexual perversion” as grounds for exclusion and dismissal from federal government jobs. More than five thousand federal government workers lost their jobs because of these policies in the 1940s, 1950s, and 1960s. The Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952 provided for the exclusion and deportation of noncitizens who were “afflicted with psychopathic personality” or had committed “crimes of moral turpitude,” both of which were interpreted to apply to LGBTQ people. In 1965, Congress more explicitly barred the admission of “sexual deviates.”[19]

State and local governments also introduced new anti-LGBTQ laws. In 1948, Congress criminalized sodomy in the District of Columbia; five years later Congress banned indecent sexual proposals (in private or public) in the district. In the late 1940s and early 1950s, California increased its maximum penalties for sodomy, oral copulation, lewd vagrancy, and loitering around a public toilet. By 1961, twenty-one states had revised their laws against lewdness and indecency to cover private as well as public acts. Meanwhile, new laws were passed against lewd solicitation in Houston, Texas (1942), Sioux City, Iowa (1943), Norfolk, Virginia (1944), Orlando, Florida (1952), Miami, Florida (1955), and New Orleans, Louisiana (1956). New laws against cross-dressing were adopted by Detroit, Michigan (1944), Indianapolis, Indiana (1951), Miami, Florida (1952 and 1965), Denver, Colorado (1954), and San Diego, California (1966). By 1961, twenty-nine states and the District of Columbia had passed sexual psychopath laws that provided for indefinite detention. In 1941, California authorized the castration of convicted sex perverts and in 1947 the state began requiring convicted sex offenders to register with local police after their release from prison. Other states that adopted sex offender registration laws were Arizona (1951), Nevada (1961), Ohio (1963), and Alabama (1967). The passage of these laws was accompanied by more aggressive legal, quasi-legal, and extra-legal policing, which disproportionately affected LGBTQ communities and especially immigrants, people of color, and poor people within these communities. The best estimate is that more than 300,000 individuals were arrested in the 1940s, 1950s, or 1960s for violating the country's anti-LGBTQ laws. Countless others suffered because the legal system did not recognize their relationships, their families, and their parental rights.[20]

---

[19] Ruthann Robson, “Employment Law and Policy,” in *ELGBT*, 1: 346-349; Eskridge, *Dishonorable Passions*, 100-102; Canaday, *The Straight State*, 214-254; David Johnson, *The Lavender Scare* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004); Stein, *Rethinking*, 49, 65; Douglas M. Charles, *The FBI's Obscene File: J. Edgar Hoover and the Bureau's Crusade against Smut* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2012); and Douglas M. Charles, *Hoover's War on Gays: Exposing the FBI's 'Sex Deviates' Program* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2015).

Other new state and local laws affected employment rights and rights of assembly. In 1951-52, for example, California supplemented its ban on immoral conduct for teachers with a law requiring school districts to be notified when teachers were arrested for sex crimes. New laws also authorized the state board of education to decertify teachers convicted of sex crimes and prohibited school districts from employing convicted sex offenders. In 1958, Florida's Legislative Investigation Committee began a six-year campaign of repression against teachers and students at primary, secondary, and postsecondary schools. In 1959, Florida authorized the revocation of teaching certificates based on moral misconduct. California and Florida were among many states that authorized the denial and revocation of licenses for doctors, lawyers, and other professionals based on immoral conduct. As for rights of assembly, in 1954 Miami, Florida, made it illegal to sell alcohol to, employ, or allow the gathering of two or more homosexuals in licensed bars. In 1955, California authorized liquor license revocations for bars that served "perverts." In 1961, Illinois passed a new law that increased the ability of Chicago's mayor to close LGBTQ bars. In many cities, including New York, Philadelphia, and San Francisco, the owners of LGBTQ bars and other commercial establishments were distinctly vulnerable to raids and closures if they did not make payoffs to local police, politicians, and other officials. The best estimate is that tens of thousands of individuals lost their jobs and hundreds of businesses were harassed, raided, and closed by the police because of anti-LGBTQ laws in the 1940s, 1950s, and 1960s.[21]

---

[20] Eskridge, *Dishonorable Passions*, 73-108, 388-407; Eskridge, *Gaylaw*, 62, 338-341; Robertson, "Shifting the Scene"; Daniel Winunwe Rivers, *Radical Relations: Lesbian Mothers, Gay Fathers, and Their Children in the United States since World War II* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2013), 11-52. The 300,000 figure is a rough and conservative estimate based primarily on Eskridge's analysis of individuals arrested for consensual and adult same-sex sexual crimes (*Dishonorable Passions*, 98). There was a notable police crackdown on same-sex sex in Boise, Idaho in 1955-1956; see John Gerassi, *The Boys of Boise: Furor, Vice, and Folly in an American City*, with a new foreword by Peter Boag (1966; Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2001). The scandal began with allegations that focused on a Boise YMCA located at Eleventh and Idaho Streets. Some of the more significant local and regional studies of anti-LGBTQ policing in this era focus on Buffalo, NY [Elizabeth Lapovsky Kennedy and Madeline D. Davis, *Boots of Leather, Slippers of Gold: The History of a Lesbian Community* (New York: Routledge, 1993)]; Cherry Grove, NY [Esther Newton, *Cherry Grove, Fire Island: Sixty Years in America's First Gay and Lesbian Town* (Boston: Beacon, 1993)]; Los Angeles, CA [Lillian Faderman and Stuart Timmons, *Gay L.A.: A History of Sexual Outlaws, Power Politics, and Lipstick Lesbians* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006)]; Mississippi [John Howard, *Men Like That: A Southern Queer History* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999)]; Philadelphia, PA [Marc Stein, *City of Sisterly and Brotherly Loves: Lesbian and Gay Philadelphia* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000)]; Provincetown, MA [Karen Krahulik, *Provincetown: From Pilgrim Landing to Gay Resort* (New York: New York University Press, 2005)]; San Francisco, CA [Boyd, *Wide Open Town*; Christopher Agee, *The Streets of San Francisco: Policing and the Creation of a Cosmopolitan Liberal Politics, 1950-1972* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2014)]; and Washington, DC [Genny Beemyn, *A Queer Capital: A History of Gay Life in Washington, D.C.* (New York: Routledge, 2015)].

Notwithstanding these developments, there were signs of increased support for sex and gender law reform in these decades. These efforts were championed by the LGBTQ movement, which consisted of groups such as the Mattachine Society, ONE, the Daughters of Bilitis, the Janus Society, the Erickson Educational Foundation, and the Society for Individual Rights.[22] LGBTQ activists supported reform with educational, lobbying, and litigation campaigns, but also engaged in direct action. They challenged police practices, for example, with protests at Cooper's Donuts in Los Angeles in 1959, California Hall in San Francisco in 1964, Compton's Cafeteria in San Francisco in 1966, the Black Cat in Los Angeles in 1967, and the Patch in Los Angeles in 1968. They demonstrated against military policies at the Whitehall Street Induction Center in New York City in 1964 and at locations in Los Angeles, New York City, Philadelphia, San Francisco, and Washington, DC, on Armed Forces Day in 1966. In 1965, they staged a sit-in at Dewey's Restaurant in Philadelphia and organized demonstrations at the White House, Civil Service Commission, State Department, and Pentagon in Washington, DC; Independence Hall in Philadelphia, and the United Nations Building in New York City. The protest at Independence Hall, held on the Fourth of July Independence Day holiday, became the "Annual Reminder" when it was repeated in 1966, 1967, 1968, and 1969.[23]

---

[21] Eskridge, *Dishonorable Passions*, 103-107, 389, 391; Karen Graves, *And They Were Wonderful Teachers: Florida's Purge of Gay and Lesbian Teachers* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2009); and Timothy Stewart-Winter, *Queer Clout: Chicago and the Rise of Gay Politics* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2016). See also the local studies listed in note 17.

[22] Stein, *Rethinking*, 41-78. Mattachine was initially based at Harry Hay's residences in the Silver Lake and Hollywood Hills neighborhoods of Los Angeles, California. ONE was based at 232 South Hill Street, Los Angeles, California (now demolished). The Daughters of Bilitis was based for many years at 693 Mission Street, San Francisco, California. Janus was based for many years at the Middle City Building, 34 South Seventeenth Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. The Erickson Educational Foundation was based for many years at Reed Erickson's home near the Hundred Oaks area of Baton Rouge, Louisiana. The Society for Individual Rights was based for many years at 83 Sixth Street, San Francisco, California.

Influenced by these and other developments, in 1955 the American Law Institute (ALI) called for the decriminalization of private sex acts by consenting adults. The ACLU, which had long defended individuals accused of gender and sexual crimes, adopted policy statements on the rights of homosexuals in 1957 and 1967. In the 1960s, the Playboy Foundation began to support homosexual law reform. Two early LGBTQ legal advocacy groups were the Homosexual Law Reform Society (HLRS), founded in Philadelphia in 1966, and the National Legal Defense Fund (NLDF), founded in San Francisco in 1967.[24]

---

[23] Stein, *Rethinking*, 63-78. Cooper's Donuts was positioned between two gay bars, the Waldorf and Harold's, which were located at 527 and 555 South Main Street, Los Angeles, California (both now demolished); see Faderman and Timmons, *Gay L.A.*, 1-2. California Hall was located at 625 Polk Street, San Francisco, California; see Boyd, *Wide Open Town*, 233-235. Compton's Cafeteria was located at 101 Taylor Street, San Francisco, California, a contributing building to the Uptown Tenderloin Historic District, listed on the NRHP on February 5, 2009; see Stryker, *Transgender History*, 63-75. The Black Cat was located at 3909 W Sunset Boulevard, Los Angeles, California; see Faderman and Timmons, *Gay L.A.*, 154-157. The Patch was located in the Wilmington neighborhood of Los Angeles, California; see Faderman and Timmons, *Gay L.A.*, 157-158. The Whitehall Street Induction Center was located at 39 Whitehall Street, New York City, New York; see Martin Duberman, *Stonewall* (New York: Dutton, 1993), 80-82. Dewey's was located at 219 S Seventeenth Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; see Stein, *City of Sisterly and Brotherly Loves*, 245-246. Independence Hall is located at 520 Chestnut Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; it is part of Independence National Historical Park, created June 28, 1948, and designated an NHL District on October 15, 1966; see Stein, *City of Sisterly and Brotherly Loves*, 231-232, 248-249, 253-254, 273-274, 291-295, 292, 299, 317. The White House is located at 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, Washington, DC; it was designated an NHL on December 19, 1960. The US Civil Service Commission was based in Washington, DC. The State Department is located in the Harry S. Truman Building at 2201 C Street NW, Washington, DC. The Pentagon is located on Jefferson Davis Highway in Arlington, VA; it was listed on the NRHP on July 27, 1989 and designated an NHL on October 5, 1992. The United Nations Building is located at 405 East 42nd Street, New York City, New York.

Some liberal reforms were achieved through legislative and executive action. In 1950, California created a misdemeanor option for oral copulation. New York in 1950, Minnesota in 1967, and Utah in 1969 reduced consensual sodomy to a misdemeanor. In 1969, when Kansas decriminalized heterosexual deviate sexual intercourse, it reduced its homosexual counterpart to a misdemeanor. More significantly, in 1961 Illinois became the first state to decriminalize sodomy; Connecticut was second in 1969. In 1961, California replaced its vagrancy law, which had often been used against LGBTQ people, with a law against disorderly conduct. In 1967, New York repealed its prohibition on the depiction of "sex degeneracy or sex perversion" in plays. In the 1960s, Illinois, Arizona, and Louisiana were among the first states to permit changes of sex on birth certificates and drivers' licenses; by 1965 eleven states permitted changes of sex on birth certificates. At the federal level, in 1966 the US Civil Service Commission announced in a letter to Mattachine activists that individuals who engaged in homosexual conduct were not automatically barred from all federal government jobs; only those who publicly revealed their homosexuality and those whose homosexual conduct became publicly known were excluded.[25]

---

[24] On the American Law Institute (ALI), see John D'Emilio, *Sexual Politics, Sexual Communities* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983), 112, 144; Eskridge, *Dishonorable Passions*, 121-124; Marie-Amelie George, "The Harmless Psychopath: Legal Debates Promoting the Decriminalization of Sodomy in the United States," *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 24, no. 2 (2015): 225-261. On the ACLU, Playboy, HLRS, and NLDF, see Marc Stein, *Sexual Injustice: Supreme Court Decisions from* Griswold *to* Roe (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press), 139-170, 246-248. The ALI was located at and continues to have offices at 4025 Chestnut Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. The ACLU was based at the Presbyterian Building, 156 Fifth Avenue, New York City, New York. The Playboy Foundation was based in the Palmolive Building at 919 N Michigan Avenue, Chicago, Illinois, listed on the NRHP on August 21, 2003. HLRS was based at the Middle City Building, 34 South Seventeenth Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. The National Legal Defense Fund was based at Glide Memorial Church at 330 Ellis Street, San Francisco, California, a contributing building to the Uptown Tenderloin Historic District, listed on the NRHP on February 5, 2009.

[25] Eskridge, *Dishonorable Passions*, 124-127, 144, 161-165, 388-407; Stryker, *Transgender History*, 121; Eskridge, *Gaylaw*, 126-127; Johnson, *The Lavender Scare*, 202-207; and Meyerowitz, *How Sex Changed*, 243.

Reformers and activists also pursued law reform through court-based litigation. In 1952, when Dale Jennings, a founder of the Mattachine Society, was arrested and charged with lewd behavior in Los Angeles, he acknowledged his homosexuality but denied that he had propositioned an undercover police officer. After the jury deadlocked, Mattachine celebrated its first legal victory.[27] There were also victories in police entrapment cases in Washington, DC, in 1952, 1956, and 1960; warrantless bathroom surveillance cases in California in 1962; a transsexual name change case in New York City in 1968; and a teacher decertification case in California in 1969.[28] The Supreme Court declined to consider appeals of convictions for sodomy in Mansfield, Ohio in 1964 and 1966, lewd solicitation in New York City in 1966, and lewd conduct in Los Angeles in 1968, but homophile lobbying and negative publicity about these cases helped

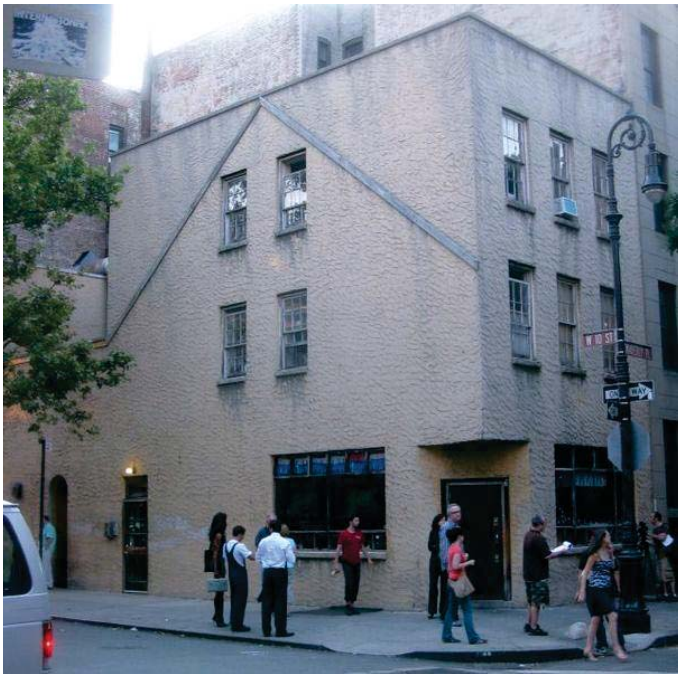


Figure 4: Julius', New York City. Photo by Americasroof, 2008.[26]

---

[26] License: CC BY-SA 3.0. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Julius-bar.jpg

[27] D'Emilio, *Sexual Politics*, 70-71. Mattachine's early meetings took place at Harry Hay's homes in the Silver Lake and Hollywood Hills neighborhoods of Los Angeles, CA.

[28] Stein, *Rethinking*, 48, 54, 75, 104; Johnson, *The Lavender Scare*, 174-178; and Meyerowitz, *How Sex Changed*, 208-209, 241-247. The DC cases were Kelly v. United States (1952), Guarro v. United States (1956), and Rittenour v. District of Columbia (1960). The California cases were Bielicki v. Superior Court of Los Angeles County (1962), Byars v. Superior Court of Los Angeles County (1962), Britt v. Superior Court of Santa Clara County (1962), and Morrison v. State Board of Education (1969). The New York case was *In Re Anonymous* (1968). Kelly was arrested in Franklin Park (now Franklin Square), Washington, DC. Guarro was arrested at Cinema Follies, formerly located at 37 L Street SE, Washington, DC.

convince New York City's police commissioner to curtail entrapment practices.[29]

Reformers and activists also challenged police practices that targeted sites associated with LGBTQ cultures. In 1959, Mel Heifetz unsuccessfully pursued a federal civil rights complaint after police raided his Philadelphia coffeehouse.[30] In 1968, the Supreme Court refused to consider Richard Inman's challenge to Miami's ordinance against serving or employing homosexuals in bars.[31] In California, however, the Black Cat in San Francisco (1951) and Mary's First and Last Chance Bar in Oakland (1959) won state supreme court rulings that rejected liquor license revocations for bars that served homosexuals who were not engaging in immoral or indecent acts.[32] In 1966, Mattachine activists staged a successful "sip-in" at Julius, a New York City gay bar (Figure 4). They announced they were homosexuals, were denied service on that basis, and then filed suit, winning a 1967 state court ruling that constrained the ability of the State Liquor Authority to revoke the licenses of gay bars unless there was evidence of indecent behavior.[33] Also in 1967, HLRS supported litigation that yielded a New Jersey Supreme Court ruling upholding the rights of "well-behaved" homosexuals to assemble in bars.[34]

---

[29] The Mansfield cases were Poor v. Mayer (1964) and Chamberlain v. Ohio (1966). The New York case was Robillard v. New York (1966). The Los Angeles case was Talley v. California (1968). The Florida case was Franklin v. State (1971). In the Los Angeles case, Charles Talley and Benny Baker were arrested for kissing on New Year's Eve at the Black Cat Tavern, 3909 West Sunset Boulevard, Los Angeles, California. See Joyce Murdoch and Deb Price, *Courting Justice: Gay Men and Lesbians v. the Supreme Court* (New York: Basic, 2001), 135-147.

[30] Haifetz v. Rizzo (1959); Stein, *City of Sisterly and Brotherly Loves*, 155-176. Heifetz's coffeehouse, the Humoresque, was located at 2036 Sansom Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. Note that the alternative spellings are intentional.

[31] Inman v. City of Miami (1968).

[32] Stoumen v. Reilly (1951); Vallerga v. Department of Alcoholic Beverage Control (1959); Boyd, *Wide Open Town*, 121-123; 206-207. The Black Cat was located at 710 Montgomery Street, San Francisco, California. The building is a contributing element to the Jackson Square Historic District, listed on the NRHP November 18, 1971. Mary's First and Last Chance was located at 2278 Telegraph Avenue, Oakland, California.

[33] Duberman, *Stonewall*, 114-117. Julius is located within the Greenwich Village Historic District (listed on the NRHP on June 19, 1979) at 159 West Tenth Street, New York City, New York. Not currently individually listed on the NRHP, the New York State Historic Preservation Office has determined Julius eligible.

[34] One Eleven Wines & Liquors v. Division of Alcoholic Beverage Control (1967); Stein, *Sexual Injustice*, 150-151; and Bryant Simon, "New York Avenue: The Life and Death of Gay Spaces in Atlantic City, New Jersey, 1920-90," *Journal of Urban History* 28, no. 3 (2002): 300-327. The New Jersey case

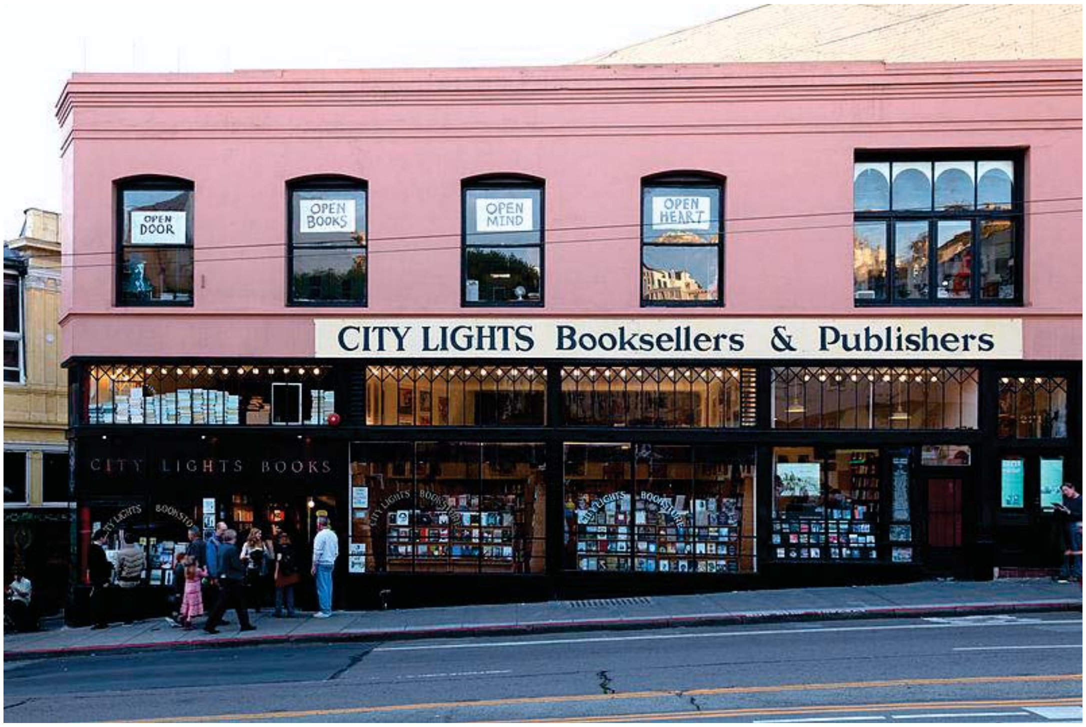


Figure 5: City Lights Bookstore, San Francisco. Photo by Caroline Culler.[35]

Reformers and activists also had some success in challenging anti-LGBTQ censorship. In 1955, Bob Mizer, the Los Angeles-based founder of the Athletic Model Guild and publisher of *Physique Pictorial* magazine, successfully appealed his conviction for selling indecent literature.[36] Two years later, Lawrence Ferlinghetti, the owner of City Lights Bookstore in San Francisco, was found not guilty of obscenity for selling Allen Ginsberg's homoerotic *Howl and Other Poems* (Figure 5).[37] In 1962, Dorian Book Service in San Francisco successfully challenged restrictions on the importation of homoerotic books by US Customs.[38] Five years later, Directory Services in Minneapolis, a gay-oriented mail-order business, was

---

addressed Val's, which was located on New York Avenue in Atlantic City, New Jersey; Murphy's Tavern, which was located at 135 Mulberry Street in Newark, New Jersey (now demolished); and One Eleven Wines and Liquors, location unknown.

[35] License: CC BY-SA 3.0. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:City_Lights_Bookstore.jpg

[36] Whitney Strub, *Perversion for Profit: The Politics of Pornography and the Rise of the New Right* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2011), 35-36. Bob Mizer operated his office and studio out of his home in Brooklyn, New York.

[37] D'Emilio, *Sexual Politics*, 177-182. City Lights Bookstore is located at 261 Columbus Avenue, San Francisco, California.

[38] Stein, *Rethinking*, 75. Dorian Book Service was based out of the Williams Building, 693 Mission Street, San Francisco, California.

acquitted on charges of mailing indecent literature.[39] Two particularly significant victories occurred when the Supreme Court overturned the US Postal Service's censorship of *ONE* magazine in 1958 and invalidated the Postal Service's censorship of physique magazines in 1962.[40] In this period federal, state, and local authorities continued to use obscenity laws to censor LGBTQ speech and expression and in so doing they effectively destroyed Guild Press in Washington, DC, and the Janus Society, HLRS, and Trojan Book Service in Philadelphia.[41] Nevertheless there were also notable successes in challenges to anti-LGBTQ censorship.

Activists and reformers also had a mixed record of success when using litigation to invalidate or circumvent other federal laws and policies. Military service members were rarely successful when they challenged anti-LGBTQ policies. In 1960, however, Fannie Mae Clackum and Grace Garner, who had been involuntarily discharged from the US Air Force, won a US Court of Claims decision that awarded them back pay. While the court did not challenge the military's anti-homosexual policies, it ruled that the women should have been given the court martial they requested.[42]

Noncitizens generally failed in their challenges to anti-LGBTQ immigration laws, which tended to be enforced when the Immigration and Naturalization Service learned that a legal or nonlegal resident had been charged with or convicted of a sex crime. Sara Quiroz, a Mexican woman living in El Paso, Texas, was deported for "looking like a lesbian" in 1961. Clive Boutilier, a Canadian man living in New York, was ordered deported after he revealed an earlier sodomy arrest on his application for US citizenship; he lost his Supreme Court appeal in 1967. However, George Fleuti, a Swiss national who lived in Ojai, California, won his 1963 Supreme Court appeal on a legal technicality, even though he had been arrested and convicted multiple times for homosexual offenses.[44] As for federal employment discrimination, future homophile movement leader Frank Kameny, who had been fired by the Army Map Service in 1957, lost his final round of appeals in 1961 (Figure 6). In 1965, however, the DC Circuit Court ruled in an appeal by Bruce Scott that the Civil Service Commission could not fire an employee based solely on vague allegations about homosexual conduct. In 1969 the same court ruled in an appeal by

---

[39] David Johnson, "Physique Pioneers: The Politics of 1960s Gay Consumer Culture," *Journal of Social History* 43, no. 4 (2010): 867-892.

[40] ONE v. Olesen (1958); Manual Enterprises v. Day (1962); Murdoch and Price, *Courting Justice*, 27-50, 65-83. ONE's offices were located at 232 South Hill Street, Los Angeles, California (now demolished). The offices of Manual Enterprises and Guild Press were located at 807-813 Eighth Street SE, Washington, DC.

[41] Murdoch and Price, *Courting Justice*, 82; Stein, *City of Sisterly and Brotherly Loves*, 299-302; Stein, *Rethinking*, 78.

[42] Hillman, "Military Law and Policy," 264; Canaday, *The Straight State*, 198-200; and Eskridge, *Gaylaw*, 91. Clackum and Garner served at Barksdale Air Force Base, located just southeast of Bossier, Louisiana.

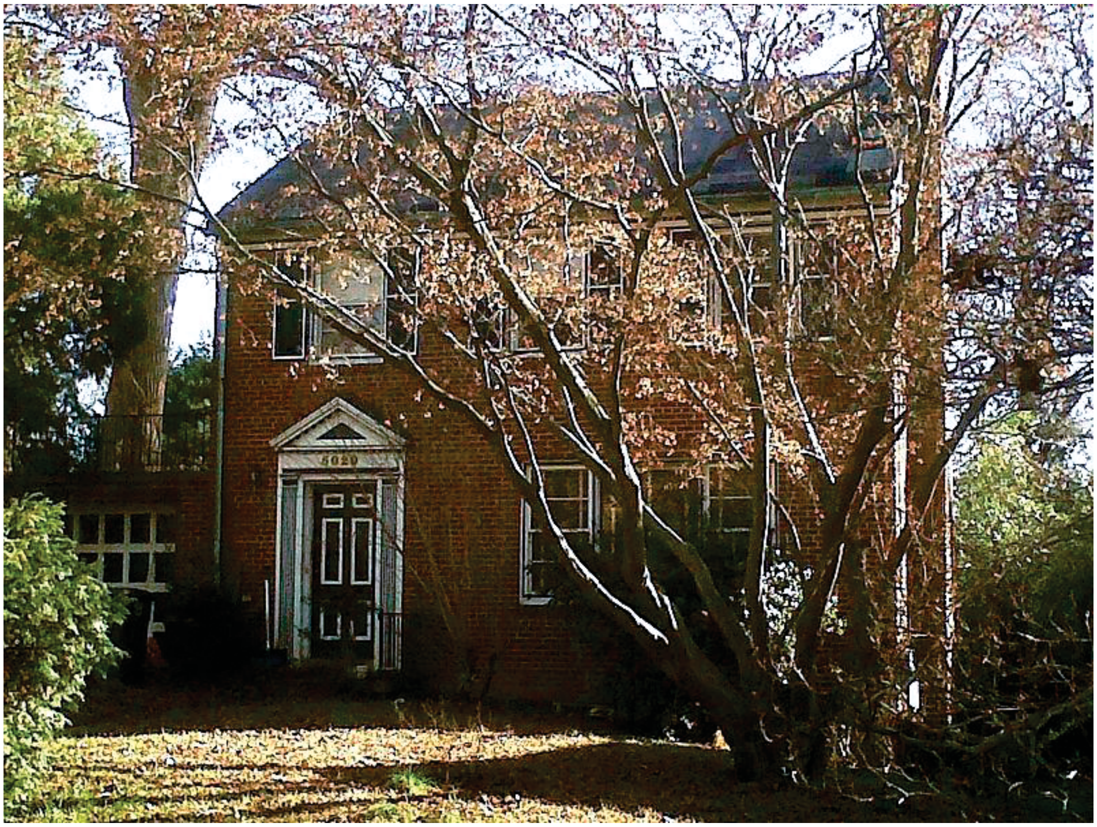


Figure 6: The Dr. Franklin E. Kameny House, Washington, DC. Photo by Farragutful, 2011.[43]

---

[43] License: CC BY-SA 3.0. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Dr._Franklin_E._Kameny_House,_DC.jpg

[44] Murdoch, *Courting Justice*, 87-134; Stein, *Sexual Injustice*, 57-93; Canaday, *The Straight State*, 214-254; and Eithne Luibhéid, *Entry Denied: Controlling Sexuality at the Border* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2002), 77-101. Boutilier lived in Brooklyn, New York. Fleuti worked at the Ojai Valley Inn and Country Club, located at 905 Country Club Road, Ojai, California.

Clifford Norton that homosexual conduct alone was not sufficient reason to fire a federal government employee.[45] With this victory, which was announced just a few days after the 1969 Stonewall riots in New York City, LGBTQ reformers won one of their most important courtroom victories.

Federal, State, and Local Laws in the 1970s and 1980s

A massive upsurge in LGBTQ activism after the Stonewall riots contributed to more substantial legal reforms in the 1970s and 1980s. The riots, which began when patrons of the Stonewall Inn resisted arrest and fought back during a police raid, were influenced by the radicalization of LGBTQ activism in the second half of the 1960s and by several years of African American urban rebellions. In the aftermath of the riots, LGBTQ activists joined other disenfranchised communities to challenge police repression and fight for law reform.[46]

Much of this was driven by grassroots local organizing. In the early 1970s, for example, New York City activists formed the Gay Liberation Front, Gay Activists Alliance, Queens Liberation Front, Radicalesbians, Street Transvestite Action Revolutionaries, and Third World Gay Revolution. Similar groups formed in other US cities and many organized political demonstrations and lobbying campaigns to promote legal and police reform. Some of the most significant national organizations were the National Gay Task Force (founded in New York City in 1973, renamed the National Gay and Lesbian Task Force in 1985 and the National LGBTQ Task Force in 2014), Gay Rights National Lobby (founded in Washington,

---

[45] Stein, *Rethinking*, 72-74; Johnson, *The Lavender Scare*, 179-192, 202-208; and Murdoch and Price, *Courting Justice*, 51-64. Kameny's home in Washington, DC, was listed on the NRHP on November 2, 2011. Scott was denied employment based on a 1947 arrest in Lafayette Park (now Lafayette Square), DC. Norton lost his job with the National Aeronautics and Space Administration because of a 1963 sexual encounter in Lafayette Park (now Lafayette Square), DC. The Lafayette Square Historic District was listed on the NRHP and designated an NHL on August 29, 1970.

[46] Duberman, *Stonewall*; David Carter, *Stonewall: The Riots That Sparked the Gay Revolution* (New York: St. Martin's, 2004); Stein, *Rethinking*, 79-142. The Stonewall Inn is located at 53 Christopher Street, New York City, New York. Stonewall was added to the NRHP on June 28, 1999; designated an NHL on February 16, 2000; and declared a National Monument (an NPS unit) on June 24, 2016.

DC in 1976), National Coalition of Black Gays (founded in Baltimore and Washington, DC, in 1978 and renamed the National Coalition of Black Gays and Lesbians in 1984), and Human Rights Campaign Fund (founded in Washington, DC in 1980). While these groups pursued law reform as part of larger agendas, others focused primarily on legal matters. The ACLU, based in New York, established the Sexual Privacy Project in 1973 and the National Lesbian and Gay Rights Project in 1986. Other major groups included Lambda Legal Defense and Education Fund (founded in New York City in 1972-73), Gay Rights Advocates (founded in San Francisco in 1977, later renamed National Gay Rights Advocates), Lesbian Rights Project (founded in San Francisco in 1977 and renamed National Center for Lesbian Rights in 1989), and Gay and Lesbian Advocates and Defenders (founded in Boston in 1978). Two early legal advocacy groups that focused on LGBTQ parenting were the Lesbian Mothers National Defense Fund (based in Seattle) and Custody Action for Lesbian Mothers (based in Philadelphia).[47]

At the local and state levels, LGBTQ law reformers achieved many significant goals in the 1970s and 1980s. Twenty states joined Illinois and Connecticut in repealing their sodomy laws in the 1970s. Wisconsin joined them in 1983 and courts in New York and Pennsylvania invalidated their sodomy laws in 1980.[48] Litigation succeeded in limiting police surveillance of public bathrooms in California (1973) and invalidating bans on crimes against nature in Florida (1971), loitering to solicit deviate sexual intercourse in Colorado (1974), lewd and indecent acts in Washington, DC (1974), lewd vagrancy in California (1979), and lewd solicitation in Pennsylvania (1980) and New York (1983).[49] Activists also used litigation to overturn a Miami, Florida, law against serving or employing homosexuals in bars (1972); more generally there was a major decline in police harassment of LGBTQ bars in this period.[50] Several of the earliest parental custody cases won by openly gay, lesbian, and bisexual parents took place in the early 1970s in California, Michigan, North Carolina, Oregon, and Washington.[51] There were also successful court-based challenges to cross-dressing laws in Chicago, Illinois; Cincinnati, Toledo, and Columbus, Ohio; Denver, Colorado; Detroit, Michigan; Fort Worth and Houston, Texas; Miami, Florida; New York City, New York; and St. Louis, Missouri.[52] By 1990, twenty states and the District of Columbia permitted legal changes of sex on birth certificates and drivers' licenses.[53]

---

[47] See Stein, *Rethinking*, 81-142, 151. The National LGBTQ Task Force is located at 1325 Massachusetts Avenue NW, Washington, DC. The Gay Rights National Lobby was based in Washington, DC. The National Coalition of Black Gays was based in Baltimore, Maryland and Washington, DC. The Human Rights Campaign is based at 1640 Rhode Island Avenue NW, Washington, DC. The ACLU was based at 156 Fifth Avenue, New York City, New York. The Lambda Legal Defense and Education Fund was based at the Daily News Building, 220 East Forty-Second Street, New York City, New York (listed on the NRHP on November 14, 1982, and designated an NHL on July 29, 1989). Gay Rights Advocates was based in San Francisco, California. The National Center for Lesbian Rights is based at the Flood Building, 870 Market Street, San Francisco, California. Gay and Lesbian Advocates and Defenders is based at 30 Winters Street, Boston, Massachusetts. The Lesbian Mothers National Defense Fund was based at a private residence in Seattle, Washington. Custody Action for Lesbian Mothers (CALM) was based at 1425 Walnut Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

[48] Sodomy laws were repealed by Colorado (1971), Oregon (1971), Delaware (1972), Hawaii (1972), Ohio (1972), North Dakota (1973), California (1975), New Hampshire (1975), Maine (1975), New Mexico (1975), Washington (1975), Indiana (1976), Iowa (1976), South Dakota (1976), West Virginia (1976), Nebraska (1977), Vermont (1977), Wyoming (1977), Alaska (1978), and New Jersey (1978). Idaho decriminalized sodomy in 1971 and recriminalized it in 1972. Arkansas decriminalized sodomy in 1975, but recriminalized same-sex sodomy in 1977. Washington, DC, tried to decriminalize sodomy in 1981, but the US House of Representatives vetoed the change. The New York case was People v.

Meanwhile, more than eighty cities and ten states revised their civil rights laws or used executive orders to prohibit specific types of sexual orientation discrimination. Among the first cities to ban public employment discrimination based on sexual orientation were Ann Arbor and East Lansing, Michigan in 1972. Among the larger cities that followed were New York and San Francisco, in 1972; Washington, DC, and Seattle, Washington, in 1973; Minneapolis, Minnesota, in 1975; Los Angeles, California, in 1977; Detroit, Michigan, in 1979; and Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, in 1980. In 1978, California voters defeated the Briggs

---

Onofre (1980). The Pennsylvania case was Commonwealth v. Bonadio (1980). See Eskridge, *Dishonorable Passions*, 177-228, 388-407; and Ellen Ann Andersen, *Out of the Closets and into the Courts* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2006), 58-142.

[49] Stein, *Rethinking*, 102-103, 127, 164; Eskridge, *Gaylaw*, 104-111. The California surveillance case was People v. Trigg (1973). The Florida case was Franklin v. State (1971). The Colorado case was People v. Gibson (1974). The DC case was District of Columbia v. Walters (1974). The California lewd vagrancy case was Pryor v. Municipal Court (1979). The Pennsylvania case was Commonwealth v. Waters (1980). The New York case was Uplinger v. State (1983).

[50] Stein, *Rethinking*, 87, 102, 129.

[51] Stein, *Rethinking*, 106, 130-131; and Rivers, *Radical Relations*, 53-79.

[52] Stein, *Rethinking*, 87, 103, 127; and Eskridge, *Gaylaw*, 111.

[53] Stryker, *Transgender History*, 121.

Initiative, which would have disqualified for public school employment anyone who advocated, encouraged, or promoted homosexuality, inside or outside the classroom. Conservative campaigns to repeal antidiscrimination laws failed in Seattle, Washington (1978); Austin, Texas (1982); Davis, California (1986); and St. Paul, Minnesota (1988). In 1975, Pennsylvania became the first state to prohibit sexual orientation discrimination in state employment; it was followed by California (1979), Wisconsin (1982), New York (1983), Ohio (1983), and five other states in the 1980s. Many of these laws also barred sexual orientation discrimination in housing and public accommodations and some city laws, including those passed by Minneapolis, Minnesota (1975); Champaign (1977) and Urbana, Illinois (1979); Los Angeles, California (1979); Harrisburg, Pennsylvania (1983); and Seattle, Washington (1986), covered gender identity and expression. Twelve states and several cities passed hate crimes laws that addressed crimes motivated by anti-homosexual prejudice. In 1984 and 1985, Berkeley and West Hollywood, California, approved limited domestic partner benefits for city employees; similar policies were adopted by Los Angeles, Minneapolis, New York, San Francisco, Seattle, and other municipalities. The passage of antidiscrimination, hate crime, and domestic partner benefits laws signaled more powerfully than had been the case before that law could be a tool of LGBTQ empowerment.[54]

There were also significant legal reforms at the federal level. In 1979, Surgeon General Julius Richmond announced that the US Public Health Service no longer viewed homosexuality as a mental illness and therefore would not provide the medical certificates required to exclude or deport noncitizens based on homosexuality. One year later, the Immigration and Naturalization Service adopted a new policy under which noncitizens would not be questioned about their homosexuality but would be subject to exclusion or deportation if they unambiguously acknowledged their homosexuality. This policy remained in force until 1990, when Congress repealed the ban on immigrants with “psychopathic personalities” and “sexual deviations.”[55] In 1980, the Federal Bureau of Prisons agreed to stop restricting prisoner access to gay and lesbian publications.[56] The federal government also adopted new civil service rules and regulations. In 1973, the Civil Service Commission announced that federal agencies could not find individuals unsuitable for employment based solely on homosexuality; only those whose homosexuality affected their job performance could be excluded or terminated. Two years later the commission dropped “immoral conduct” as a basis for disqualification. In 1978, Congress prohibited civil service discrimination based on conduct that did not adversely affect job performance.[57]

---

[54] The other states that passed antidiscrimination laws were Rhode Island (1985), Washington (1985), Minnesota (1986), Oregon (1987), and Massachusetts (1989). See Eskridge, *Gaylaw*, 130-131, 356-61; Stein, *Rethinking*, 104, 128-129, 139, 170-171; Andersen, *Out of the Closets*, 143-174; Kevin Mumford, “The Trouble with Gay Rights: Race and the Politics of Sexual Orientation in Philadelphia, 1969-1982,” *Journal of American History* 98, no. 1 (2011): 49-72; and Transgender Law and Policy Institute, http://www.transgenderlaw.org/ndlaws. For examples of successful employment discrimination litigation in California, Delaware, Florida, Kentucky, New York, Texas, and Wisconsin, see Stein, *Rethinking*, 129, 168.

Another significant achievement in the 1970s and 1980s was the election of openly-LGBTQ candidates as local, state, and national lawmakers. In earlier periods of US history there had been many elected and appointed officials who were rumored to be LGBTQ; these included US presidents, cabinet and sub-cabinet officials, presidential advisors, Supreme Court justices, senators and representatives, state governors, and city mayors. Early unsuccessful efforts by openly-LGBTQ candidates to win election to public office included José Sarria’s bid for the San Francisco Board of Supervisors in 1961, Frank Kameny’s campaign for the US House in 1971, and Alan Rockway’s campaign for Florida’s Dade County Board of Commissioners in 1971. In 1973, Nancy Wechsler and Jerry DeGrieck came out while serving on the Ann Arbor City Council in Michigan. In 1974, Kathy Kozachenko was elected to Ann Arbor City Council as an openly-lesbian candidate. Elaine Noble, publicly identified as a lesbian, won a seat in the Massachusetts House of Representatives in

---

[55] Stein, *Rethinking*, 132-133, 172-173; Stein, *Sexual Injustice*, 285; Canaday, *The Straight State*, 249-254; and Eskridge, *Gaylaw*, 132-134.
[56] Stein, *Rethinking*, 128.
[57] Eskridge, *Gaylaw*, 126-128; Johnson, *The Lavender Scare*, 202-211; Stein, *Rethinking*, 105, 131; and Murdoch and Price, *Courting Justice*, 189-193.

1974. In the same year Minnesota State Senator Allan Spear came out as gay. In 1977, Harvey Milk was elected as an openly gay candidate to the San Francisco Board of Supervisors. After Milk was murdered in 1978, Harry Britt, who was openly gay, was appointed to replace him and Britt won election to the board in 1979. In Wisconsin, Jim Yeadon was elected to the Madison Common Council in 1978. Gerald Ulrich was elected the mayor of Bunceton, Missouri, in 1980 and continued to serve as the city's mayor until 2006. US Representative Gerry Studds of Massachusetts came out as gay in 1983, as did US Representative Barney Frank of Massachusetts in 1987.[58]

Notwithstanding these achievements, there were also setbacks and limitations during the 1970s and 1980s. Christian Right and New Right activists campaigned against LGBTQ law reform and much of the US public blamed gay men for the AIDS epidemic. Most of the legal reforms discussed above only applied in particular cities or states. In most jurisdictions and most aspects of private and public life, discrimination based on sexual orientation was legal; in even more it was legal to discriminate based on gender identity or expression. Most states did not permit changes of legal sex on birth certificates and drivers' licenses. Conservatives defeated proposals for new civil rights laws in many cities and states and campaigned successfully for the repeal of antidiscrimination laws in Boulder, Colorado (1974); Dade County, Florida

---

[58] See David Rayside, "Electoral Politics," in *ELGBT*, 1: 336-339; and Stein, *Rethinking*, 73, 107, 133, 174, 198-199. Ann Arbor City Hall is located at 301 E Huron Street, Ann Arbor, Michigan. The Massachusetts State House is located at 24 Beacon Street, Boston, Massachusetts; it was listed on the NRHP on October 15, 1966 and designated an NHL on December 19, 1960. The Minnesota State Capitol is located at 75 Martin Luther King Junior Boulevard, St. Paul, Minnesota; it was listed on the NRHP on February 23, 1972. Milk lived and worked at 573-575 Castro Street, San Francisco, California. San Francisco City Hall was and is located at 1 Dr. Carlton B. Goodlett Place; it is a contributing element to the San Francisco Civic Center Historic District (listed on the NRHP on October 10, 1978, and designated an NHL District on February 27, 1987). The Madison Common Council meets at the Madison Municipal Building, 210 Martin Luther King Jr. Boulevard, Madison, Wisconsin. City Hall in Bunceton, Missouri, is located at 103 E Main Street. Studds is recognized as a leader in the creation of the Boston Harbor Islands National Recreation Area, established in 1996. The Congressman Barney Frank Archives Collection is housed at the Claire T. Carney Library Archives and Special Collections at the University of Massachusetts, Dartmouth, located at 285 Old Westport Road, North Dartmouth, Massachusetts. Two Supreme Court justices who were rumored to be gay were Frank Murphy, who served in the 1940s, and Abe Fortas, who served in the 1960s. On Murphy, see Craig Loftin, "Frank Murphy," in *ELGBT*, 2: 280-281; Murdoch and Price, *Courting Justice*, 18-21. On Fortas, see Stein, *Sexual Injustice*, 11-12.

(1977); Eugene, Oregon (1978); St. Paul, Minnesota (1978); Wichita, Kansas (1978); and other cities.[59] In 1978, Oklahoma passed a law that permitted local school districts to fire teachers who publicly advocated, encouraged, or promoted homosexuality (this was overturned by the US Supreme Court in 1985). Litigation challenging anti-LGBTQ employment discrimination failed in Arizona, California, Louisiana, Maryland, Massachusetts, Minnesota, New Jersey, Ohio, Oregon, Texas, Washington, and Wisconsin.[60]

Meanwhile, the pace of sodomy law reform slowed in the 1980s and by the end of the decade sodomy thus remained a crime in half of the states, various US territories, the US military, and US prisons. Some states, including Montana and Texas in 1973, Kentucky in 1974, Arkansas, Missouri, and Nevada in 1977, and Tennessee in 1989, joined Kansas in creating new distinctions between same-sex sodomy, which was criminalized, and cross-sex sodomy, which was not. In 1975, Virginia increased its penalty for sodomy from three to five years in prison. In 1974, Cincinnati passed a new law against cross-dressing. Most states that repealed their sodomy laws in the 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s passed new laws against loitering to solicit sodomy. Police in some locations, including Denver, Colorado, used these and other laws to increase their arrests of LGBTQ people after sodomy law repeal. People of color, sex workers, and others who pursued sex in public places were distinctly vulnerable to discriminatory policing. LGBTQ bars and bathhouses continued to be harassed by the police.[61] In thirteen sodomy and sodomy-related convictions that were appealed to the US Supreme Court from

---

[59] Stein, *Rethinking*, 138-142, 170; Eskridge, *Gaylaw*, 356-361; and Andersen, *Out of the Closets*, 143-174. Antidiscrimination laws were also repealed in Santa Clara County and San Jose, California (1980); Duluth, Minnesota (1984); Houston, Texas (1985); Irvine, California (1989); Athens, Georgia (1989); and Tacoma, Washington (1989).

[60] Stein, *Rethinking*, 104, 129-130, 139, 168; Stein, *Sexual Injustice*, 92, 283; Eskridge, *Dishonorable Passions*, 225-228; Murdoch and Price, *Courting Justice*, 176-180, 196-198, 237-60; and Meyerowitz, *How Sex Changed*, 241-253.

[61] Pennsylvania distinguished between same-sex and cross-sex sodomy from 1972 to 1980. See Stein, *Rethinking*, 126-128; and Eskridge, *Gaylaw*, 106-110; *Dishonorable Passions*, 178-180, 198-200, 388-407.

1972 to 1986, the justices refused to consider or rejected challenges to the constitutionality of the statutes.[62]

There were other legal setbacks and limitations at the state and local levels. In 1970 and 1971, same-sex couples in Minneapolis, Minnesota, and Seattle, Washington, attempted to obtain marriage licenses; when they were rebuffed by local officials, they unsuccessfully appealed to the courts. The Supreme Court rejected the Minneapolis appeal in 1972 and declined to review a challenge to a deportation order that was based on a Boulder, Colorado, same-sex marriage in 1982.[63] Partly in response to these cases, in 1973 Maryland became the first of many states to pass a law defining marriage as the union of a man and a woman.[64] The absence of legal protections for same-sex partners became painfully evident in 1984 when a Minnesota judge selected Sharon Kowalski's father, rather than her partner Karen Thompson, to serve as her guardian after a disabling 1983 car accident. Kowalski's father subsequently blocked Thompson's access to her partner. After years of litigation, including a failed 1986 appeal to the Supreme Court, Thompson won visiting rights in 1989 and guardianship rights in 1992.[65] As for parenting, while it became possible for openly LGBTQ parents to win custody cases in the 1970s and 1980s, judges continued to discriminate against them on grounds unrelated to the welfare of the children. Even when judges granted rights to LGBTQ parents, they often imposed conditions that required the parents to distance themselves from their partners, friends, and communities.[66] In 1977 Florida became the first state to ban adoptions by gays and lesbians. In 1985, Massachusetts took the lead in all but banning gays and lesbians from serving as foster parents. In 1987, New Hampshire prohibited gays and lesbians from adopting or fostering children.[67]

---

[62] Stein, *Rethinking*, 127-128, 164; Stein, *Sexual Injustice*, 92, 283-292; and Murdoch and Price, *Courting Justice*, 158-161, 173-176, 180-187, 205-208, 225-231, 271-354. The cases were Buchanan v. Texas (1972), Crawford v. Missouri (1972), Connor v. Arkansas (1973), Canfield v. Oklahoma (1973), Wainwright v. Stone (1973), Doe v. Commonwealth (1976), Enslin v. North Carolina (1976), New York v. Onofre and New York v. Peoples (1981), New York v. Uplinger (1984), Bowers v. Hardwick (1986), Baker v. Wade (1986), and Texas v. Hill (1986).

[63] Stein, *Rethinking*, 87, 105, 130, 168-169, 171; Murdoch and Price, *Courting Justice*, 163-173, 220-225. The Minneapolis case was Baker v. Nelson (1972); the Boulder case was Adams v. Howerton (1982). There were attempts by same-sex couples to marry legally in Los Angeles, CA; Louisville, KY; Milwaukee, WI; New York, NY; Phoenix, AZ; and other locations.

[64] Other states that defined marriage as the union of a man and woman in the 1970s and 1980s were Texas (1973), Colorado (1973), Louisiana (1975), Montana (1975), Oklahoma (1975), Nevada (1975), North Dakota (1975), Virginia (1975), Illinois (1977), Minnesota (1977), Utah (1977), Florida (1977), California (1977), Wyoming (1977), Arizona (1980), Kansas (1980), and Indiana (1986). See Peggy Pascoe, "Sex, Gender, and Same-Sex Marriage," in *Is Academic Feminism Dead?*, ed. Social Justice Group (New York: New York University Press, 2000), 86-129.

[65] Stein, *Rethinking*, 169; Murdoch and Price, *Courting Justice*, 260-270.

Federal law reform was also limited. Beginning in 1974 the US Congress considered but rejected proposals to pass a federal law against sexual orientation discrimination. After the Civil Service Commission barred sexual orientation discrimination in general, it permitted exceptions for the Central Intelligence Agency, Department of Defense, Federal Bureau of Investigation, National Security Agency, and jobs requiring security clearance. When the Federal Bureau of Prisons agreed to stop censoring gay and lesbian publications in 1980, it made an exception for sexually explicit materials; when the Supreme Court ruled in 1989 that federal prison officials could not deny inmates access to sexually explicit materials, it made an exception for homoerotic materials. In 1982, the Department of Defense issued new regulations that reaffirmed the ban on LGBTQ people in the military and abandoned the more flexible rules that had emerged as a result of several court rulings in the 1970s. In 1986 the Centers for Disease Control (CDC) announced that it would not fund “offensive” AIDS education materials. One year later, Congress prohibited the use of federal funds for AIDS education materials that promoted homosexuality. In 1989, Congress banned National Endowment for the Arts funding for homoerotic projects. While Congress repealed the ban on gay and lesbian immigration in 1990, it permitted the CDC to exclude immigrants and visitors based on HIV/AIDS.[68]

The most significant legal setback for LGBTQ law reform occurred in 1986, when the US Supreme Court upheld Georgia’s sodomy law in

---

[66] Stein, *Rethinking*, 106, 130-131; Rivers, *Radical Relations*, 53-138.

[67] Stein, *Rethinking*, 139, 170.

[68] Stein, *Rethinking*, 105, 128, 131-133, 165-167, 171-173; Stein, *Sexual Injustice*, 92, 283-286, 292, 294; Eskridge, *Gaylaw*, 125-129, 132-134; and Murdoch and Price, *Courting Justice*, 150-158, 189-193, 208-225, 231-236, 380-398.

Bowers v. Hardwick and did so with language that ridiculed and renounced the notion that same-sex love, intimacy, and sex were protected by the US Constitution. By the end of the 1980s, LGBTQ law reformers had achieved some of their goals, but gender and sexual discrimination continued to be entrenched in the US legal system and the future prospects of LGBTQ law reform remained highly uncertain.[69]

Crime and Punishment

As the previous discussion has indicated, LGBTQ acts, identities, and communities have been linked with crime in multiple ways. Until recently, the US legal system defined LGBTQ acts, identities, and communities as criminal. In addition, popular beliefs long regarded LGBTQ people as predisposed to engage in other types of criminal activity, including murder and rape. In some cases, these beliefs have contributed to social panics in which LGBTQ people and cultures have been blamed for crime and violence they did not commit. At the same time, social attitudes about sex, gender, and sexuality have rendered LGBTQ people distinctly vulnerable to criminal offenses, including arson, assault, and homicide, and the criminal justice system has often failed to respond fairly and fully to anti-LGBTQ crimes. In many times and places, this has been especially true for immigrants, people of color, poor people, transgender people, and women.

Violence against those who transgress gender and sexual norms has been ubiquitous in US history and it has often been difficult for its victims to secure justice. In 1866, for example, an African American woman named Frances Thompson testified before a US congressional committee at the Gayoso House Hotel in Memphis, Tennessee, that she had been raped by four white men during a recent race riot. Ten years later, after Thompson was arrested and convicted for cross-dressing as a woman (a charge based on the authorities' classification of her as a man), her earlier testimony was discredited and her prior claims were denounced. In 1869-70, two female rivals for the affection of Annie Hindle, a professional male impersonator who had performed at Broome's Variety Theater in Memphis, attacked each other with knives at the Overton Hotel. Memphis was also the site of Alice Mitchell's 1892 murder of her lover Freda Ward. After Mitchell was judged insane, she was committed to the Western State Mental Hospital in Bolivar, Tennessee.[70] Other well-documented LGBTQ and anti-LGBTQ crimes in this period include the 1876 murder of Jeanne Bonnet in San Miguel, California; the late nineteenth-century rape and murder of Native American Amatkwisai Masahai at Fort Mohave, Arizona; and the 1924 kidnap and murder of Robert Franks by Nathan Leopold and Richard Loeb in Chicago, Illinois. In general, lesbian "butches," gay "fairies," and other gender "inverts" were distinctly vulnerable to violence, as were individuals who made unwanted sexual advances or advances that were simultaneously wanted and unwanted.[71]

---

[69] Bowers was later overturned by Lawrence v. Texas (2003), which in turn provided the foundation for the Supreme Court's favorable decisions on same-sex marriage in United States v. Windsor (2013) and Obergefell v. Hodges (2015). On Bowers, see Stein, *Rethinking*, 164; Stein, *Sexual Injustice*, 286-289; and Murdoch and Price, *Courting Justice*, 271-354.

In the next several decades, public discourse continued to associate LGBTQ people and others who engaged in LGBTQ acts with crime and violence. For example, LGBTQ people (and people perceived to be LGBTQ) were disproportionately classified as sexual psychopaths, disproportionately blamed for serial murders, and disproportionately attacked as pedophiles.[72] Mainstream newspapers in Philadelphia, for example, linked homosexuality with violence in their coverage of at least thirteen local murders that took place from 1949 to 1969.[73] In Jackson, Mississippi, two Air Force cadets on trial for killing John Murrett in 1955 claimed they attacked him after he made sexual advances in the bed they shared.[74] Three years later, Airman John Mahon, charged in the murder of Jack Dobbins in Charleston, South Carolina, defended himself by claiming that Dobbins, whom he had met in a gay bar, had made sexual advances.[75] In 1968, Mexican American film star Ramon Novarro was murdered by two male hustlers whom he had invited to his Los Angeles home. One year later, Howard Efland was beaten and kicked to death by Los Angeles police officers during an antigay raid on the Dover Hotel.[76]

---

[70] On Thompson, see Hannah Rosen, "'Not That Sort of Women': Race, Gender, and Sexual Violence during the Memphis Riot of 1866," in *Sex, Love, Race: Crossing Boundaries in North American History*, ed. Martha Hodes (New York: New York University Press, 1999), 267-292. The Gayoso House Hotel was located at 130 South Front Street, Memphis, Tennessee. It burned down in 1899. The site is now occupied by the Gayoso House Apartments. On Hindle, see Lisa Duggan, *Sapphic Slashers: Sex, Violence, and American Modernity* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2000), 142-148. Broome's Variety Theater was located at 37 Jefferson Street, Memphis, Tennessee. The Overton Hotel was located at 255 N Main Street, Memphis, Tennessee. The site is now occupied by the Memphis Cook Convention Center. On Ward and Mitchell, see Duggan, *Sapphic Slashers*. Mitchell lived at 215 Union Street (now demolished) and was tried at the Shelby County Criminal Court (201 Poplar Avenue, Memphis, Tennessee). The Western State Mental Hospital at 11100 Old Highway 64, Bolivar, Tennessee is currently operating as the Western Mental Health Institute. Duggan discusses similar narratives of late nineteenth and early twentieth century "sapphic slashers" in Pocomoke City, MD (128-135); Los Angeles, CA (136-139); Mobile, AL (139-140); Indianapolis, IN (166-167); Chicago, IL (174-175); and Philadelphia, PA (175).

[71] On Bonnet, see Sears, *Arresting Dress*, 64, 74, 142-144. Bonnet was murdered at the San Miguel Saloon in San Miguel, CA (the saloon no longer exists). On Masahai, see Robin Jarvis Brownlie, "Amatkwisai Masahai," in *ELGBT*, 2: 232-233. On Leopold and Loeb, see Saralyn Chestnut, "Violence," in *ELGBT*, 3: 226-230. They murdered Robert Franks in a car in Chicago and dumped his body near Wolf Lake in Hammond, Indiana. They were tried in Chicago's Courthouse Place (also known as the Cook County Criminal Court Building, listed on the NRHP on November 13, 1984) and imprisoned in Joliet Prison, which was originally known as the Illinois State Penitentiary and later as the Joliet Correctional Center; it closed in 2002 and is now open as a museum at 1127-1299 Collins Street, Joliet, Illinois. They were later incarcerated at Stateville Penitentiary (now Stateville Correctional Center) in Crest Hill, Illinois, where Loeb was murdered in 1936.

While public discourse commonly associated LGBTQ individuals and acts with crime and violence, it also frequently erased the LGBTQ identities and histories of crime victims. Perhaps the best example of this

---

[72] Estelle Freedman, "'Uncontrolled Desires': The Response to the Sexual Psychopath, 1920-1960," in *Passion and Power: Sexuality in History*, eds. Kathy Peiss and Christina Simmons (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1989), 199-225.

[73] Stein, *City of Sisterly and Brotherly Loves*, 118-120, 218, 268-269. Ellis Simons (1949) was killed at the home of his murderer in Overbrook, Philadelphia; Robert Prado (1950) in his apartment in Center City, Philadelphia; John Simpson (1950) in the Woodlyn Hotel at 430 South Fortieth Street, Philadelphia (now demolished); Richard Rosen (1950) in the Congress Hotel at 1334 Walnut Street, Philadelphia; Edgar Clymer (1953) in his apartment in Northern Liberties-Fishtown, Philadelphia; Elmer Schroeder (1953) in his apartment at the Garden Court Apartments (now Garden Court Plaza) at Forty-seventh and Pine Streets in Philadelphia; John Dopirak (1954) at the home of his killer at Hazel and Keystone Avenues in Upper Darby, PA (Dopirak lived at the Seamen's Church Institute, 211 Walnut Street, Philadelphia, now demolished); Charles Ferro (1958) in an apartment in Center City, Philadelphia; John Green (1967) at Ye Olde Tobacconist on Pier 37 at Poplar Street, Philadelphia; William Thompson (1967) in his apartment in Lower Merion, Pennsylvania; George Casey (1968) in his apartment at Broad and Stiles Streets in Philadelphia; and Joseph Costello (1969) at the Family Theater, 1311 Market Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania (demolished in the 1990s).

[74] Howard, *Men Like That*, 129-142. Murrett was murdered at the Hotel Heidelberg, which was demolished in 1977.

[75] Paul Bowers, "A Map of Charleston's Gay History," *Charleston City Paper*, July 30, 2014, http://www.charlestoncitypaper.com/charleston/a-map-of-charlestons-gay-history/Content?oid=4964566. Dobbins met Mahon at a local gay club—the 49 Club at 368 King Street and was killed in his home near Waterfront Park in Charleston, South Carolina.

[76] On Novarro and Efland, see Faderman and Timmons, *Gay L.A.*, 161. Novarro was killed in his home in the Studio City neighborhood of Los Angeles, California. The Dover Hotel was located at 555 South Main Street, Los Angeles, California (now demolished).

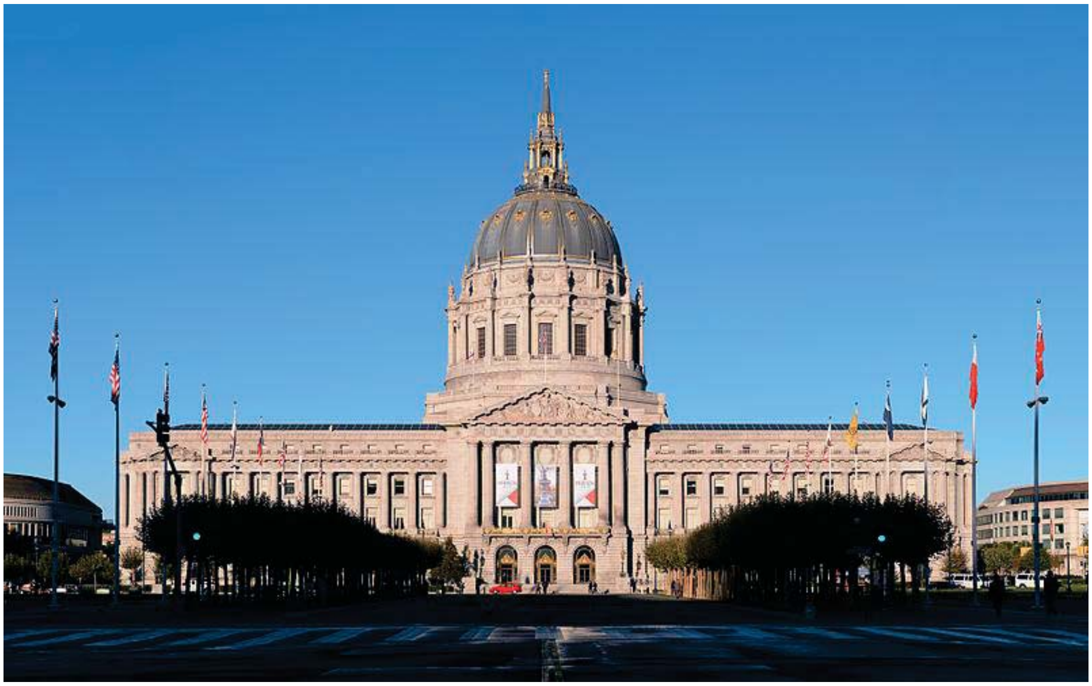


Figure 7: San Francisco City Hall, California. Photo by King of Hearts, 2013.[77]

is Kitty Genovese, who was stabbed to death outside of her home in Queens, New York, in 1964. Genovese's death received extensive media attention because of widely-reported claims that more than thirty of her neighbors witnessed the attack and did nothing in response. For decades, however, the mainstream media ignored the fact that Genovese was a lesbian and was murdered outside the home she shared with her partner.[78]

Criminal violence against LGBTQ people continued in the 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s. Although it is difficult to select a small set of examples to represent the large number of hate crimes, one of the best known criminal attacks on LGBTQ people was the 1978 murder of San Francisco Supervisor Harvey Milk (along with Mayor George Moscone) by ex-Supervisor Dan White at San Francisco City Hall (Figure 7). Charlie Howard died in 1984 after he was thrown over the State Street Bridge into the Kenduskeag Stream in Bangor, Maine. Rebecca Wright was killed and her partner Claudia Brenner was shot while they were camping in the Michaux State Forest in Pennsylvania in 1988. In 1993, Brandon Teena was raped and killed by two men in Humboldt, Nebraska, after they decided that he was a cross-dressing woman; his story was the basis of the 1999 Academy Award-winning film *Boys Don't Cry*. Matthew Shepard was tortured, tied to a fence, and left to die near Laramie, Wyoming, in 1998. After his death inspired a wave of art and activism that targeted anti-LGBTQ violence, the US Congress passed and President Barack Obama signed the Matthew Shepard and James Byrd, Jr. Hate Crimes Prevention Act in 2009.[79]

---

[77] License: CC BY-SA 3.0. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:San_Francisco_City_Hall_September_2013_panorama_3.jpg

[78] On Genovese, see Marcia Gallo, *"No One Helped": Kitty Genovese, New York City, and the Myth of Urban Apathy* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2015). Genovese lived in an apartment at 82-70 Austin Street in the Kew Gardens neighborhood of New York City; the building's first floor is now occupied by Austin's Ale House.

Individuals have not been the only targets of anti-LGBTQ crime and violence; sites that are associated with LGBTQ communities and cultures have also been attacked. For example, after the LGBTQ movement gained greater visibility in the 1970s, arsonists responded by setting fires at various LGBTQ sites.[80] Although not all of these were necessarily the result of arson, fires destroyed bars in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania (1972); San Francisco, California (1973); Springfield, Massachusetts (1973); Phoenix, Arizona (1974); Boston, Massachusetts (1975); Las Vegas, Nevada (1978); and St. Louis, Missouri (1979).[81] There were destructive fires at LGBTQ community centers and organizational offices in Phoenix, Arizona (1970); Buffalo, New York (1973); New York City, New York (1974);

---

[79] Chestnut, "Violence"; and Karen Foss, "Harvey Milk," in *ELGBT*, 2: 265-266. For San Francisco City Hall, see note 52. Wright and Brenner were attacked in Cove Shelter outside Duncannon, Pennsylvania, during a hiking trip on the Appalachian Trail. Teena was killed at the home where he was living on Route 105 in Humboldt, Nebraska; he is buried as Teena Brandon in Lincoln Memorial Park Cemetery (6800 South Fourteenth Street, Lincoln, Nebraska). Matthew Shepard was left to die near the intersection of Pilot Peak and Snowy View Roads, Laramie, Wyoming.

[80] Stein, Rethinking, 114; Mark Thompson, ed., *Long Road to Freedom: The Advocate History of the Gay and Lesbian Movement* (New York: St. Martin's, 1994).

[81] The examples include the Mystique in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; Toad Hall at 482 Castro Street and the Exit in San Francisco, California; the Arch Café in Springfield, Massachusetts; the Hiding Place in Phoenix, Arizona; Twelve Carver and Herbie's Ramrod Room at 12 Carver Street in Boston, Massachusetts; Le Café at 4817 Paradise Road, Las Vegas, Nevada; and More or Les at 4135 S Grand Avenue in St. Louis, Missouri.

Seattle, Washington (1976); and Boston, Massachusetts (1982).[82] There was also a series of fires that damaged or destroyed Metropolitan Community Churches (MCCs) in San Francisco, California (1972 and 1973); Los Angeles, California (1973); and Nashville, Tennessee (1973).[83] One of the most devastating fires occurred in 1973, when more than thirty people died as a result of a firebomb that destroyed the UpStairs Lounge in New Orleans, Louisiana. Two other destructive fires occurred in 1977, when nine people died at the Everard Baths, a gay bathhouse in New York City, and nine died at the Cinema Follies, a gay porn theater in Washington, DC.[84]

Beginning in the 1950s, LGBTQ activists responded to crime and violence in multiple ways: they publicized crimes and violence against LGBTQ people; supported LGBTQ survivors and victims; criticized the police and criminal justice system; and challenged popular prejudices and stereotypes about LGBTQ crime and violence. While some joined "law and order" campaigns that targeted poor people and people of color, others formed coalitions with other marginalized communities that were negatively affected by crime and violence. Many LGBTQ groups addressed these issues, but two early ones that focused on crime and violence were Citizens Alert and Vanguard, both founded in San Francisco in 1965. In the 1970s, the Lavender Panthers, the Richard Heakin Memorial Butterfly Brigade, and Lesbians Against Police Violence were active in San Francisco, while the Society to Make America Safe for Homosexuals (SMASH) was established in New York City. The strategies used by these and other antiviolence groups varied greatly, ranging from vigilante activism, street patrols, and self-defense workshops to hotlines, litigation, and lobbying, but they shared a strong sense that the criminal justice system did not respond fully and fairly to the problems of anti-LGBTQ crime and violence.[85]

---

[82] The examples include ONE's gay clubhouse in Phoenix, Arizona; the Gay Services Center in Buffalo, New York; the Gay Activists Alliance's headquarters (the Firehouse) at 99 Wooster Street, New York City (located within the SoHo-Cast Iron Historic District, listed on the NRHP and designated an NHL District on June 29, 1978); Seattle's Gay Community Center at 1726 Sixteenth Avenue East, Seattle, Washington; and *Gay Community News* at 22 Bromfield Street, Boston, Massachusetts.

[83] The MCC in San Francisco was located at 1074 Guerrero Street. The MCC in Los Angeles was located at 2201 South Union Avenue.

[84] Dudley Clendinen and Adam Nagourney, *Out for Good: The Struggle to Build a Gay Rights Movement in America* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1999), 174-187. The UpStairs Lounge was located at 141 Chartres Street, New Orleans, Louisiana. Everard Baths was located at 28 West Twenty-Eighth Street, New York City. Cinema Follies was located at 37 L Street SE, Washington, DC.

Prisons and Jails

Throughout US history many people have been incarcerated in prisons, jails, and other institutions because of their real or perceived participation in LGBTQ acts, their real or perceived LGBTQ identities, or their real or perceived involvement in LGBTQ communities. At the same time, many LGBTQ people have been imprisoned for other reasons; many have participated in LGBTQ acts, identities, and communities while incarcerated; and many have experienced abuse, discrimination, and violence in the criminal justice system.[87]

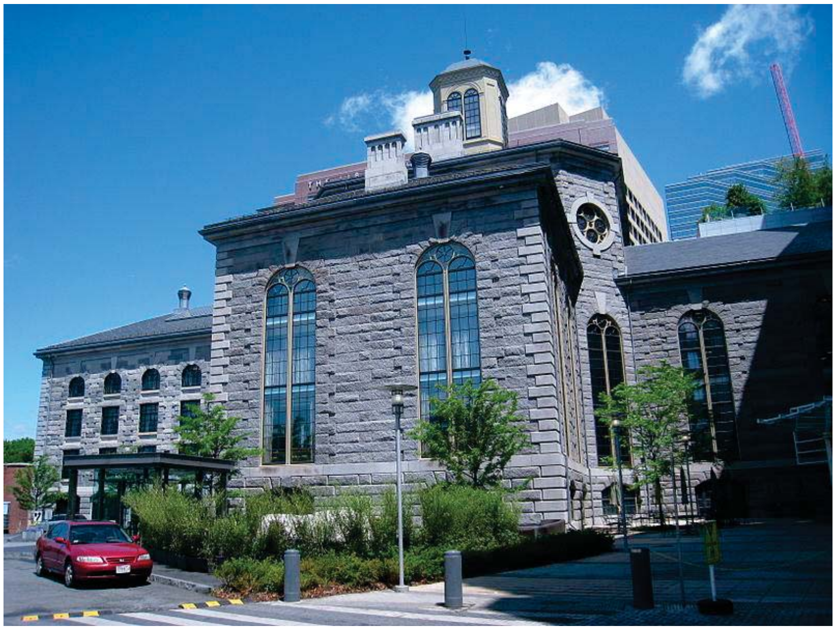


Figure 8: Charles Street Jail, Boston, Massachusetts. Photo by Daderot, 2009.[86]

Prison officials, prison reformers, prison doctors, and prisoners themselves have long expressed concern about same-sex sexual acts and gender-crossing behaviors in penal institutions. In the 1820s, for example, Reverend Louis Dwight, who founded the Boston Prison Discipline Society and influenced the design of the Charles Street Jail, denounced the "sin of Sodom" in US prisons and jails (Figure 8). In an 1883 medical journal article on a "case of sexual perversion," Dr. P. M. Wise of the Willard Asylum for the Chronic Insane in New York State reported on inmate Lucy Ann Lobdell, who was also known as Rev. Joseph Lobdell (Figure 9). Anarchist Alexander Berkman's 1912 prison memoir sensitively discussed the intimate friendships, erotic relationships, and sexual coercion that he witnessed and experienced in Pennsylvania's Western Penitentiary in the late nineteenth century. In 1913, psychologist Margaret Otis exposed and critiqued interracial sexual "perversion" and racialized female masculinity at the New Jersey State Reformatory for Women. One year later, an investigation at the New York

---

[85] Christina Hanhardt, *Safe Space: Gay Neighborhood History and the Politics of Violence* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2013). Citizens Alert and Vanguard were based at Glide Memorial Church, 322-330 Ellis Street, San Francisco, California (a contributing building to the Uptown Tenderloin Historic District, listed on the NRHP on February 5, 2009). The Richard Heakin Memorial Butterfly Brigade was based at 330 Grove Street, San Francisco, California (now demolished).

[86] License: Public Domain. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:CategoryCharles_Street_Jail_-_IMG_3873.jpg

[87] Elise Chenier, "Prisons, Jails, and Reformatories: Men's," in *ELGBT*, 2 :423-426; and L. Mara Dodge, "Prisons, Jails, and Reformatories: Women's," in *ELGBT*, 2: 426-429.

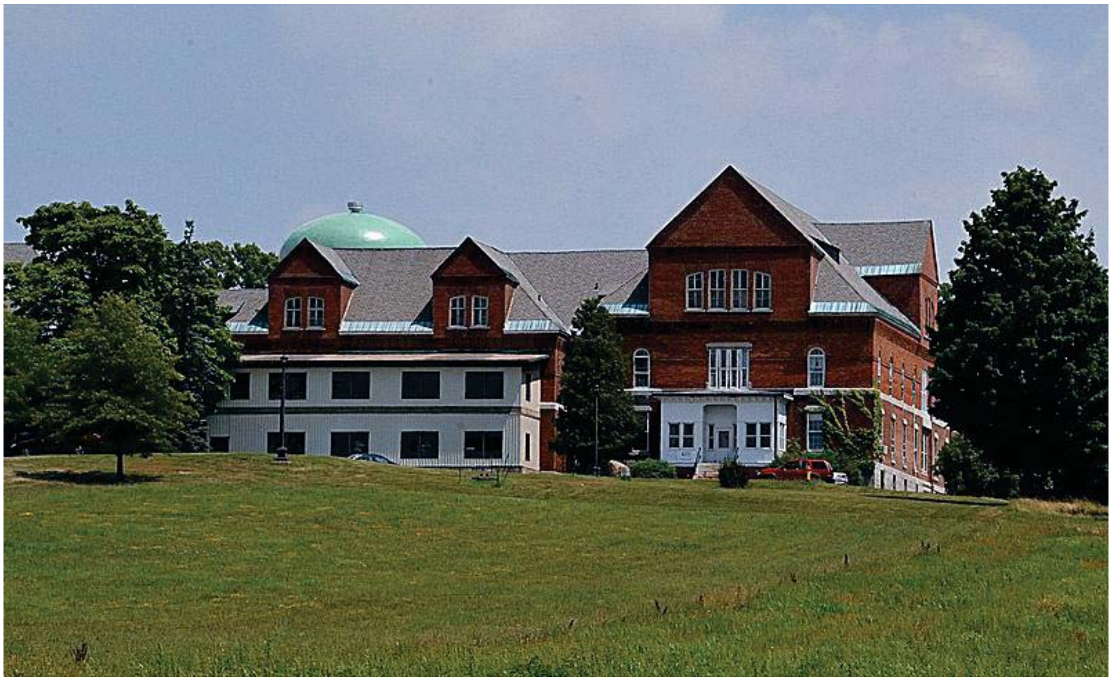


Figure 9: Willard Asylum for the Chronic Insane, Seneca County, New York. Photo by Jerrye and Roy Klotz, MD, 2008.[88]

---

[88] License: CC BY-SA 4.0. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:WILLARD_ASYLUM_FOR_THE_CHRONIC_INSANE,_SENECA_COUNTY.jpg

State Reformatory for Women in Bedford, New York, discovered and criticized similar dynamics.[89]

Prison officials responded to same-sex sex and gender-crossing behaviors in diverse and complex ways. Some responded compassionately and sympathetically. Some did not concern themselves with what came to be termed "situational homosexuality." Some had consensual or nonconsensual sex with prisoners. Some used the promise of sex and the threat of sexual violence to promote order and discipline. And some adopted other repressive strategies, including punishment for sex and gender offenses, withholding of privileges, segregation of inmates, solitary confinement, and medical "treatment" (including castration and electroshock "therapy"). In turns, prisoners used sex and gender in diverse and complex ways, with some deploying sex and gender as forms of self-expression, some developing intimate and loving relationships, some using sex and gender for material gain and physical protection, and some using sex and gender as tools of exploitation and oppression.

In the 1930s, public interest in prison sex and gender grew with the publication of Joseph Fishman's *Sex in Prison: Revealing Sex Conditions in American Prisons*, Louis Berg's *Revelations of a Prison Doctor*, and Samuel Kahn's *Mentality and Homosexuality*. These books and a public scandal in 1934 brought distinct attention to "sex perversion" in the male and female penitentiaries on Welfare Island in New York City. More attention followed in the 1940s with the release of Donald Clemmer's book *The Prison Community*, which was based on research at Southern Illinois Penitentiary, and in the 1950s with the publication of Gresham Sykes's book *The Society of Captives: A Study of a Maximum Security Prison*, which was based on research at the New Jersey State Prison. Meanwhile, influential prison reformer Miriam Van Waters, whose longtime partner was Geraldine Thompson, served as the superintendent of the Massachusetts Reformatory for Women from 1932 to 1957.[90]

---

[89] Jennifer Terry, *An American Obsession: Science, Medicine, and Homosexuality in Modern Society* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999), 80-119; Regina Kunzel, *Criminal Intimacy: Prison and the Uneven History of Modern American Sexuality* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008), 27-57. On Lobdell, see Bambi Lobdell, *"A Strange Sort of Being": The Transgender Life of Lucy Ann/Joseph Israel Lobdell, 1829-1912* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2011). On Berkman, see Kissack, *Free Comrades*, 101-125. The Charles Street Jail (also known as the Suffolk County Jail) was located at 215 Charles Street, Boston, Massachusetts. The building is now the Liberty Hotel; it was listed on the NRHP on April 23, 1980. The Ovid Asylum for the Chronic Insane was located at 7116 County Road 132 in Willard, New York; it was listed on the NRHP on June 7, 1975. Western Penitentiary now operates as the State Correctional Institution – Pittsburgh and is located at 3001 Beaver Avenue, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. The New Jersey State Reformatory for Women (also known as the Clinton Correctional Facility for Women and Clinton Farms) now operates as the Edna Mahan Correctional Facility for Women and is located at 30 Route 513, Clinton, New Jersey. The New York State Reformatory for Women (also known as the Westfield State Farm) now operates as the Bedford Hills Correctional Facility for Women and is located at 247 Harris Road, Bedford Hills, New York.

In the 1960s and 1970s, new studies brought unprecedented attention to prison sex and gender in women's prisons. These included David Ward and Gene Kassebaum's *Women's Prison: Sex and Social Structure*, which examined California's Frontera; Rose Giallombardo's *Society of Women: A Study of a Women's Prison*, which explored the Federal Reformatory for Women in Alderson, West Virginia; Sara Harris's *Hellhole: The Shocking Story of the Inmates and Life in the New York City House of Detention for Women*, which discussed the New York Women's House of Detention; and Esther Heffernan's *Making It in Prison: The Square, The Cool and The Life*, which addressed the District of Columbia's Women's Reformatory.[91]

---

[90] Kunzel, *Criminal Intimacy*, 57-109; Chauncey, *Gay New York*, 91-95, 123-125. On Van Waters, see Estelle Freedman, "Miriam Van Waters," in *ELGBT*, 3 :224-225; Estelle Freedman, *Maternal Justice: Miriam Van Waters and the Female Reform Tradition* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996). Welfare Island was renamed Roosevelt Island and includes several prison-related buildings listed on the NRHP, including the Blackwell Island Lighthouse (also known as the Welfare Island Lighthouse and the Roosevelt Island Lighthouse, listed March 16, 1972) and the Octagon at 888 Main Street, Roosevelt Island, Manhattan, New York (listed March 16, 1972). The Southern Illinois Penitentiary now operates as the Menard Correctional Center and is located at 711 East Kaskaskia Street in Menard, Illinois. The New Jersey State Prison (formerly the Trenton State Prison) is located at 300 Second Cass Street in Trenton, New Jersey. The Massachusetts Reformatory for Women (previously the Framingham State Prison) now operates as the Massachusetts Correctional Institution – Framingham and is located at 99 Loring Drive, Framingham, Massachusetts.

[91] Kunzel, *Criminal Intimacy*, 111-148. Frontera (previously the California Institution for Women at Corona) now operates as the California Institution for Women and is located at 16756 Chino Corona Road in Corona, California. The Federal Reformatory for Women (now Federal Prison Camp, Alderson), the first federal penitentiary for women, is located on Route 3, South of Greenbrier River, in Alderson, West Virginia; see Historic American Buildings Survey WV-113. The Women's House of Detention, located at 10 Greenwich Avenue, New York City, was demolished in 1973-1974; the site is now the Jefferson Market Garden; see the nearby Third Judicial District Courthouse, formerly the Jefferson Market Courthouse and now the Jefferson Market Branch of the New York Public Library, which was added to the NRHP on November 9, 1972, and declared an NHL on December 22, 1977. The District of Columbia's Women's Reformatory was part of the Lorton Reformatory (formerly known as the Occoquan Workhouse) in Laurel Hill, Virginia. Closed in 2001, it is part of the DC Workhouse and

The US military has a long history of incarcerating service members who violate rules against LGBTQ acts, identities, and communities and there is a long history of LGBTQ acts, identities, and communities among those who have been incarcerated by the military. Beginning in the 1920s, many soldiers and sailors who were convicted on sodomy charges were confined in the US Disciplinary Barracks in Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, and the Portsmouth Naval Prison on Seavey Island in Kittery, Maine.[92] In the 1930s, several members of the armed forces who had served in Hawaii or Panama were imprisoned on Alcatraz Island after they were convicted on sodomy charges.[93] During World War II, when the US military incarcerated thousands of Japanese Americans, future gay liberationist Kiyoshi Kuromiya was born at the Heart Mountain Relocation Center in Wyoming and Jiro Onuma, a "dandy gay bachelor," was interned at the Central Utah Relocation Center (Topaz) in Utah. Kuromiya and Onuma remind us that the US military has incarcerated LGBTQ people for reasons that extend beyond gender and sexuality.[94]

A new era in public discussions about prison sex and gender began in 1968 when a young man told a local judge that he had been sexually assaulted in a Philadelphia sheriff's van. After the judge ordered an

---

Reformatory Historic District, listed on the NRHP on February 16, 2006. The Workhouse Arts Center is located at 9601 Ox Road, Lorton, Virginia.

[92] Bérubé, *Coming Out Under Fire*, 128-137. The US Disciplinary Barracks (formerly the United States Military Prison) is located at 1301 N Warehouse Road, Fort Leavenworth, Kansas. While some of its buildings were torn down in 2004, ten of the original structures still stand. The Portsmouth Naval Prison, commonly referred to as "Alcatraz of the East," is located on Seavey Island in Kittery, Maine, and was in use until 1974.

[93] On Alcatraz, see "Alcatraz Prisoners," *The LGBT Institute* (blog), August 8, 2009, http://thesheldoninstitute.blogspot.com/2009/08/alcatraz-prisoners.html. In the 1940s and 1950s, Robert Stroud, "the Birdman of Alcatraz," was imprisoned there; Stroud discussed prison homosexuality in his autobiography *Looking Outward*. The Alcatraz Federal Penitentiary is now a public museum operated by the NPS Golden Gate National Recreation Area (established October 27, 1972). Alcatraz was listed on the NRHP on June 23, 1976, and designated an NHL District on January 17, 1986.

[94] On Kuromiya, see Marc Stein interview with Kiyoshi Kuromiya, Jun. 17, 1997, "Philadelphia LGBT History Project," *Outhistory*, http://outhistory.org/exhibits/show/philadelphia-lgbt-interviews/interviews/kiyoshi-kuromiya.The Heart Mountain Relocation Center (also known as the Heart Mountain War Relocation Center), at 1539 Road 19, Powell, Wyoming, was listed on the NRHP on December 19, 1985, and designated an NHL on September 20, 2006. On Onuma, see Tina Takemoto, "Looking for Jiro Onuma: A Queer Meditation on the Incarceration of Japanese Americans during World War II," *GLQ* 20, no. 3 (2014): 241-275. The Central Utah Relocation Center (also known as the Topaz War Relocation Center), located at 10000 West 4500 North, Delta, Utah was listed on the NRHP on January 2, 1974, and designated an NHL on March 29, 2007.

investigation, Philadelphia Assistant District Attorney Alan Davis produced one of the country's first in-depth studies of prison sexual violence. Influenced by Davis's report, in 1971 the Pennsylvania Prison Society, supported by the National Institute of Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice, sponsored a national conference on prison homosexuality in Philadelphia. One year later, Peter Buffum of the Pennsylvania Prison Society published *Homosexuality in Prisons*.[95]

In the late 1960s and 1970s, while reformers focused more attention on prison sex and gender, LGBTQ inmates and their allies organized multiple protests against prison conditions, challenged the treatment of those who were incarcerated, and advocated on behalf of LGBTQ prisoners. In 1967, the ten-person editorial board of *Eastern Echo*, a periodical produced by prisoners at Eastern State Penitentiary in Philadelphia, resigned when their institution's superintendent censored an issue that addressed homosexuality in prison. LGBTQ activists demonstrated at the Women's House of Detention in New York in 1970, the Manhattan House of Detention in New York in 1971, the Charles Street Jail in Boston and the Sybil Brand Institute in Los Angeles in 1972, and the Cook County Jail in Chicago in 1973. Gay and bisexual activist Stephen Donaldson helped draw attention to prison sexual violence by speaking about the rapes he experienced in a Washington, DC, jail after his 1971 arrest at an antiwar demonstration; he later became a leader of Stop Prison Rape, an organization founded by Russell Dan Smith in 1980. In 1972, Join Hands, a San Francisco collective, began doing advocacy work on behalf of LGBTQ prisoners and the MCC began ministering to LGBTQ and other prisoners in California. Also in 1972 the *Advocate* published an article that denounced the medical "treatment" of LGBTQ prisoners at California's Atascadero State Hospital. Condemning the use of lobotomies, electroshock therapy, and castration, the article referred to Atascadero as "Dachau for Queers." In 1974-75, lesbian feminists rallied around the case of Joan Little, an African American inmate in Beaufort County, North Carolina, who was acquitted on murder charges after she killed a white male guard who had committed multiple sexual assaults. In 1975 *Gay Community News*, published by the Bromfield Street Educational Foundation in Boston, founded the Prisoner Project (Figure 10). Led by Mike Riegle until he died in 1992, the project facilitated pen-pal relationships, circulated reading materials, provided other forms of assistance, and educated nonprisoners about prison issues. Another early and influential advocacy group was Men Against Sexism, which was founded in 1977 by gay and allied prisoners at the Washington State Penitentiary in Walla Walla. These and other groups established an important foundation for more recent manifestations of LGBTQ prison activism, which continues to address sex and intimacy, gender and sexual segregation, physical and sexual violence, political and sexual censorship, medical care and legal assistance, reproductive and sexual health, and transgender rights and freedoms.[97]

---

[95] Stein, *City of Sisterly and Brotherly Loves*, 268; and Kunzel, *Criminal Intimacy*, 149-156. One of the main sites of Davis's research was the Philadelphia Detention Center, 8201 State Road, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. The Pennsylvania Prison Society (founded in 1787 as the Philadelphia Society for Alleviating the Miseries of Public Prisons) was and is located at 245 North Broad Street, Philadelphia.

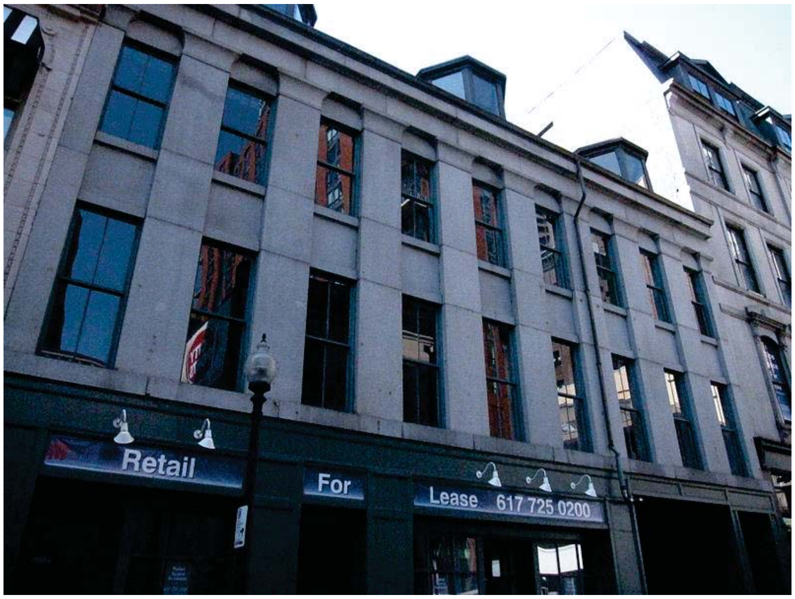


Figure 10: Former location of the Bromfield Street Educational Foundation, 20-30 Bromfield Street, Boston, Massachusetts. Photo by M2545, 2012.[96]

---

[96] License: CC0 1.0, Public Domain. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:2012_BromfieldSt_Boston_Massachusetts_4761.jpg

[97] Kunzel, *Criminal Intimacy*, 191-224. On *Eastern Echo*, see Stein, *City of Sisterly and Brotherly Loves*, 284. On Atascadero, see Eskridge, *Dishonorable Passions*, 96. Eastern State Penitentiary is located at 2027 Fairmount Avenue, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; it was listed on the NRHP on October 15, 1966, and designated an NHL on June 23, 1965. It closed in 1971 and is now operated as a museum. For the Women's House of Detention, see note 81. The Manhattan House of Detention for Men (one of a collection of New York City jails referred to as The Tombs), built in 1941, was located at 125 White

Conclusion

After the Stonewall riots of 1969, LGBTQ activists adopted the countercultural expression "we are everywhere" to convey their sense of expansive and expanding LGBTQ geographies. This chapter has attempted to convey a similarly expansive and expanding sense of LGBTQ landmarks and landscapes of US law. Because of the powerful influences of law on the history of gender and sexuality in the United States and the powerful influences of gender and sexuality on the history of US law, these landmarks and landscapes are potentially everywhere. In that context, the chapter necessarily has been selective in focusing on particular historical moments and sites. Some are distinctly important, but others are better understood as representing and symbolizing countless other moments and sites where US law has interacted with LGBTQ acts, identities, and communities. Recognizing and respecting these landmarks and landscapes can play a positive role in promoting diversity and democracy in the United States.

Street, New York City; it now operates as part of the Manhattan Detention Complex. For the Charles Street Jail, see note 79. The Sybil Brand Institute, built in 1963, was located at 4500 City Terrace Drive, Los Angeles, California; it closed in 1997 but the building still exists. The Cook County Jail is located at 2700 South California Avenue, Chicago, Illinois. There is an LGBTQ lounge named in honor of Donaldson, who founded Columbia University's Student Homophile League in 1967, in Furnald Hall at Columbia University, New York City. The Atascadero State Hospital, which opened in 1954, is located at 10333 El Camino Real, Atascadero, California. The Beaufort County Detention Center is located at 210 North Market Street, Washington, North Carolina. The *GCN* Prisoner Project was based from 1975 to 1982 at 22 Bromfield Street, Boston, Massachusetts. The Washington State Penitentiary is located at 1313 North Thirteenth Avenue, Walla Walla, Washington.

20

LGBTQ MILITARY SERVICE

Steve Estes

Eric Alva was raised in a military family in San Antonio, Texas. His grandfather had served in the army in World War II and Korea. His father served in Vietnam. When Alva graduated from high school in 1989, he joined the Marine Corps. He was deployed in Somalia in the 1990s and rose gradually through the enlisted ranks to become a staff sergeant. During Operation Iraqi Freedom in 2003, Alva was leading about a dozen men in a supply convoy near Basra when he stepped on a landmine. “The explosion was so powerful,” he remembered, “it blew me to the ground about ten feet away and took off part of my right leg.”[1] Alva was the first American serviceman seriously wounded in Iraq. He would receive a Purple Heart and a prosthetic leg. The President and First Lady visited him in the hospital, and he was interviewed by dozens of magazines and television news programs. Alva was a military hero. He was also gay. Many of his fellow marines knew, but this wasn’t part of his public story in 2003. By 2006, Alva was no longer willing to hide his sexuality.

---

[1] Eric Alva, “Don’t Ask, Don’t Tell: From the Inside Out,” *Huffington Post,* February 28, 2007, accessed August 1, 2015, http://www.huffingtonpost.com/eric-alva/dont-ask-dont-tell-from-t_b_42310.html.

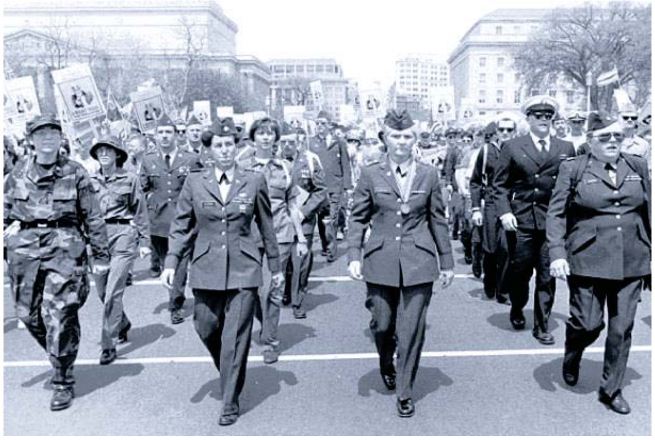


Figure 1: Lesbian veterans lead a 1993 march in Washington, DC. Photo courtesy of Cathy Cade, photographer.

Alva's courage under fire and willingness to sacrifice for his buddies and his country placed him in a long line of lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and queer (LGBTQ) US military personnel. Until "Don't Ask, Don't Tell" was lifted in 2011 most LGBTQ troops served in secrecy and silence. In fact, thousands of them did serve and had served since the founding of this nation. By the 2000s, increasing numbers of queer troops were opening up about their sexuality to comrades and even superiors, despite the potential risk to their military careers. This essay chronicles the long history of queer military service with an emphasis on the twentieth century when modern queer identities emerged.[2] With this overview of queer American military history, the National Park Service and local historians can better preserve and promote historical sites related to LGBTQ military service and sacrifice (Figure 1).

Before there was a United States, before there was even a gay identity, there were men who loved men, and some of them served with the Continental Army under General George Washington. We know that men had sex with men in General Washington's army because such sex was illegal, as it would be for two more centuries in the United States. As with other aspects of queer history, we need to find indirect evidence of these soldiers, sailors, and officers who were intimate with other men. Sadly, much of this evidence comes from records of legal proceedings and military courts martial.

---

[2] Throughout this essay, I use the term "queer" to refer historically to individuals who had or acted on same-sex desires and those who did not fit into historically defined gender norms. Before the second half of the twentieth century, the military focused much of its regulation on homosexual activity and not "identity" per se. This is, in part, why it is harder for the earlier period to distinguish between the various queer categories that we identify today. This is particularly true—even in the current era—for bisexual individuals. In writing this essay, I have had difficulty doing justice to bisexual military personnel. Although a few of my oral history interviews with veterans for the Library of Congress Veterans History Project address this issue, there is not enough information in them to draw broad conclusions or link to specific historical places.

At the end of a brutal winter at Valley Forge, Pennsylvania in 1778, an ensign in the Continental Army claimed that he saw Lieutenant Gotthold Fredrich Enslin having sex with Private John Monhart in the officer's cabin.[3] Enslin had only been in America since 1774. Much of his time in the country had been spent in the American military during the Revolutionary War. Though Lieutenant Enslin denied the charges against him, Lieutenant Colonel Aaron Burr found the junior officer guilty of sodomy in a court-martial trial. General George Washington ordered that Enslin be "dismissed with Infamy" and "drummed out of the Camp." That was the end of Enslin's military career, but he was apparently not the only officer serving with Washington at Valley Forge that winter who had intimate relations with other men.[4]

Two weeks before Enslin's court martial, a German officer had arrived at Valley Forge to help drill the soldiers under Washington's command. Benjamin Franklin had invited Baron Frederich Wilhelm von Steuben, a Prussian nobleman with experience in his country's esteemed military, to help the struggling American rebellion. Von Steuben might not have come to the Americans' aid if not for rumors of homosexual behavior that dogged him in his homeland. One 1777 letter suggested that the Prussian officer's affection for younger men was of the sort "which the law forbids and punishes severely."[5] Whether or not General Washington knew of these rumors, he was impressed with von Steuben's military skill and the professionalism he brought to the Continental Army. Unlike American officers, von Steuben drilled the enlisted men himself at Valley Forge, and his drills ultimately formed the foundation of military training for the entire

---

[3] The battlefield at Valley Forge was listed on the NRHP on October 15, 1966 and designated an NHL District on January 20, 1961. It was designated Valley Forge National Historical Park, becoming a unit of the NPS, on July 4, 1976.

[4] Randy Shilts, *Conduct Unbecoming: Gays & Lesbians in the U.S. Military* (New York: Fawcett Columbine, 1994), 11-12.

[5] Ibid., 7-11.

Continental Army.[6] Von Steuben rose to the rank of major general, serving for the duration of the war and commanding an American division at the battle of Yorktown. His sexuality did not apparently affect his service. In fact, von Steuben would spend the rest of his life in his adopted country, which named the frontier Fort Steuben after him. A replica of Fort Steuben draws visitors to Steubenville, Ohio to this day.[7]

The experiences of Enslin and von Steuben suggest the two different ways that the American military dealt with queer troops from 1776 to 2010. When servicemen (and later women) could plausibly deny their same-sex desires or when their skills proved vital for combat success, the military would often look the other way and retain their service. But when there was "proof" of homosexual activities, the military could and often did punish and discharge LGBTQ individuals. The difficulty for historians then is that the best records of gay military service highlight individuals who ran afoul of military justice, not those who escaped scrutiny as they contributed to American military victories.

Anecdotal evidence suggests that men with same-sex desires fought for both the Union and the Confederacy during the Civil War, and the first women with queer sensibilities also served during this period until their gender and sexuality were discovered. As women were prohibited from military service (particularly combat service) in this period, the only way for them to serve was to pretend to be men. General Philip Sheridan found two such women serving under his command in the Fifteenth Missouri Regiment during the Civil War. The women had gotten drunk and nearly drowned. When rescued by fellow soldiers, the women's true identities were revealed. Sheridan immediately sent the women back from the Civil War battlefront, noting that "an intimacy had sprung up between them."

---

[6] General Von Steuben's Headquarters at Valley Forge National Historical Park was listed on the NRHP and designated an NHL on November 28, 1972.

[7] One of General von Steuben's closest comrades in the Continental Army was Washington's aide Alexander Hamilton. Randy Shilts and others have suggested that Hamilton himself was gay. The letters between Hamilton and another Washington staffer named John Laurens suggest a passionate and intimate friendship, but reading such letters through a twenty-first century lens potentially distorts the historical record of a time when men's correspondence exhibits effusive emotional outpouring rarely seen in the modern era.

According to Sheridan's report, one of the women was so masculine as to easily pass as a man, while the other seemed more feminine.[8]

The Civil War also saw the first service by a gender transgressive female doctor. Dr. Mary Walker challenged gender norms by earning an MD and practicing surgery in the mid-nineteenth century, but she was also a social activist, arguing against women's corseting and often outfitting herself in men's clothing (though never disguising herself as a man). Rejected when she first attempted to enlist in the medical corps of the Union Army, Dr. Walker volunteered her services as an assistant surgeon in Northern Virginia and Washington, DC.[9] Finally, in March 1864, Walker was hired as a contract surgeon attached to the Fifty-Second Ohio Volunteers. She was the only female surgeon working for pay with the Union Army during the Civil War. As was her custom, she wore men's clothing during the war—a modified version of the male doctor's uniform that she argued allowed better flexibility to treat patients than traditional female dress. Walker saw patients at Bull Run, Chickamauga, the Battle of Atlanta, and several smaller skirmishes, as well as tending to wounded soldiers alongside Walt Whitman at a hospital set up at the US Patent Office in Washington, DC.[10] She was held captive for four months at Castle Thunder Prison in Richmond, Virginia, after being accused of spying on Confederate military positions.[11] After the war, Walker became the only woman in US history to receive a Congressional Medal of Honor for Meritorious Service, and she continued to speak out for feminist causes until her death in 1919. With her dress, professional ambitions, and medical publications, she challenged gender norms for the rest of her life.[12] Walker is buried in the Union Village Rural Cemetery in Oswego, New York.

---

[8] Shilts, *Conduct Unbecoming*, 14-15.

[9] During her time in Washington in the early 1860s, she lived various places, but two that we know of are a rooming house at 52 Morton Street and a residence at 374 Ninth Street, both now demolished.

[10] The Old Patent Office was located at Ninth and F Streets NW, in the District of Columbia. The building currently houses the National Portrait Gallery. It was added to the NRHP on October 15, 1966 and designated an NHL on January 12, 1965.

[11] Castle Thunder was located in Richmond's Tobacco Row, along the James River. It burned to the ground in 1879. Details of Dr. Walker's capture were printed in the *Richmond Sentinel* on April 22, 1864: "The female Yankee surgeon captured by our pickets a short time since, in the neighborhood of the army of Tennessee, was received in this city yesterday evening, and sent to the Castle in charge of a detective. Her appearance on the street in full male costume, with the exception of a gipsey hat, created quite an excitement amongst the idle negroes and boys who followed and surrounded her. She gave her name as Dr. Mary E. Walker, and declared that she had been captured on neutral ground. She was dressed in black pants and black or dark talma or paletot. She was consigned to the female ward of Castle Thunder, there being no accommodations at the Libby for prisoners of her sex. We must not omit to add that she is ugly and skinny, and apparently above thirty years of age." See Angela M. Zombek, "Castle Thunder Prison," *Encyclopedia Virginia,* Virginia Foundation for the Humanities website*,* last modified June 7, 2011, http://www.encyclopediavirginia.org/Castle_Thunder_Prison

Although it is likely that gay male troops served in most American conflicts before the twentieth century, the historical record is strongest for the modern era, when the military, state, and emerging profession of psychiatry began to codify arguments against same-sex relationships and military service. World War I was the first major American military conflict that saw an explicit crack down on gay male military service, and World War II saw the emergence of queer veterans who “came out under fire” and then returned to the home front to build communities and fight for their rights.

As the Assistant Secretary of the Navy during the Great War, a young Franklin Delano Roosevelt authorized an investigation of homosexual activities in March 1919 at the Newport, Rhode Island YMCA, which was frequented by both gay civilians and sailors from the nearby Naval Training Station.[13] Roosevelt was certainly not alone in his concerns about homosexual conduct and the military. As we are “recruiting the elements which make up our invincible army, we cannot ignore what is obvious,” a San Francisco psychiatrist wrote in 1918. “The homosexualist is not only dangerous, but an ineffective fighter.”[14] The following year, the US Articles of War categorized sodomy as a felony for the first time, and it was in this context that Roosevelt authorized naval investigators to go undercover soliciting sex from sailors in Newport, specifically at the YMCA. The investigation led to the court-martial of seventeen sailors, many of whom were sentenced to several years in the brig. According to journalist Randy Shilts, the Newport investigation was the first recorded “attempt to purge an installation of homosexuals.”[15]

---

[12] Sharon M. Harris, *Dr. Mary Walker: An American Radical, 1832-1919* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2009), 31-74.

[13] The YMCA, now known as the Old Army and Navy YMCA, is located at 50 Washington Square, Newport, Rhode Island. It was listed on the NRHP on December 29, 1988.

[14] Shilts, *Conduct Unbecoming*, 15-16; and Mark Arsenault, “Gay Evolution: 1919 Newport Sting,” *Providence Journal,* January 20, 2008.

In contrast to World War I, the Second World War has come to be seen as a largely positive turning point in modern queer history. Official military policy continued to demonize queer individuals and further articulated why they were “unfit” for service, but the uneven application of these policies as a result of personnel needs allowed for the recruitment and retention of many queer troops. Historian Allan Bérubé wrote that during World War II, thousands of queer service personnel were “coming out under fire,” as they left their small towns, saw the wider world, met new comrades, and sometimes fell in love. Gay-friendly (or tolerant) establishments like San Francisco’s Top of the Mark, Black Cat Café, and Mona’s, became meeting spots for queer service personnel, as did New York City’s Astor Bar, Howdy Club, and Sloane House YMCA.[16] As Bérubé argues, the US military often treated homosexuality as a medical problem instead of a criminal one during World War II, a shift that allowed the military to retain thousands, if not tens of thousands, of queer troops whose skills were needed during wartime. This was particularly true of lesbians in the Women’s Army Corps (WACs), a military auxiliary service that restricted married women’s participation, and thus became something of a haven for lesbian and bisexual women looking to serve their country. After the war, queer service personnel returned to big cities (particularly debarkation points like New

---

[15] Ibid.

[16] Addresses: Top of the Mark, 999 California Street, San Francisco, California; the Black Cat Club, 710 Montgomery Street, San Francisco, California; the Black Cat Club is a contributing property (though not for its LGBTQ history) to the Jackson Square NRHP District, listed November 18, 1971; Mona’s Club 440, 440 Broadway, San Francisco, California; Astor Bar, Broadway between Forty-Fourth and Forty-Fifth Streets, New York City, now demolished; Howdy Club, known as a predominantly lesbian bar, 17 West Third Street, New York City, now demolished; and the Sloane House YMCA, 356 West Thirty-Fourth Street, now demolished. See also Nan Alamilla Boyd, *Wide Open Town: A History of Queer San Francisco to 1965* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003), 56-62, 68-83 and Allan Bérubé, *Coming Out Under Fire: The History of Gay Men and Women in World War Two* (New York: The Free Press, 1990).

York, San Francisco, and Los Angeles) where they created or built upon urban queer communities.[17]

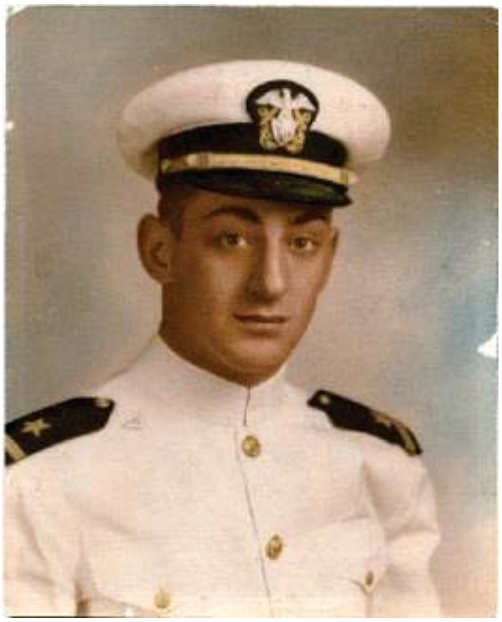


Figure 2: Harvey Milk, the second openly LGBTQ elected official in the United States, served in the Navy during the Korean War. Photo courtesy of the San Francisco Public Library.

After World War II, the military and the US government once again cracked down on queer service personnel not only with legal and medical arguments, but also based on national security concerns during the Cold War. Ironically, what historian David K. Johnson has called the "lavender scare" was primarily a domestic phenomenon during the Cold War. When the United States engaged in military actions abroad during this period, as in Korea, gay male soldiers were often allowed to serve. "It was a nightmare here in the States," Korean War veteran Ric Mendoza-Gleeson recalled. "I mean if you were gay here, it was over, Grover… but once you got overseas, the commanders looked the other way." One gay sailor who served honorably during the Korean War era was New York native Harvey Milk, who would go on to be one of the first openly-gay elected officials in the United States when he joined the San Francisco Board of Supervisors in the late 1970s (Figure 2).[18]

During the Korean War, the number of gay service personnel discharged because of their sexuality was relatively small, but by the mid-

---

[17] Bérubé, *Coming Out Under Fire*; and Leisa D. Meyer, *Creating GI Jane: Sexuality and Power in the Women's Army Corps During World War II* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998).

[18] David K. Johnson, *The Lavender Scare: The Cold War Persecution of Gays and Lesbians in the Federal Government* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004); and Steve Estes, *Ask & Tell: Gay & Lesbian Veterans Speak Out* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007), 36. Harvey Milk lived, worked, and organized out of his apartment and camera shop at 573-575 Castro Street, San Francisco, California.

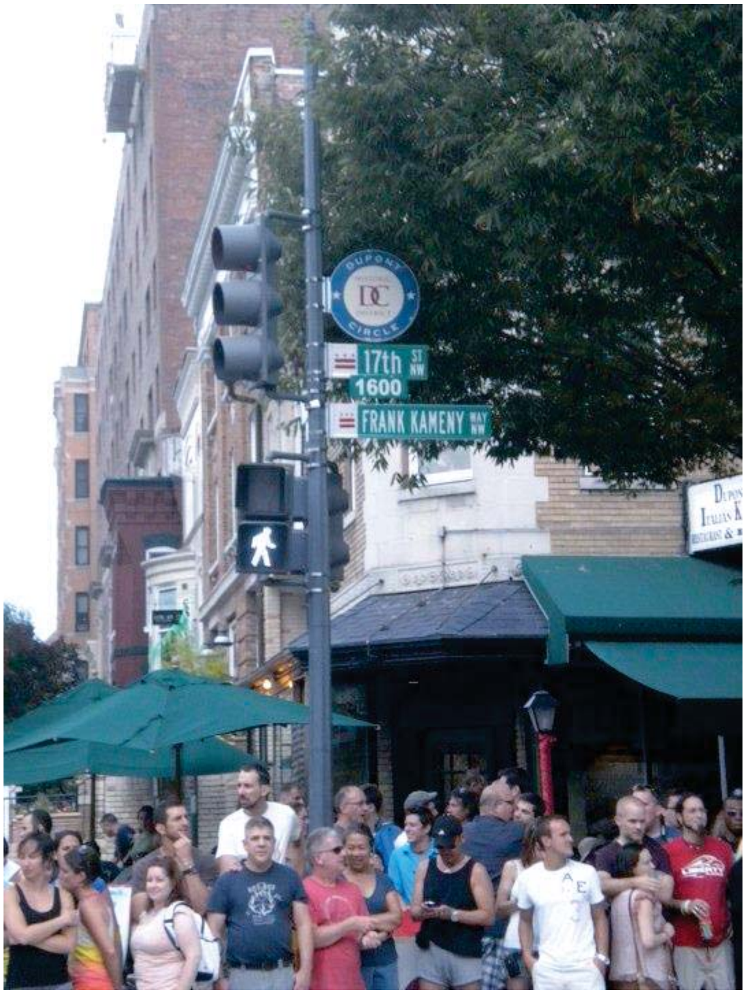


Figure 3: Washington, DC recognized pioneering gay rights activist and military veteran, Dr. Franklin Kameny, decades after Kameny was fired from the federal government during the "Lavender Scare" of the 1950s. Photo by Kyle Flood, June 2010.[19]

to-late 1950s, the government was firing thousands of gay troops and civilian defense workers every year under the assumption that their sexuality placed them at risk of being blackmailed by communist agents during the Cold War. Annual discharges of queer troops doubled over the course of the 1950s, and David K. Johnson estimated that approximately five thousand gay and lesbian civilian employees of the federal government lost their jobs during what he dubs the “lavender scare.”[20] Frank Kameny was one of those gay civilian employees that lost his job because of his sexuality. A veteran of the US Army in World War II, Kameny earned a PhD from Harvard and then worked for the US Army Map Service in Washington, DC, as a civilian. In 1957 the government fired Kameny because he was gay, inspiring his lifelong fight against discrimination. He co-founded the Washington branch of the gay rights organization known as the Mattachine Society in 1961 and picketed various government buildings, demanding “First Class

---

[19] Photo in the public domain. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Frank_kameny.jpg

[20] John D’Emilio and Estelle Freedman, *Intimate Matters: A History of Sexuality in America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2012), 293-294; and Johnson, *The Lavender Scare*, 166.

Citizenship for Homosexuals" from the 1960s until the 2000s.[21] Before Kameny died in 2011, he had become a gay rights hero in Washington, with a street named in his honor and his protest signs accessioned as part of the permanent collections at the Smithsonian's National Museum of American History (Figure 3).[22]

By the time Frank Kameny was demanding equal rights for gay citizens, the United States was getting involved in another Cold War military conflict in Vietnam. The Vietnam War divided gay communities just as it divided America. While many queer Americans volunteered for service or answered the call of the draft, others vehemently opposed the war. For instance, Sylvia Rivera (born "Ray" and of Puerto Rican and Venezuelan descent) was a transgender New Yorker active in the antiwar movement. When Rivera was drafted in 1969, she showed up dressed as a woman and proclaimed that although she had been born a man, she identified as a woman and loved men. After the military rejected her, Rivera continued her antiwar activism and was also a participant in the Stonewall Riots and the gay liberation movement.[23] Even though gay liberation and antiwar activism were often intertwined, military service and gay rights activism during the Vietnam era also came together in LGBTQ veterans who followed in Frank Kameny's footsteps to demand the freedoms and rights that they had fought to defend in the military.

---

[21] The Washington, DC, branch of the Mattachine Society was run largely out of Kameny's home in the northwest of the District. It was listed on the NRHP on November 2, 2011.

[22] Kameny was actually fired for refusing to answer questions about his sexuality after the government learned he had been arrested on sex-related charges in San Francisco years earlier. For more on the Kameny's life and political struggles, see Johnson, *Lavender Scare*, 179-208. See also Martin Weil and Emily Langer's obituary: "Kameny Dies" *Washington Post*, October 11, 2011.

[23] Rivera was later an active member in the Gay Liberation Front and Gay Activists Alliance, as well as the Street Transvestite (later Transgender) Action Revolutionaries (STAR), which she co-founded in 1970 with Marsha P. Johnson. STAR worked to help homeless young drag queens and transgender women of color. In November 2005, New York City named a Greenwich Village street in honor of Sylvia Rivera. Stonewall was the first NHL designated for its association with LGBTQ history (February 16, 2000) and the first National Monument dedicated to recognizing LGBTQ history (June 24, 2016). For more on Rivera, see Susan M. Glisson, *The Human Tradition in the Civil Rights Movement* (Oxford: Rowman and Littlefield, 2006), 323-325 and Tim Retzloff, "Eliding Trans Latino/a Queer Experience in U.S. LGBT History: José Sarria and Sylvia Rivera Reexamined," *CENTRO Journal* 19 (1): 141-161.

Perhaps no single veteran represents this struggle better than Air Force Sergeant Leonard Matlovich. The son of a veteran, Matlovich was born in Savannah, Georgia. He volunteered for three tours of duty in Vietnam and won two Air Force Commendations for Bravery, the Bronze Star, and a Purple Heart among other awards and citations. In 1975 the Air Force discharged Matlovich when he came out publicly as a gay man to challenge the military's ban on homosexual service. After several years of court challenges, Matlovich agreed to an out-of-court settlement, but he never stopped fighting for gay rights. He spent his final years living mostly in the San Francisco Bay Area, where he fought to raise awareness of HIV/AIDS and ultimately succumbed to the disease himself.[24] Matlovich's fight to lift the ban on gay service personnel in the 1970s landed him on the cover of *Time* magazine and made him an icon of the gay rights movement. Both San Francisco and Chicago have small memorial plaques

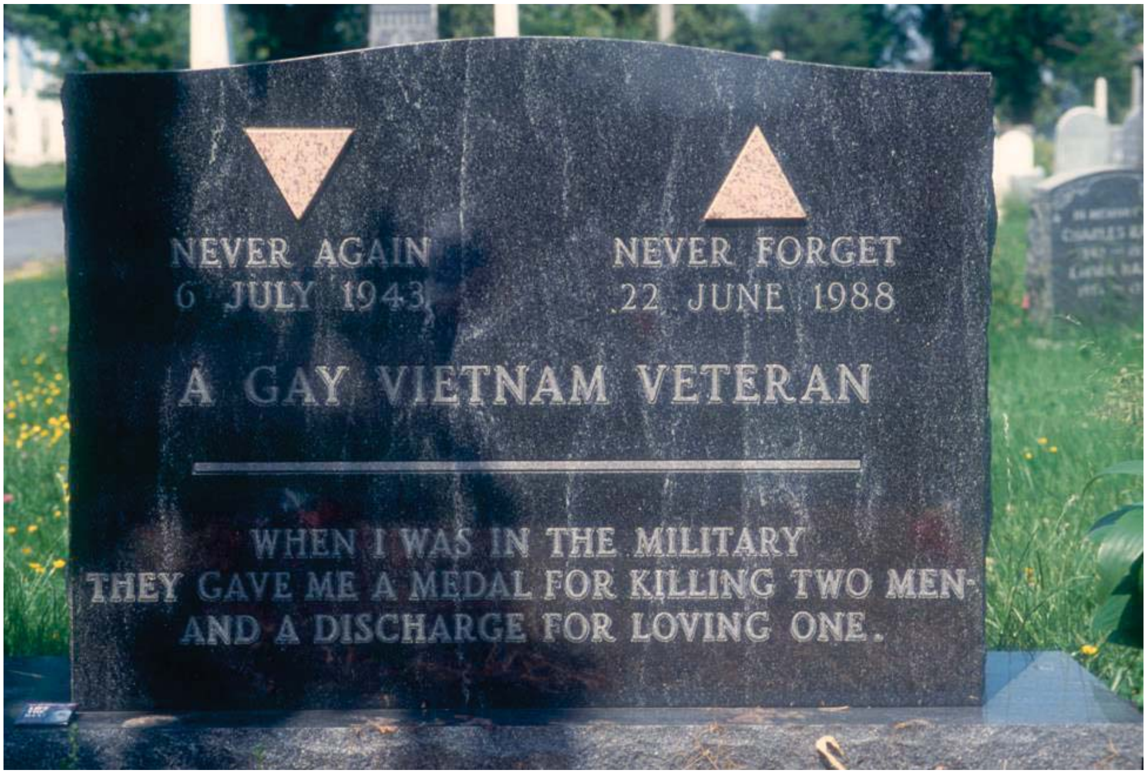

NEVER AGAIN
6 JULY 1943
NEVER FORGET
22 JUNE 1988
A GAY VIETNAM VETERAN
WHEN I WAS IN THE MILITARY
THEY GAVE ME A MEDAL FOR KILLING TWO MEN
AND A DISCHARGE FOR LOVING ONE.

Figure 4: Leonard Matlovich wanted his grave in the Congressional Cemetery (Washington, DC) to become a monument to gay and lesbian military service. Gay veterans and activists gather at the grave on Veteran's Day to commemorate Matlovich's service and the service of all LGBTQ veterans. Photo courtesy of Patsy Lynch, photographer.

---

[24] Matlovich lived on Eighteenth Street in San Francisco, California.

dedicated to Matlovich. The most significant memorial by far, however, is his grave in Washington, DC's Congressional Cemetery, which has become a site of demonstrations and Veteran's Day celebrations by gay rights groups. "When I was in the military," Matlovich's epitaph reads, "they gave me a medal for killing two men and a discharge for loving one" (Figure 4).[25]

Partly in response to Matlovich's challenge, the US military tightened restrictions on gay service in 1981 with a new policy that bluntly stated: "Homosexuality is incompatible with military service." One of the first challenges to this policy came from another Vietnam veteran named Perry Watkins, who was discharged from the army in 1984. As Perry Watkins argued in court, he had never lied to the army about who he was. When Watkins had been drafted in 1968, he answered the question about whether he was homosexual in the affirmative. The army inducted him anyway and sent him to serve in Vietnam. Watkins made the military a career and would later perform drag shows for his army buddies under the name Simone. After the military strengthened the gay ban in the early 1980s and with a growing conservative backlash as a result of the AIDS crisis, the army decided Watkins was no longer fit for duty. Although the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals in San Francisco ordered the army to reinstate Watkins, his case, like Matlovich's, did not overturn the wider ban on gay service. From 1984 until his death in 1996, Watkins lived and worked in Tacoma, Washington. He continued to speak out against the military ban. As an African American, he was also a vocal critic of racism within the gay rights movement, arguing that white veterans were often asked to testify and speak instead of minority veterans.[26]

---

[25] "I am a Homosexual," *Time,* September 8, 1975; Leonard Matlovich Papers, GLBT Historical Society (housed in the San Francisco Public Library Special Collections); and http://leonardmatlovich.com, accessed May 26, 2015. Congressional Cemetery was listed on the NRHP on June 23, 1969 and designated an NHL on June 14, 2011. Several LGBTQ pioneers are buried there, particularly in the "gay corner" anchored by Matlovich's grave.

[26] Wilbur J. Scott and Sandra Carson Stanley, *Gays and Lesbians in the Military: Issues, Concerns, and Contrasts* (New York: Aldine de Gruyter, 1994), 19, 123, 221; Department of Defense Directive 1332.14, 46 Fed. Reg. 9571-9578 (July 29, 1981); and David Dunlap, "Perry Watkins, 48, Gay Sergeant Won Court Battle With Army," *New York Times,* March 21, 1996.

From the 1970s through the 1990s, a dedicated cohort of gay and lesbian veterans sought to end the ban through legal challenges and public demonstrations at the same time that the politics of gay rights were gaining steam. Vernon Berg, Miriam Ben-Shalom, Dusty Pruitt, Joe Steffan, Keith Meinhold, Zoe Dunning, and Grethe Cammermeyer all chipped away at the ban without overturning it outright. Like Perry Watkins, many of these activists won individual courtroom victories, gaining reinstatement in the military. However, the courts limited the scope of these decisions to remedies for the individual plaintiffs, continuing to defer to the military on the broader personnel policies restricting LGBTQ service.[27] The election of Bill Clinton as president in 1992 seemed a harbinger of real change as the Democratic candidate had promised to lift the ban. Once in office, however, Clinton faced stiff opposition from the Joint Chiefs of Staff, Congress, and the religious right. The compromise that emerged in 1993 was "Don't Ask, Don't Tell," a policy that was supposed to end inquiries into troops' sexual orientation, while

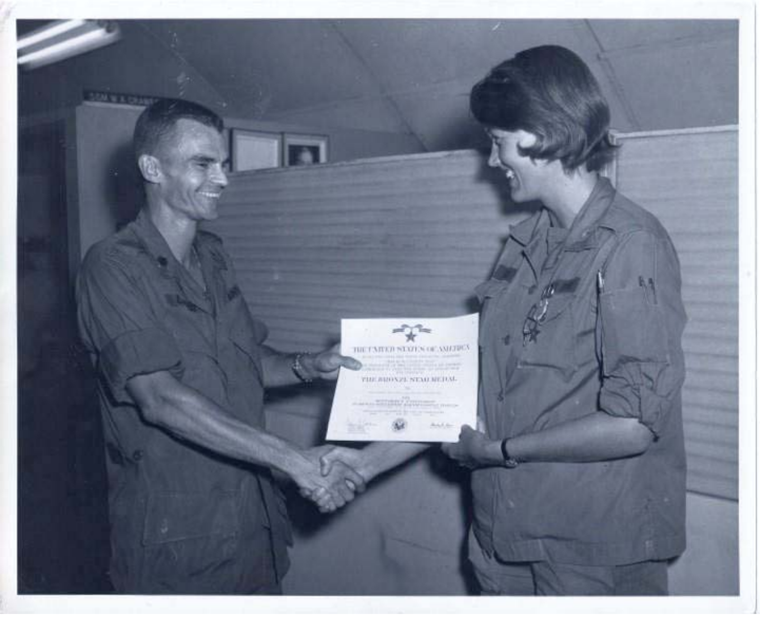


Figure 5: Grethe Cammermeyer's career in the military included a fourteen-month deployment as an army nurse in Vietnam, during which she was awarded the Bronze Star in 1968 (Pictured: LTC Robert Lever MC gives then CPT Margarethe Hawken, now and nee Cammermeyer, the award). In 1988, Cammermeyer told the Washington National Guard that she was a lesbian. They immediately discharged her, and she sued to get her job back. In 1994 the court ordered her reinstated. When she retired in 1997, she had served for thirty-one years. Department of Defense photo, courtesy of Grethe Cammermeyer.

---

[27] Vernon E. Berg III v. Secretary of the Navy 591 F.2d 849 (U.S.App.D.C. 1978); Miriam Ben-Shalom v. Secretary of the Army 826 F.2d 722 (7th Cir. 1987); Dusty Pruitt v. Secretary of Defense 963 F.2d 1160 (9th Cir., 1991); Joseph C. Steffan v. Secretary of Defense 8 F.3d 57 (DC Cir. 1994); Volker Keith Meinhold v. Secretary of Defense 34 F.3d 1469 (9th Cir. 1994); Margaret Cammermeyer v. Secretary of Defense 850 F. Supp 910 (W.D. Wash 1994); and Cynthia Laird, "Out Navy Commander Retires," *Bay Area Reporter*, June 7, 2007.

continuing the discharge process for service members whose same-sex attractions or activities became known (Figure 5).[28]

The “Don’t Ask, Don’t Tell” policy (1993-2011) ironically amplified the debate on LGBTQ military service. The compromise, which was intended to silence critics of the ban, ended up generating more publicity about gays and lesbians (although not bisexuals and transgender people) in the military than ever before. On the one hand, media scrutiny and political controversy heightened tensions over sexuality within the military that accompanied increased anti-gay violence in the forces.[29] On the other hand, the mainstream media finally began to acknowledge LGBTQ heroism as part of the story of American military history, and the hypocrisy of the policy brought new focus to its inconsistencies and unfairness.[30]

While the tension within the military about sexuality boiled over into violence in the 1990s, violence involving homosexuality and military personnel was nothing new. On Halloween night in 1958, a young airman named John Mahon, who was stationed in Charleston, South Carolina, went home with Jack Dobbins after meeting at a local gay bar called Club 49.[31] The next morning, Dobbins was found brutally murdered. Mahon had used a candlestick to bludgeon the Charleston man to death. The airman did not deny killing Dobbins. Instead, he claimed self-defense and was acquitted of all charges. As the local paper explained, Mahon was a “normal,” patriotic young serviceman, simply fending off the aggressive advances of Dobbins, who was euphemistically described as "artistic" by the local paper.[32]

---

[28] For a critical analysis and history of “Don’t Ask, Don’t Tell,” see Nathaniel Frank, *Unfriendly Fire: How the Gay Ban Undermines the Military and Weakens America* (New York: Macmillan, 2010), xiii-xxi, *passim*.

[29] In testimony before Congress, Marine Colonel Fred Peck spoke emotionally about not wanting his gay son to join the military where his life “would be hell” and where the colonel would have been “very fearful” for his son’s safety because of homophobia in the ranks. See Melissa Healy, “Schwarzkopf: ‘A 2nd-Class Force’ If Gay Ban Ends,” *Los Angeles Times*, May 12, 1993; and “Abuse of Gays in Military Increases,” *CBS News*, March 9, 2000, accessed August 3, 2015, http://www.cbsnews.com/news/abuse-of-gays-in-military-increases.

[30] For examples of increasingly positive media coverage of queer veterans and growing criticism of the ban, see Philip Shenon, “New Study Faults Pentagon’s Gay Policy,” *New York Times*, February 26, 1997; Jack Tapper, “Gay War Veteran Confronts ‘Don’t Ask, Don’t Tell’ Policy,” *ABC News*, August 9, 2005; and Associated Press, “Ban on Openly Gay Soldiers Under Fire,” *NBC News*, June 15, 2005, accessed August 3, 2015, http://www.nbcnews.com/id/8218961/ns/us_news/t/efforts-grow-end-ban-openly-gay-soldiers/#.Vb-987ekc14.

[31] Before it was demolished, Club 49 was located at 368 King Street, Charleston, South Carolina. Dobbin’s home still stands.

By the 1990s, the so-called "gay panic" defense was rarely successful in court, but violence against LGBTQ individuals spiked as gay visibility in politics and popular culture increased. This was, in part, the context for the murder of Barry Winchell. A nineteen-year-old private stationed at Fort Campbell, which straddles the border between Kentucky and Tennessee, Winchell was beginning to explore gay life in nearby Nashville in 1999. Rumors circulated that he had a transsexual girlfriend and went to gay bars on the weekends. "Pretty much everybody called him derogatory names," Sergeant Michael Kleifgen later told a reporter. "They called him a faggot, I would say, on a daily basis." As a friend, Kleifgen even filed a formal complaint about the harassment, and Winchell told his superior officer about the rumors and slurs. "Don't Ask, Don't Tell" actually suppressed such reports of harassment, because such claims could lead the military to investigate the sexuality of the people being harassed or doing the reporting. In Winchell's case, even the formal complaints of the harassment by a heterosexual buddy had no effect. The captain just told the young men harassing Winchell to "knock that shit off." At a keg party outside the barracks on the Fourth of July, Winchell and another private named Calvin Glover got into a fistfight, which Winchell won. Other guys teased Glover mercilessly for losing to "a fucking faggot." Later that night, Glover beat Winchell with a baseball bat as the gay private slept in the Fort Campbell barracks. Winchell died at Vanderbilt Hospital in Nashville the following day.[33]

Yet gay bashing was not the only problem with "Don't Ask, Don't Tell." As Melissa Herbert argued in her book, *Camouflage Isn't Only for Combat*, lesbians and bisexual military women had to camouflage their sexuality just as men did.[34] Even before "Don't Ask Don't Tell," the ban on homosexual service placed *all* military women in a Catch-22, leaving them open to (hetero)sexual harassment in order to "prove" that they were not gay to peers and superior officers. Like anti-gay violence, sexual blackmail was particularly problematic in the "Don't Ask, Don't Tell" era as lesbianism became more visible in popular culture. Lifting the ban would not end sexual harassment, of course, but it would eliminate a regulation that exacerbated the problem.

---

[32] Paul Bowers, "A Map of Charleston's Gay History," *Charleston City Paper*, July 30, 2014.

[33] Thomas Hackett, "The Execution of Private Barry Winchell: The Real Story Behind the 'Don't Ask, Don't Tell' Murder," *Rolling Stone*, March 2, 2002; and Frank, *Unfriendly Fire*, 194-196, 276. For more on the negative effects of DADT on harassment complaints, see Stacey L. Sobel et al., "Conduct Unbecoming: The Sixth Annual Report on "Don't Ask, Don't Tell, Don't Harass, Don't Pursue," Servicemembers Legal Defense Network, March 9, 2000, accessed August 3, 2015, http://sldn.3cdn.net/bc84613306fbdcf69d_gkm6iyfnf.pdf

A resurgence of gay-related discharges in the late 1990s also suggested that there were serious problems underlying the military's "Don't Ask, Don't Tell" policy. Liberals pushed to add anti-harassment regulations and diversity workshops to official military training in order to deal with homophobia in the ranks. Meanwhile, LGBTQ activists in Washington, DC—particularly the Servicemembers Legal Defense Network (SLDN), but also American Veterans for Equal Rights (AVER), Transgender American Veterans Association (TAVA), and ultimately, the Human Rights Campaign (HRC) —fought to lift the ban entirely in the 2000s. As this activist campaign began to pick up steam, the political environment surrounding military policy changed once again in the wake of the 9/11 attacks and subsequent military operations in Afghanistan and Iraq. As the armed forces struggled to meet recruitment targets during these military conflicts and as more queer veterans began to come out, politicians and military leaders began to reconsider the ban on queer service.[35]

After Eric Alva became the first American serviceman seriously wounded in Iraq, the thing that scared him most about the deluge of media coverage was the potential public revelation that he was gay. "To be honest," Alva wrote, "each time I was commended on my courage, I couldn't help but remember how scared I was that I would be found out as

---

[34] Melissa S. Herbert, *Camouflage Isn't Only for Combat: Gender, Sexuality, and Women in the Military* (New York: New York University Press, 1998).

[35] Dave Moniz, "Opportunities, Opposition to Iraq War Cut into Recruiting," *USA Today*, November 4, 2005; John M. Shalikashvili, "Second Thoughts on Gays in the Military," *New York Times*, January 2, 2007; and Karen DeYoung, "Colin Powell Now Says Gays Should Be Able to Serve Openly in Military," *Washington Post*, February 4, 2010.

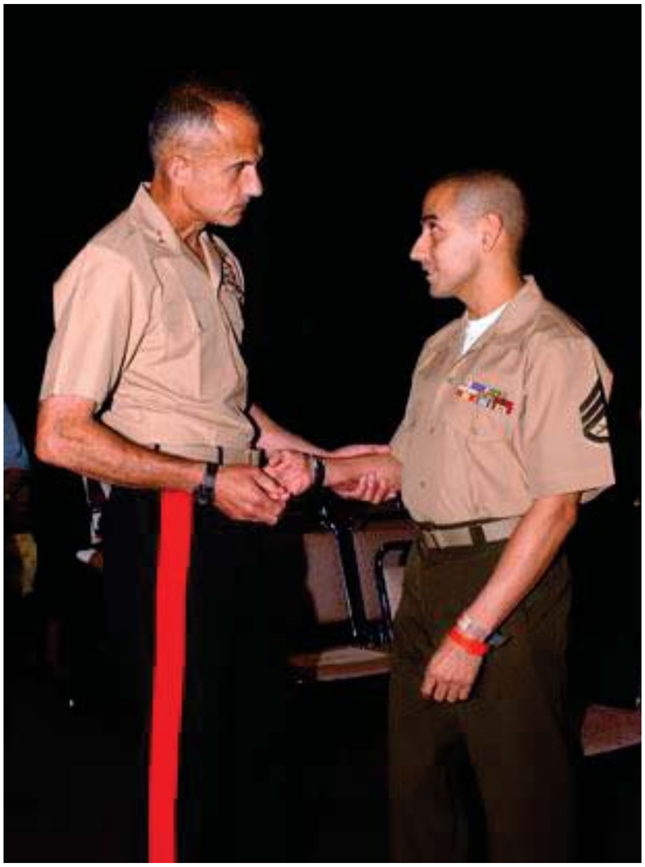


Figure 6: Major General Christopher Cortez (left), Commanding General, Marine Corps Recruiting Command, honors Staff Sergeant Eric Alva, the recipient of the Heroes and Heritage Award at the 2003 National Council of La Raza meeting in Austin, Texas. Alva would later join the staff of the Human Rights Campaign, fighting to lift the ban on openly gay military servicemen and women. Photo by US Marine Corps Sgt. Matt Griffin.[37]

gay and kicked out of the military." In 2006, Alva joined the staff of the HRC and became their spokesperson in the campaign to lift the ban on openly gay service personnel. Alva testified before Congress in 2008, telling the Congressional Committee members that although he was not publicly out to the Marine Corps, several of his straight comrades knew that he was gay, and did not care. Their response to finding out was, "So what?" Contrary to the arguments of military policy makers that open acknowledgement of sexuality would undermine unit cohesion, knowing that Alva was gay did not break the connection he made to the band of brothers in his unit. In fact, Alva became the godfather to three of his buddies' kids. "My experiences in the military demonstrate that 'Don't Ask, Don't Tell' is a solution looking for a problem," Alva concluded (Figure 6).[36]

Alva was not alone in coming home from Iraq to challenge the ban. In the 2000s, a flood of veterans from flag officers to enlisted personnel, came out publicly as gays and lesbians, arguing that "Don't Ask, Don't

---

[36] Eric Alva, "Don't Ask, Don't Tell: From the Inside Out," *Huffington Post,* February 28, 2007, http://www.huffingtonpost.com/eric-alva/dont-ask-dont-tell-from-t_b_42310.html.

[37] Photo in the public domain. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Staff_Sergeant_Eric_Alva_2003-06-13.jpg

Tell" was hurting military effectiveness. Decorated combat veterans spoke out. Brian Hughes, a Yale-educated army ranger from California, who served in both Iraq and Afghanistan, came out after he left the military in 2004. Robert Stout, an army sergeant from rural Ohio who had been wounded in Iraq, did so in 2005. Along with Alva's testimony, the stories of gay servicemen and women suggested what the military had long known, but been unwilling to acknowledge—namely, that queer Americans had served honorably for more than two centuries of US military history.[38]

Finally, the political opportunity to repeal "Don't Ask, Don't Tell" caught up with polls suggesting that the majority of Americans no longer supported banning gays and lesbians from the military. As one of Congress' last acts in 2010, it voted to repeal "Don't Ask, Don't Tell." President Barack Obama, who had promised during his campaign to lift the ban, quickly signed the Military Readiness Enhancement Act into law. Since 2011 gay, lesbian, and bisexual military personnel have been able to serve openly alongside their straight comrades. The ban on transgender Americans serving in the military was lifted on June 30, 2016. Military personnel were no longer discharged for being transgender, and by the end of 2017, all branches of the US military accepted transgender recruits.[39] As this essay illustrates, queer servicemen and women have long defended liberty, justice, and equality for all Americans.

---

[38] Estes, *Ask & Tell*, 210-254.

[39] Sunnivie Brydum, "Pentagon on Trans Troops: 'These are the Kind of People We Want,'" *Advocate*, June 30, 2016.

21

STRUGGLES IN BODY AND SPIRIT: RELIGION AND LGBTQ PEOPLE IN US HISTORY

Drew Bourn

Introduction

Reverend Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. once observed that eleven o'clock on Sunday morning is the most segregated hour in the United States.[1] But segregation goes beyond a separation between black churches and white churches. There is a tremendous variety of religious communities in the US - Hindus, Muslims, Jews, Christians, Buddhists, Pagans, and others. The history that led to this variety within the US, however, is not innocent.

---

[1] Joseph Barndt, *Becoming an Anti-Racist Church: Journeying Toward Wholeness* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 2011), 1. Dr. King had close connections with Black LGBTQ people, including Bayard Rustin and James Baldwin. See also *Brother Outsider: The Life of Bayard Rustin*, dir. Nancy D. Kates and Bennett Singer (New York City: The American Documentary, 2003); and *James Baldwin: The Price of the Ticket,* dir. Karen Thorsen (New York: WNET/American Masters, 1989). The Bayard Rustin Residence in the Chelsea neighborhood of New York City, New York was added to the NRHP on March 8, 2016.

Religious practices of contemporary Native American people are indelibly marked by the devastation of colonialism; the Black church grew out of a nightmarish legacy of mass kidnapping and enslavement; and myriad other forms of religious practice were brought to these shores by immigrants - some of whom left their homelands under duress and some of whom met with discrimination, humiliation, and violence upon arrival. The variety of religious communities that exists in the United States is inextricably bound up with the history of power and its abuses through such guises as colonialism, imperialism, slavery, and globalized capital.

LGBTQ people know something about power and its abuses. On the one hand, they have been systematically singled out and threatened or attacked when they have violated norms of gender and sexuality. But as the Combahee River Collective, Kimberlé Crenshaw, and other theorists of intersectionality remind us, many LGBTQ people have also simultaneously been on the other side of power for a range of reasons: having white skin, not being Native, being documented US citizens, being temporarily able-bodied, or moving through the world as male. Thus, the place of LGBTQ people in the United States is complicated—and religion provides an illustration of how those complications can play out.[2]

Certainly religion has been used in homophobic ways. One need only think of Anita Bryant's 1977 "Save Our Children" campaign, or of conservative preachers like Steven Anderson of the Faithful Word Baptist Church who rally for the mass executions of gay people, or the work of "ex-gay" campaigns both Christian (like Exodus International) and Jewish (like

---

[2] Combahee River Collective, "A Black Feminist Statement," in *This Bridge Called My Back: Writings By Radical Women of Color,* eds. Cherríe Moraga and Gloria Anzaldúa (New York: Kitchen Table, Women of Color Press, 1983), 210-218; Tisa M. Anders, "Combahee River Collective (1974-1980)," *BlackPast.org*, accessed December 5, 2015, http://www.blackpast.org/aah/combahee-river-collective-1974-1980; and Kimberlé Crenshaw, "Demarginalizing the Intersection of Race and Sex: A Black Feminist Critique of Antidiscrimination Doctrine, Feminist Theory and Antiracist Politics," *Chicago Legal Forum* (1989): 139–167.

JONAH). Given these destructive realities, it is little wonder that many LGBTQ people have fled the religious communities in which they were raised.[3]

Yet homophobia does not tell the whole story of LGBTQ people and religion in the United States. There are many LGBTQ people who are drawn to religious communities and practices. Some remain resolutely within the traditions in which they were raised, and others enter into traditions different from the ones they knew—if they knew any—in childhood. However they arrive, the place of LGBTQ people in religious communities can be ambivalent. For a variety of reasons, some LGBTQ people seek nothing more than to survive and maintain low profiles within religious communities that can be virulently homophobic. But at other times, LGBTQ people demonstrate an amazing resourcefulness and creativity in transforming and creating forms of religious life that loudly proclaim their dignity and humanity.

This points to an important consideration when approaching the subject of LGBTQ people and religion—the question of authority and accountability. In the religious communities that are examined in this chapter, there is tremendous variation in terms of who determines the appropriate forms of religious life. Some LGBTQ people are committed to remain within religious communities in which they directly confront their co-religionists over questions about the authority to interpret LGBTQ experiences, while other LGBTQ people work within communities where their authority is less contested. This chapter will focus on the work done in religious communities to affirm LGBTQ people and their lives.[4]

---

[3] Ian Lekus, "Up They Come Again: The Rise of Family Values Politics," *The Ultimate History Project*, accessed December 5, 2015, http://www.ultimatehistoryproject.com/marriage-lgbt.html; Tina Fetner, *How the Religious Right Shaped Lesbian and Gay Activism* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2008); Stevie St. John, "Pastor Calls for LGBT Holocaust to Eradicate AIDS By Christmas," *Advocate,* December 3, 2014, accessed December 5, 2015, http://www.advocate.com/politics/religion/2014/12/03/watch-pastor-calls-lgbt-holocaust-eradicate-aids-christmas; Jeff Chu, "'Let's Do Something Different': The End of the World's Leading 'Ex-Gay' Ministry," *Atlantic,* June 20, 2013, accessed December 5, 2015, http://www.theatlantic.com/sexes/archive/2013/06/lets-do-something-different-the-end-of-the-worlds-leading-ex-gay-ministry/277039; Alexandra Levine, "Jury Decides Against JONAH in Landmark 'Gay Conversion' Therapy Case," *Forward* June 25, 2015, accessed December 5, 2015, http://forward.com/news/310914/jury-rules-against-jonah-in-landmark-gay-conversion-therapy-case.

Early Organizing

Public advocacy for LGBTQ people in the United States has largely arisen in the period following World War II. Nearly every example discussed in this chapter deals with work done in the late 1960s or afterwards. However, a few earlier exceptions are worth noting.[5]

Former Roman Catholic seminarian George Augustine Hyde, along with John Augustine Kazantks, a former bishop in the Greek Orthodox Church who had been forced to leave Greece when he was "outed" as a gay man, established an independent church with a special outreach to gay people in 1946 in Atlanta, Georgia. The church initially convened at the Winecoff Hotel (Figure 1) and eventually took the

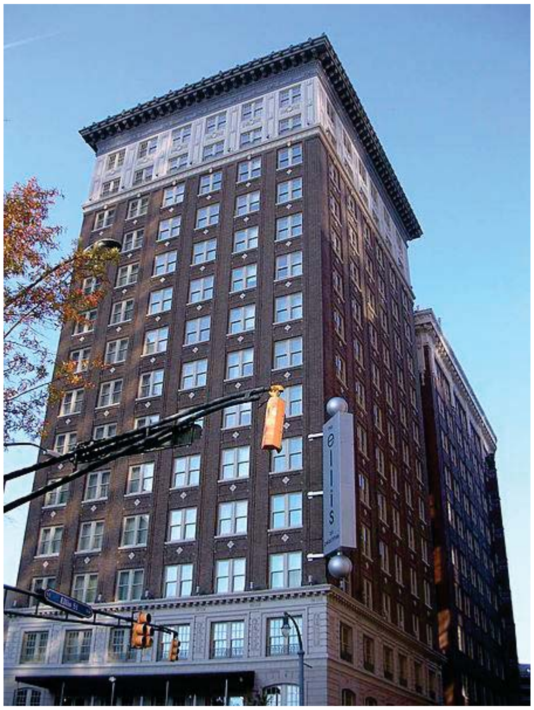


Figure 1: The Winecoff Hotel (now the Ellis Hotel), Atlanta, Georgia was the original home of the Orthodox Catholic Church of America. Photo by Eoghanacht, 2007.[6]

---

[4] For broad overview treatments of religion and LGBTQ people, see Jeffrey S. Siker, *Homosexuality and Religion: An Encyclopedia* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2007); Randy P. Conner et al., *Cassell's Encyclopedia of Queer Myth, Symbol, and Spirit : Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, and Transgender Lore* (London: Cassell, 1997); Center for Lesbian and Gay Studies in Religion and Ministry, "The Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender Religious Archives Network", accessed December 5, 2015, http://www.lgbtran.org; and "Transfaith," TransFaith Institute website, accessed December 3, 2015, http://www.transfaithonline.org.

[5] Heather Rachelle White, "Proclaiming Liberation: The Historical Roots of LGBT Religious Organizing, 1946–1976," *Nova Religio: The Journal of Alternative and Emergent Religions* 11, no. 4 (May 2008): 102-119.

[6] License: Public domain. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Winecoff-Hotel-Atlanta-01.jpg

name "Orthodox Catholic Church of America."[7] The church counted over two hundred members by the end of the following year.[8] Later, Hyde supported Rev. Robert Clement in New York City in establishing another church with a special outreach to gay people. Founded in 1969, the Eucharistic Catholic Church, with a local congregation known as the Church of the Beloved Disciple, later had as many as five hundred members.[9]

In 1964 in Mill Valley, California, Methodist minister Ted McIlvenna convened a conference of Methodist, Episcopal, Lutheran, and United Church of Christ clergy and local gay and lesbian leaders. The conference led to the founding of the Council on Religion and the Homosexual, the purpose of which included advocacy for gay and lesbian people within religious communities.[10] The council held a fundraising event on January 1, 1965 at California Hall in San Francisco which was raided by the police.[11] Seven ministers held a press conference the following day to express their outrage at the abuse of police power—an unprecedented public show of support by religious leaders for LGBTQ people.[12]

---

[7] The Winecoff Hotel (now the Ellis Hotel) is located at 176 Peachtree Street NW, Atlanta, Georgia. It was listed on the NRHP on March 31, 2009.

[8] "Profile: Rev. George Augustine Hyde," The Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender Religious Archives Network, accessed December 5, 2015, http://www.lgbtran.org/Profile.aspx?ID=96.

[9] "Oral History: Robert Clement," The Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender Religious Archives Network, accessed December 5, 2015, http://www.lgbtran.org/Interview.aspx?ID=12; "Robert Clement Papers," The New York Public Library Archives and Manuscripts, accessed December 5, 2015, http://archives.nypl.org/mss/567. The Church of the Beloved Disciple initially met at the Episcopal Church of the Holy Apostles at 296 Ninth Avenue in New York City. This church building was listed on the NRHP on April 26, 1972. The Church of the Beloved Disciple then began to meet at the Moravian Church at 154 Lexington Avenue in New York City before moving to its own building at 348 West 14th Street in New York City.

[10] The conference was held at the Ralston L. White Retreat Center, located at 2 El Capitan Ave, Mill Valley, California.

[11] California Hall is located at 625 Polk Street, San Francisco, California.

[12] "Exhibits: The Council on Religion and the Homosexual," The Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender Religious Archives Network, accessed December 5, 2015, http://www.lgbtran.org/Exhibits/CRH/Exhibit.aspx.

From the Late 1960s to the Present

Native American Religion

Native American history is addressed at length elsewhere in this study.[13] Here it suffices to note the recent emergence of a pan-Indian identity based on same-sex desire or gender variation, which was galvanized with the founding of Gay American Indians (GAI) in San Francisco in 1975.[14] Organizing around the country was further catalyzed when the term “two-spirit” (based on an Anishinaabemowin term) was coined at a Native conference in Winnipeg, Canada in 1990. Since then, Native organizing, informed by religious practices, has mobilized around two-spirit identity, resulting in a proliferation of local groups across the country. These include: the East Coast Two Spirit Society in New York City, the Tulsa Two Spirit Society, the City of Angels Two Spirit Society in Greater Los Angeles, the Two-Spirit Society of Denver, the Texas Two Spirit Society, and the Bay Area American Indian Two Spirits (BAAITS) in Northern California.[15]

Christianity

Broadly speaking, world Christianity can be divided into three major streams—the Roman Catholic Church, Protestantism, and the Eastern Church.

---

[13] See Roscoe (this volume).

[14] Will Roscoe, *Living the Spirit: A Gay American Indian Anthology* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1988), 217. GAI was based at 1347 Divisadero Street, San Francisco, California.

[15] “East Coast Two Spirit Society,” East Coast Two Spirit Society website, accessed December 5, 2015, http://www.ec2ss.net; “Texas Two Spirit Society: Advocating Native American GLBTQ Tradition,” Texas Two Spirit Society website, accessed December 5, 2015, http://texastwospirits.com; “BAAITS: Bay Area American Indian Two Spirits,” Bay Area American Indian Two-Spirits website, accessed December 5, 2015, http://www.baaits.org.

Roman Catholicism

DignityUSA is an international nonprofit organization of LGBTQ Catholics and allies. It began in 1969 when a priest, Father Patrick Nidorf, began organizing meetings of LGBTQ Catholics for pastoral care in San Diego and Los Angeles. Nidorf called the project Dignity, and similar groups soon sprung up across the country. Members of local chapters provide each other support and advocate for change of church doctrine, which currently maintains that same-sex desire is "objectively disordered."[16] Offshoots include Defenders of Dignity, which formed in New York City in 1981 and now has additional chapters in San Francisco, Chicago, Washington, DC, and Dayton, Ohio, catering to members of the leather community; and the Conference for Catholic Lesbians, which formed in 1982. In 1986, the church's doctrinal leadership issued "On the Pastoral Care of Homosexual Persons," which resulted in Dignity being barred from meeting on church property in many cities - a situation that continues to the present.[17] Dignity has engaged in outreach specifically to LGBTQ Latino/as, including its Grupo Latino in Washington, DC.[18]

In 1976, with consent from the Vatican, Jesuit John McNeill published *The Church and the Homosexual.* In 1988, however, he was ordered by the Vatican to end his pastoral outreach to gay Catholics. He disobeyed the order, in spite of it resulting in his expulsion from the Jesuits.[19]

---

[16] "Catechism of the Catholic Church: Part Three, Section Two, Chapter Two, Article Six," The Holy See, accessed December 5, 2015, http://www.vatican.va/archive/ccc_css/archive/catechism/p3s2c2a6.htm#2357. Dignity Center is located at 721 Eighth Street SE, Washington, DC.

[17] "Highlights of DignityUSA's History," DignityUSA website, accessed December 3, 2015, https://www.dignityusa.org/history; D.R. Loseke and J.C. Cavendish, "Producing Institutional Selves: Rhetorically Constructing the Dignity of Sexually Marginalized Catholics," *Social Psychology Quarterly* 64 (2001): 347-362.

[18] "Grupo Latino," Dignity/Washington website, accessed December 5, 2015, http://www.dignitywashington.org/ministries/grupo-latino. The Washington, DC chapter of Dignity has its headquarters at 721 Eighth Street SE, Washington, DC.

[19] Thomas C. Fox, "'Patron Saint' of LGBT Catholics, John J. McNeill, 90, Dies," *National Catholic Reporter,* September 24, 2015, accessed December 3, 2015, http://ncronline.org/news/people/patron-saint-lgbt-catholics-john-j-mcneill-90-dies; *Taking a Chance on God*, dir. Brendan Fray (Silence to Speech Films, 2011); "John McNeill, Memorial Remarks by Mary E. Hunt," DignityUSA, accessed December 3, 2015, https://www.dignityusa.org/article/john-mcneill-memorial-remarks-mary-e-hunt; and Margalit Fox, "John McNeill, Priest Who Pushed Catholic Church

In 1977 in Washington, DC, a Catholic priest and nun, Father Robert Nugent and Sister Jeannine Gramick, established New Ways Ministry, a national advocacy and pastoral outreach program for LGBTQ Catholics based on workshops they had been conducting at the Quixote Center, a Catholic social justice organization in Maryland.[20] In 1999, Father Nugent, who had recently been ordered by the Vatican to discontinue pastoral outreach to LGBTQ Catholics, spoke out against religious homophobia at a public forum at Northeastern University in Boston, Massachusetts alongside Surina Khan of Al-Fatiha and Rabbi Steve Greenberg.[21]

Mary Hunt, a Catholic theologian who supports Dignity and who, in 1983, co-founded the Women's Alliance for Theology, Ethics, and Ritual (WATER)—an ecumenical project to explore the possible confluences of feminism, religion, and social justice work—has focused her scholarship, in part, on bisexuals and religion.[22]

In 2014, LGBTQ members of the Church of Saint Paul the Apostle in New York City launched a project to document their experiences and advocate for their fuller participation in the church. They have released a

---

to Welcome Gays, Dies at 90," *New York Times,* September 25, 2015, accessed December 5, 2015, http://www.nytimes.com/2015/09/26/nyregion/john-mcneill-priest-who-pushed-catholic-church-to-welcome-gays-dies-at-90.html.

[20] Francis DeBernardo, "Ministering in New Ways to Gay and Lesbian Catholics and the Church: A Brief History of New Ways Ministry," New Ways Ministry website, accessed December 3, 2015, http://www.newwaysministry.org/history.html. The Quixote Center is located at 7307 Baltimore Avenue, College Park, Maryland. New Ways Ministry is located at 4012 Twenty-Ninth Street, Mount Rainier, Maryland.

[21] Gustav Niebuhr, "Priest Rebuked by Vatican Resumes Public Speaking," *New York Times,* September 5, 1999, accessed December 3, 2015, http://www.nytimes.com/1999/09/05/us/priest-rebuked-by-vatican-resumes-public-speaking.html.The event was held on August 31, 1999 in the Curry Student Center, Northeastern University, 360 Huntington Avenue, Boston, Massachusetts.

[22] "The Story of WATER," WATER - Women's Alliance for Theology, Ethics, and Ritual website, accessed December 3, 2015, http://www.waterwomensalliance.org/history-and-mission; "Collection Info: Dignity/USA," The Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender Religious Archives Network website, accessed May 1, 2015, http://www.LGBTQran.org/Collection.aspx?ID=2; "1992," DignityUSA website, accessed June 6, 2015, https://www.dignityusa.org/history/1163; and Tom Yates, "Defenders LLC/Washington Celebrate 22nd Anniversary," accessed June 6, 2015, https://www.dignityusa.org/article/defenders-llcwashington-celebrate-22nd-anniversary.

documentary, *Owning Our Faith*, which includes the testimony of transgender Catholics Hilary Howes and Mateo Williamson.[23]

Protestantism

This includes a wide range of denominations, including Episcopalians, Methodists, Baptists, Unitarians, and others. Their forms of organization and internal authority vary widely, as do their policies and doctrines regarding LGBTQ people.[24]

i) Episcopalians

Integrity USA is a national nonprofit organization of LGBTQ Episcopalians and allies. In 1974, Episcopal layperson Louie Crew founded Integrity while on the faculty of Fort Valley State University, a historically black university in Georgia. Crew began publishing a newsletter that later led to a national convention in Chicago in 1975 and the establishing of a national headquarters in Georgia.[25] Also in 1975, Rev. Carter Heyward joined the faculty of the Episcopal Divinity School in Cambridge, Massachusetts; she would eventually spend many years teaching and publishing lesbian feminist theology, such as her 1989 book, *Speaking of Christ: A Lesbian Feminist Voice*.[26] In 1977, Ellen Barrett was the first openly lesbian minister ordained in the Episcopal Church.[27] That same year, Rev. Malcolm Boyd came out publicly as a gay man—a journey he recounted with the publication the following year of his autobiographical work, *Take Off The Masks* and which he would revisit in his 1986 book, *Gay Priest: An Inner Journey.*[28] In 1989, Robert Williams was the first man to be ordained as an Episcopal priest who had been openly gay prior to ordination. That same year at All Saints Episcopal Parish in Hoboken, New Jersey, Episcopal Bishop John Shelby Spong began Oasis, an official ministry within the Episcopal Church for LGBTQ members; Rev. Robert Williams served as its first leader.[29] In 2003, Rev. Gene Robinson, an openly gay priest, was elected to serve as bishop of the Diocese of New Hampshire; he wore a bulletproof vest to the ceremony of his consecration (Figure 2). Six years later, he delivered the invocation at the inauguration of President Barack Obama.[30]

---

[23] *LGBT Catholics: Owning Our Faith,* dir. Michael Tomae (2015). The Church of St. Paul the Apostle is located at 405 West 59th Street in New York City.

[24] Melissa M Wilcox, *Coming Out In Christianity: Religion, Identity, and Community* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2003); Heather Rachel White, *Reforming Sodom: Protestants and the Rise of Gay Rights* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2015).

[25] "A Brief History, "*Integrity,* accessed December 5, 2015, http://www.integrityusa.org/doc_download/10-integrity-a-brief-history-2013. The national headquarters of Integrity USA was at 701 Orange Street, Fort Valley, Georgia.

[26] Carter Heyward, *Speaking of Christ: A Lesbian Feminist Voice* (New York: Pilgrim Press, 1989); "Profile: Rev. Dr. Carter Heyward," The Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender Religious Archives Network*,* last modified October 26, 2012, accessed December 3, 2015, http://www.lgbtran.org/Profile.aspx?ID=100.

[27] Louie Crew, "Changing the Church: Lessons Learned in the Struggle to Reduce Institutional Heterosexism in the Episcopal Church," in James T. Sears and Walter L. Williams, eds., *Overcoming Heterosexism and Homophobia* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997), 341-353. The Episcopal Divinity School is located at 99 Brattle Street, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

In 2004, Integrity USA provided support for the creation of TransEpiscopal, an informal group of transgender Episcopalians. Together, Integrity USA and TransEpiscopal collaborated in the creation of the documentary "Voices of Witness: Out of the Box," which was released in 2012.[31]

At the 2012 General Convention of the Episcopal Church, almost all of the resolutions proposed by Integrity were adopted as official church policy.[32]

---

[28] Malcom Boyd, *Take Off The Masks* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1978); Malcom Boyd, *Gay Priest: An Inner Journey* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1986); and "Profile: Rev. Canon Malcolm Boyd," The Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender Religious Archives Network, accessed December 3, 2015, http://www.lgbtran.org/Profile.aspx?ID=42.

[29] All Saints Episcopal Parish is located at 707 Washington Street, Hoboken, New Jersey.

[30] Jerrald L. Townsend, "Profile: Rt. Rev. Gene Robinson," The Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender Religious Archives Network, last modified September 4, 2007, accessed December 3, 2015, http://www.lgbtran.org/Profile.aspx?ID=189; and *For the Bible Tells Me So*, dir. Daniel G Karslake (New York City: First Run Features, 2007). The Episcopal Diocese House is located at 63 Green Street, Concord, New Hampshire. Gene Robinson was consecrated Bishop, amid high security, at the University of New Hampshire's Whittemore Center Arena in Durham.

[31] Cameron Partridge, "Voices of Witness: Out of the Box," *TransEpiscopal* (blog), June 4, 2012, accessed December 3, 2015, http://blog.transepiscopal.com/2012/06/voices-of-witness-out-of-box.html.

[32] Jeffrey S. Stiker, *Homosexuality and Religion*, 108-112; "Our History," Reconciling Ministries Network website, accessed December 3, 2015, http://www.rmnetwork.org/newrmn/who-we-are/history; "Who We Are: Our History," Transforming Congregations website, accessed December 3, 2015, http://www.transcong.org/1history.htm; Louie Crew, *A Book of Revelations: Lesbian and Gay Episcopalians Tell Their Own Stories* (Washington, DC: Integrity, 1991).

Figure 2: The Whittemore Center Arena, University of New Hampshire, Durham where Gene Robinson was consecrated Bishop. Photo by John Phelan, 2013.[33]

ii) Methodists

In Dallas, Texas in 1971, Rev. Gene Leggett came out as a gay man, and was subsequently defrocked. The following year at the United Methodist General Conference, Leggett met another openly gay minister, Rick Huskey, and the two began outreach to other gay Methodists. Together in Evanston, Illinois in 1975 they convened the United Methodist Gay Caucus, which was soon re-named the Gay United Methodists (GUM).[34] Following the 1976 United Methodist General Conference, GUM was re-named again as Affirmation; Peggy Harmon and Michael Collins were instrumental in establishing its national organizational structure.

---

[33] License: CC BY-SA 3.0 https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Whittemore_Center,_UNH,_Durham_NH.jpg

[34] "Profile: Gene Leggett," The Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender Religious Archives Network, last modified June 2, 2014, accessed December 3, 2015, http://www.lgbtran.org/Profile.aspx?ID=236.

In 1983, Affirmation launched Reconciling Congregations to encourage local congregations to support LGBTQ members. After the 1984 United Methodist General Conference prohibited the ordination of openly gay clergy, individual congregations began joining the Reconciling Congregations network in defiance. Affirmation and Reconciling Congregations split in 1989; the former continued to operate independently of the church while the latter was re-named Reconciling Ministries in 2000 and continued to act, in part, as a network of Methodist congregations, campus ministries, and others that affirmed LGBTQ people.

In 1992 at the University of California Los Angeles, the Wesley Foundation became the first Reconciling congregation on a college campus, drawing national attention to the ongoing work of Reconciling Congregations.[35] In 1996, *Open Hands*, the newsletter of Reconciling Congregations, released a special issue entitled "Transgender Realities." United Methodists of color gathered in 2000 to address homophobia, which resulted in the founding of United Methodists of Color for a Fully Inclusive Church (UMOC).[36] The following year, Union United Methodist Church in Boston, Massachusetts became the first predominantly African American UMC to become part of the network of Reconciling churches.[37] In 2007, the year after he disclosed that he was transgender, Rev. Drew Phoenix was confirmed to remain as pastor at Saint John's UMC in Baltimore, Maryland.[38] United Methodist clergy who have been among the vocal advocates for LGBTQ Methodists include Rev. Frank Schaefer, Rev.

---

[35] The Wesley Foundation at the University of California, Los Angeles is located at 580 Hilgard Avenue, Los Angeles, California.

[36] "United Methodists of Color for a Fully Inclusive Church," Reconciling Ministries Network website, accessed December 3, 2015, http://www.rmnetwork.org/newrmn/connect/extension-ministries/united-methodists-of-color-for-a-fully-inclusive-church-umoc.

[37] "Our History," Union United Methodist Church website, accessed December 3, 2015, http://unionboston.org/about/history. Union United Methodist Church is located at 485 Columbus Avenue, Boston, Massachusetts.

[38] "Rev. Drew Phoenix," TransFaith website, accessed December 3, 2015, http://www.transfaithonline.org/explore/christian/traditions/protestant/drew_umc. Saint John's United Methodist Church is located at 2640 Saint Paul Street, Baltimore, Maryland.

Jack Tuell, Rev. Jimmy Creech, Rev. Gregory Dell, and Rev. Jeanne Audrey Powers.[39]

iii) Lutherans

ReconcilingWorks is a national nonprofit organization of LGBTQ members of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in America (ELCA) and their allies. Rev. Jim Siefkes received a grant from the American Lutheran Church (which later joined other Lutheran bodies to form the ELCA) to convene a national gathering of gay and lesbian Lutherans. Siefkes gathered five people together in 1974 at the University of Minnesota in Minneapolis, leading to the founding of Lutherans Concerned for Gay People (LCGP).[40] Other chapters were subsequently established throughout the country. The first national meeting was held in 1978, where LCGP's name was changed to Lutherans Concerned.

The organization continued to grow, formally expanding its advocacy to bisexuals and transgender people in 2003 and changing its name again in 2012 to ReconcilingWorks. That same year an offshoot group from

---

[39] *An Act of Love,* dir. Scott Sheppard (Los Angeles: Chhibber Mann Productions, 2015); Steve Chawkins, "Jack Tuell Dies at 90; Bishop had Late-Life Change of Mind on Gay Ordination, Marriage" *Los Angeles Times*, January 13, 2014, accessed December 5, 2015, http://articles.latimes.com/2014/jan/13/local/la-me-jack-tuell-20140114; "Jimmy Creech," Faith in America website, accessed December 5, 2015, http://www.faithinamerica.org/about-fia/board-members/jimmy-creech; "Gregory R. Dell," Affirmation: United Methodists for Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender Concerns website, accessed December 5, 2015, http://www.umaffirm.org/cornet/gregdell.html; and Katrina Martin, "'The Journey' of Reverend Jeanne Audrey Powers' Papers at Duke," *The Devil's Tale: Dispatches from the David M. Rubenstein Rare Book & Manuscript Library* (blog) April 8, 2015, accessed December 3, 2015, http://blogs.library.duke.edu/rubenstein/2015/04/08/the-journey-of-reverend-jeanne-audrey-powers-papers-at-duke. See also: Dorothy Lowe Williams, *The Church Studies Homosexuality: A Study for United Methodist Groups Using the Report of the Committee to Study Homosexuality* (Nashville: Cokesbury, 1994); Mary Jo Osterman, *Claiming the Promise: An Ecumenical Welcoming Bible Study Resource on Homosexuality* (Chicago: Reconciling Congregation Program, 1997); "A Brief History of Affirmation," Affirmation: United Methodists for Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender Concerns website, accessed December 3, 2015, http://www.umaffirm.org/um/about-us/2-a-brief-history-of-affirmation; "Our History," Reconciling Ministries Network website, accessed December 3, 2015, http://www.rmnetwork.org/newrmn/who-we-are/history; and Betsy L. Halsey, "What Does the Lord Require of Us? Ministries to and with Gays and Lesbians," *Quarterly Review* 14, no. 2 (Summer 1994): 181-195.

[40] The University of Minnesota is located at 100 Church Street SE, Minneapolis, Minnesota.

Lutherans Concerned, TransLutherans, was founded.[41] Also in 2012, Bishop Mark Hanson addressed a national gathering of Lutherans Concerned at Luther Place Memorial Church in Washington, DC; this marked the first time that a presiding bishop addressed the organization.[42] The following year, Guy Erwin, a Native American of the Osage Nation, became the first openly gay bishop to serve the ELCA when he was elected to serve the Southwest California Synod.[43] ReconcilingWorks continues to advocate for LGBTQ people at the national institutional level while cultivating support at the level of local congregations through its Reconciling in Christ program.[44]

iv) Presbyterians

More Light is a national nonprofit organization of LGBTQ members of the Presbyterian Church (USA) and their allies. At the 1974 Presbyterian General Assembly in Louisville, Kentucky, David Bailey Sindt gathered other gay people and founded the Presbyterian Gay Caucus, which was later re-named Presbyterians for Gay Concerns, and then re-named again as Presbyterians for Lesbian and Gay Concerns (PLGC). The following year, Bill Silver, an openly gay man, became a candidate for ministry in New York City. Local Presbyterian ministers, uncertain of whether Silver's status as an openly gay man affected his eligibility for the ministry, appealed to the national General Assembly for guidance. The General

---

[41] "TransLutherans Affinity Group Formed at ReconcilingWorks 2012," ReconcilingWorks: Lutherans for Full Participation, accessed December 3, 2015, https://www.reconcilingworks.org/translutherans-affinity-group-formed-at-reconciling-works-2012; and JamieAnn Meyers, "Lutherans for Full LGBT Participation," *Huffington Post,* July 16, 2012, accessed December 3, 2015, http://www.huffingtonpost.com/jamieann-meyers/translutherans-for-full-lgbt-participation_b_1667018.html.

[42] Chuck Colbert, "Lutheran Bishop Makes Pro-Gay History," *Windy City Times,* July 7, 2012, accessed December 3, 2015, http://www.windycitymediagroup.com/lgbt/Lutheran-bishop-makes-pro-gay-history/38602.html. Luther Place Memorial Church is located at 1226 Vermont Avenue NW, Washington, DC.

[43] Antonia Blumberg, "Bishop Comes Out as Gay After 'A Lifetime of Denying' The Truth," *Huffington Post,* July 30, 2015, accessed December 3, 2015, http://www.huffingtonpost.com/entry/lutheran-bishop-comes-out-as-gay-after_55b6637ce4b0074ba5a54ac5. The Southwest California Synod (ECLA) has its offices at 1300 East Colorado Street, Glendale, California.

[44] Leslie F. Weber et al., *Talking Together As Christians About Homosexuality: A Guide for Congregations* (Chicago: Evangelical Lutheran Church of America, 1999); and "A Brief History of Our Names and Amazing People," ReconcilingWorks: Lutherans for Full Participation, accessed December 3, 2015, https://www.reconcilingworks.org/a-brief-history-of-our-names-and-amazing-people.

Assembly formed a task force that subsequently declared that being openly gay should not disqualify a candidate for ministry. This decision resulted in a backlash. The 1978 General Assembly propounded a homophobic theology and denied ordination of openly gay clergy, which in turn resulted in some congregations taking action by publically welcoming gay members in defiance, starting in 1978 with the West Park Presbyterian Church in New York City.[45] This network of defiant congregations formed the More Light Churches Network (MLCN) in 1992. In 1998 this network combined with Presbyterians for Gay and Lesbian Concerns, forming More Light Presbyterians.

Figure 3: The Downtown United Presbyterian Church, Rochester, New York. Photo by Jerrye & Roy Klotz, MD, 2008.[46]

Presbyterians who advocate for LGBTQ people have also engaged in direct action to protest their denomination's policies. At the 1991 General Assembly in Baltimore, Maryland, at which homophobic policies were again reaffirmed, a major demonstration was held by a group calling itself Presbyterian ACT UP—an organization started by the openly gay Rev. Howard Warren that modeled its tactics on the direct action advocacy group, AIDS Coalition To Unleash Power (ACT UP). In

---

[45] West Park Presbyterian Church is located at 165 West 86th Street, New York City, New York.

[46] License: CC BY-SA 4.0 https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:BRICK_PRESBYTERIAN_CHURCH_COMPLEX,ROCHESTER,_MONROE_COUNTY.jpg

1993, the Downtown United Presbyterian Church in Rochester, New York enlisted openly lesbian Rev. Janie Spahr to advocate for LGBTQ people within the Presbyterian Church; she traveled nationally in her outreach work (Figure 3).[47] Susan Halcomb Craig, retired pastor at United University Church on the University of Southern California campus, has been an outspoken advocate and writer whose work has included a focus on bisexuals.[48]

v) Baptists

Perhaps the most visible organizing of LGBTQ Baptists has occurred within the denomination of the American Baptist Churches USA (ABCUSA). In that denomination, American Baptists Concerned for Sexual Minorities was founded during the 1972 national American Baptist convention in Denver, Colorado. At the 1986 ABCUSA Biennial in Pittsburgh, ministers Howard Moody, David Bartlett, and Edwina Hunter were among those who formed "Professional Church Leaders Concerned" to work with American Baptists Concerned in advocating for LGBTQ members of the denomination.[49] At the 1991 ABCUSA Biennial in Charlestown, West Virginia, Rev. Michael Easterling facilitated a meeting of over fifty people to develop a network of pro-LGBTQ ABCUSA congregations. The following year, Nadean Bishop was called to serve as minister at the University Baptist Church in Minneapolis, Minnesota—possibly the first openly lesbian minister to serve a Baptist congregation.[50] In 1993, the Association of Welcoming and Affirming Baptists was formed during the ABCUSA Biennial in San Jose, California. The two organizations merged in 2003.[51]

---

[47] Janie Spahr, "Profile: Rev. Dr. Jane Adams Spahr," The Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender Religious Archives Network, last modified November 6, 2015, accessed December 3, 2015, http://www.lgbtran.org/Profile.aspx?ID=1. Downtown United Presbyterian Church is located at 121 North Fitzhugh Street, Rochester, New York. It was added to the NRHP as the Brick Presbyterian Church Complex on March 12, 1992.

[48] R.W. Holmen, *Queer Clergy: A History of Gay and Lesbian Ministry in American Protestantism* (Cleveland, OH: Pilgrim Press, 2013); James D. Anderson, "The Lesbian and Gay Liberation Movement in the Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.), 1974-1996," *Journal of Homosexuality* 34, no. 2 (1997): 37-65; and Jane Adams Spahr, *Called Out: The Voices and Gifts of Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgendered Presbyterians* (Gaithersburg, MD: Chi Rho Press, 1995). United University Church is located at 817 West Thirty-Fourth Street, Los Angeles, California.

[49] "Howard R. Moody, Influential Minister-Activist, 91," Judson Memorial Church website, accessed December 3, 2015, http://www.judson.org/Howard-Moody-Obituary; David L. Bartlett, "A Biblical Perspective on Homosexuality," in *Homosexuality and the Christian Faith: A Symposium*, ed. Harold L. Twiss (Valley Forge, PA: Judson Press, 1978); and Edwina Hunter, "The Preacher as a Social Being in the Community of Faith," *Religion Online*, accessed December 3, 2015, http://www.religion-online.org/showchapter.asp?title=1084&C=1108.

Beginning in 2002, local congregations that affirmed LGBTQ people but that were based in conservative regions of the American Baptist Convention were allowed to disavow membership within their region and instead apply for membership in other geographic regions of the church that were less conservative. This decision sometimes made the administration of local congregations in the context of the larger denomination complicated, but which appeared to offer compromise instead of schism. By 2015, one hundred Baptist congregations had affiliated with the Association of Welcoming and Affirming Baptists, including Old Cambridge Baptist in Cambridge, Massachusetts—which had declared itself welcoming to LGBTQ people as early as 1983.[52]

vi) United Church of Christ

In 1972, members of the United Church of Christ (UCC) formed the Gay Caucus, later re-named the Open and Affirming Coalition. That same year, Rev. William R. Johnson was ordained to serve as minister at the Community UCC in San Carlos, California, becoming the first openly gay

---

[50] "Pastors," University Baptist Church website, accessed December 3, 2015, http://www.ubcmn.org/about-us/our-history/pastors. University Baptist Church is located at 1219 University Avenue SE, Minneapolis, Minnesota.

[51] Alliance of Baptists, Task Force on Human Sexuality, *A Clear Voice* (Washington, DC: The Alliance, 1999).

[52] "About Us," Old Cambridge Baptist Church website, accessed December 3, 2015, http://www.oldcambridgebaptist.org/welcome/about-us. Old Cambridge Baptist Church is located at 1151 Massachusetts Avenue, Cambridge, Massachusetts. It was listed on the NRHP on April 13, 1982. See also: Bill Leonard, *Baptists in America* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2005); Judy Yates Siker, "American Baptist Churches USA," in *Homosexuality and Religion*, 56-58; American Baptists Concerned for Sexual Minorities, ''Witch Hunts Begin in Earnest,'' *Voice of the Turtle: The Newsletter of American Baptists Concerned for Sexual Minorities* (Fall 1994); and "Welcoming and Affirming Baptist Timeline," Association of Welcoming and Affirming Baptists website, accessed December 3, 2015, http://www.awab.org/history.html.

UCC minister.[54] In 1977, Rev. Anne Holmes was ordained as the first openly lesbian UCC minister. The UCC's 1985 General Synod urged member congregations to welcome lesbian, gay, and bisexual members; a similar statement was later made regarding transgender members. The General Synod had no authority to require this of congregations, and the UCC's national office did not provide funding for support. In 1987, Rev. Ann Day and Donna Enberg spearheaded a program called Open and Affirming (ONA) to provide that support to congregations by raising money from individuals, congregations, and foundations. The first UCC church to be designated Open and Affirming was Riverside Church in New York City (Figure 4).[55] In 2004, openly transgender Rev. Malcolm Himschoot was ordained at Washington Park UCC in Denver, Colorado. The following year, the UCC produced a documentary about his life and career, "Call Me Malcolm."[56] Also in 2005, openly lesbian UCC minister Rev. Rebecca Voelkel became

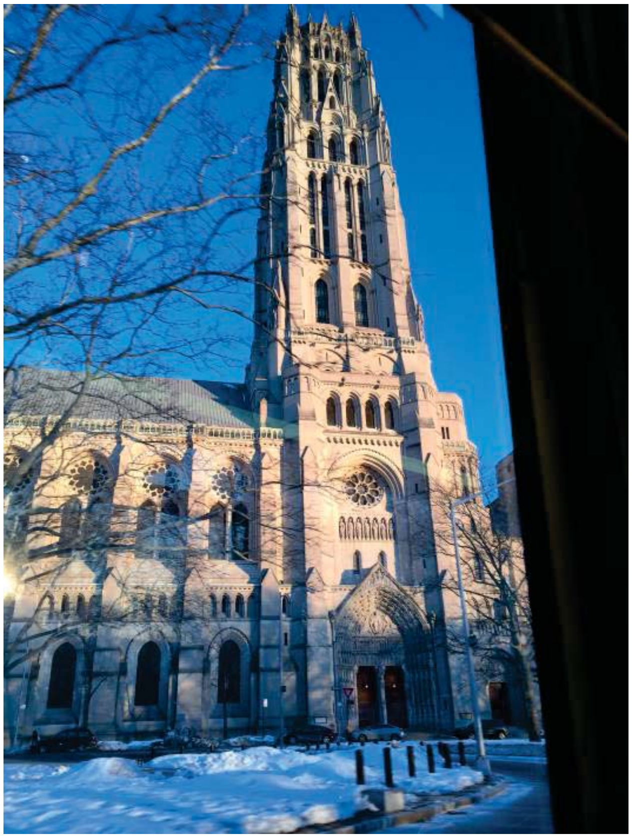


Figure 4: Riverside Church, New York City. Photo by travellingcari, 2015.[53]

---

[53] License: CC BY-NC 2.0 https://www.flickr.com/photos/travellingcari/16677977385

[54] "Exhibits: The Historic Ordination of William R. Johnson," The Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender Religious Archives Network, accessed December 3, 2015, http://www.lgbtran.org/Exhibits/Johnson/index.htm; and Elliot Owen, "First Out UCC Minister Honored," *Bay Area Reporter,* June 21, 2012, accessed December 5, 2015, http://www.ebar.com/news/article.php?sec=news&article=67817. Community United Church of Christ is located at 1336 Arroyo Avenue, San Carlos, California.

[55] Riverside Church is located at 490 Riverside Drive, New York City, New York. It was listed on the NRHP on December 12, 2012.

[56] Electa Draper, "Church's Transgender Pastor Grateful for Life 'Beyond My Wildest Dreams,'" *Denver Post,* March 14 2011, accessed December 3, 2015, http://www.denverpost.com/ci_17608273; *Call Me Malcolm*, dir. Joseph Parlagreco (Warren, NJ: Passion River, 2005). Washington Park UCC is located at 400 South Williams Street, Denver, Colorado.

executive director of the Institute for Welcoming Resources (IWR), an ecumenical organization of LGBTQ-affirming congregations across many denominations that had been founded three years earlier. During Rev. Voelkel's tenure, IWR expanded its operations by affiliating with the National Gay and Lesbian Task Force, the oldest national LGBTQ advocacy organization in the country.[57]

vii) Protestant New Religious Movements

"New Religious Movements" within US Protestantism are relatively recent in their origin and frequently embrace forms of doctrine or practice that might appear unorthodox to more established denominations.

These movements have also given rise to LGBTQ-affirming organizing. One example is Affirmation, a group for gay and lesbian members and former members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, also known as Mormons. Affirmation was founded in Salt Lake City in 1977 under the leadership of Stephan Zakharias. Although this founding group lasted only until 1978, Affirmation was resurrected in Los Angeles in 1980 under the leadership of Paul Mortensen. Other Affirmation groups were subsequently founded throughout the United States. Members of Affirmation continue to advocate for LGBTQ Mormons in opposition to the church's continuing condemnation of same-sex sexuality and relationships.[58] Emergence International formed after national conferences of Christian Scientists in Chicago in 1983 and 1985. In 1978, Craig Rodwell, who was also the founder and owner of the Oscar Wilde Bookshop, was a co-founder of Gay People in Christian Science (GPICS). Perhaps the largest group of LGBTQ Christian Scientists is the New York City Christian Science Group, which meets at New York's Lesbian and Gay Community Services Center.[59] Gay men in the Seventh-day Adventist Church met in 1976 in Palm Desert, California after posting an announcement in the gay news magazine, *The Advocate*. Adopting the name "Kinship," additional members soon enrolled from San Francisco.[60]

---

[57] "History of the Institute for Welcoming Resources," Institute for Welcoming Resources website, accessed December 5, 2015, http://www.welcomingresources.org/history.htm; "Faith Transitions at National Gay and Lesbian Task Force," National LGBTQ Task Force website, accessed December 3, 2015, http://www.thetaskforce.org/faith-transitions-at-national-gay-and-lesbian-task-force; and Rebecca Voelkel, "Profile: Rev. Rebecca Voelkel," The Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender Religious Archives Network, accessed December 3, 2015, http://www.lgbtran.org/Profile.aspx?ID=242. See also: UCC Coalition for Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender Concerns, Open and Affirming Program, *Open and Affirming, Yes, It Matters! : How this Spirited Movement for Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender Inclusion and Affirmation is Blessing and Transforming Individuals and Faith communities in the United Church of Christ* (Holden, MA: United Church of Christ, 2005); Christopher P. Scheitle, Stephen M. Marino, and Andrew Moore, "On the Varying Meaning of 'Open and Affirming,'" *Journal of Homosexuality* 57, no. 10 (2010): 1223-1236; and Gary David Comstock, "Aliens in the Promised Land," *Union Seminary Quarterly Review* 41, no. 3-4 (1987): 93-104.

[58] R. Phillips, *Conservative Christian Identity & Same-sex Orientation: The Case of Gay Mormons* (New York City, NY: Peter Lang, 2005); Ronald L. Schow and Wayne Schow, *Peculiar People : Mormons and*

viii) Anabaptists

In 1976, the Brethren/Mennonite Council for Lesbian and Gay Concerns (BMC) was founded, and two years later, in 1978, the Rainbow Boulevard Mennonite Church of Kansas City, Kansas announced that it would welcome gay and lesbian couples as members. The BMC was initially invited to participate in a 1983 conference that brought together the two largest Mennonite bodies in North America (the General Conference Mennonite Church, or GC, and the Mennonites in North America, or the MC). The participation of the BMC was controversial, and in the years following, the GC and MC increasingly hardened their stance against lesbian and gay membership and leadership. The opposition to LGBTQ members and leaders has continued since the 2002 merger of the

---

Same-Sex Orientation (Salt Lake City, UT: Signature Books, 1991); Richley H. Crapo, "Latter-Day Saint Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender Spirituality,"in *Gay Religion*, eds. Scott Thumma and Edward R Gray (Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira Press, 2005): 99-114.

[59] Laura K. O'Keefe, Craig Rodwell Papers, 1940-1993, New York Public Library Manuscripts and Archives Division, http://www.nypl.org/sites/default/files/archivalcollections/pdf/rodwell.pdf; Bruce Stores, *Christian Science: Its Encounter with Lesbian/Gay America* (New York: iUniversity, 2004); "About the Group," The New York City Christian Science Group website, accessed December 3, 2015, http://www.nycsgroup.com/about.php. The New York City Christian Science Group meets at the Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender Community Center, located at 208 West 13th Street, New York City, New York.

[60] David Ferguson, Fritz Guy, and David R Larson*, Christianity and Homosexuality: Some Seventh-day Adventist Perspectives* (Roseville, CA: Adventist Forum, 2008); René Drumm, "No Longer an Oxymoron: Integrating Gay and Lesbian Seventh-day Adventist Identities," in *Gay Religion*, 47-66. See also: Melissa Wilcox, "Same-Sex Eroticism and Gender Fluidity in New and Alternative Religions," in *Introduction to New and Alternative Religions in America,* Volume I, eds. Eugene V. Gallagher and W. Michael Ashcraft (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2006): 243-265.

two bodies into the Mennonite Church USA. Nevertheless, at the local level, some Mennonite congregations openly welcome LGBTQ members.[61]

iv) Quakers

LGBTQ members of the Religious Society of Friends, also known as Quakers, began organizing in the 1970s as the "Friends Committee for Concern." In August 1972, attendees at the Friends General Conference meeting, held at Ithaca College, drafted a formal statement on bisexuality. Published in the *Advocate*, this may be the first declaration by a religious group in the United States in support of bisexuals.[62] The Friends Committee for Concern group was re-named Friends for Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, and Queer Concerns (FLGBTQC) during a 2003

Figure 5: Ghost Ranch, Abiquiú, New Mexico. Photo by Ron Cogswell, 2013.[63]

---

[61] Michael A. King, *Fractured Dance: Gadamer and a Mennonite Conflict Over Homosexuality* (Telford, PA: Pandora Press, 2001); Ted Grimsrud and Mark Nation, *Reasoning Together : A Conversation on Homosexuality* (Scottdale, PA: Herald Press, 2008); and Jan Braun "Whose Law?: Queer Mennonites and Same-Sex Marriage," *Journal of Mennonite Studies* 32 (2014): 97-113.

[62] Robert A. Martin, Jr., "Quakers 'Come Out' at Conference," *Advocate* August 2, 1972: 8. Ithaca College is located at 953 Danby Road, Ithaca, New York.

[63] License: CC BY 2.0. https://www.flickr.com/photos/22711505@N05/9542784668

meeting at the Ghost Ranch in Abiquiú, New Mexico, and has become national in scope (Figure 5).[64] Diane Pasta is a member of the Salmon Bay Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends in Seattle, Washington whose writing has included a focus on bisexuality and religion.[65]

v) Unitarians

The Unitarian Universalist Association (UUA) has been one of the earliest and most vocal denominations to champion LGBTQ people. Rev. James Stoll, a Unitarian minister, may have become the first openly gay ordained minister when he came out during a conference in 1969 at the La Foret Conference Center and Retreat Center in Colorado.[66] Stoll was instrumental in the UUA's adoption of a gay rights resolution the following year. The UUA headquarters, located in Boston, established an "Office of Gay Affairs" in 1973—the first such agency within a national religious organization in the United States.[67] In 1984, the UUA adopted a resolution to perform commitment ceremonies for same-sex couples. The first openly transgender minister was ordained in 1988, and in 2002, the first transgender UU minister called to serve a congregation, Rev. Sean Dennison, began his ministry at the South Valley Unitarian Universalist Society, in Utah.[68] Rev. Ann Schranz, of the Monte Vista Unitarian

---

[64] The Ghost Ranch Education and Retreat Center is located at 280 Private Drive 1708, Abiquiú, New Mexico. Ghost Ranch was designated a National Natural Landscape in 1976 (a program similar to NHL, but for outstanding natural features. The NNL program is also administered by the NPS).

[65] David Blamires, *Pushing at the Frontiers of Change: A Memoir of Quaker Involvement with Homosexuality* (London: Quaker Books, 2012); Quaker Lesbian & Gay Fellowship*, Part of the Rainbow: A Plain Quaker Look at Lesbian, Gay, and Bisexual Lives* (Harrogate, York, UK: Quaker Lesbian and Gay Fellowship, 2004); Debra Kolodny, *Blessed Bi Spirit: Bisexual People of Faith* (New York: Continuum, 2000); and "June 1972: The Ithaca Statement," *BiMedia.org: Bisexual News and Opinion*, accessed June 6, 2015, http://bimedia.org/1984/june-1972-the-ithaca-statement. Salmon Bay Friends Meeting meets at 6532 Phinney Avenue North, Seattle, Washington.

[66] The La Foret Conference and Retreat Center is located at 6145 Shoup Road, Colorado Springs, Colorado. Two structures on the La Foret property are listed on the NRHP: Ponderosa Lodge was listed on August 29, 2008 and the Taylor Memorial Chapel was listed on April 15, 1999.

[67] UUA headquarters was then located at 25 Beacon Street, Boston, Massachusetts.

[68] The South Valley Unitarian Universalist Society is located at 6876 South Highland Drive, Salt Lake City, Utah.

Universalist Congregation in Monte Vista, California, has focused on bisexuals and religion in her writing.[69]

vi) Metropolitan Community Church

The Metropolitan Community Church (MCC), also sometimes called the Universal Fellowship of Metropolitan Community Churches, was established as a gay denomination. It began when Troy Perry, who had served as a pastor for Pentecostal congregations before coming out as a gay man, placed an announcement in *The Advocate* for a religious gathering of gays that led to a small meeting in his Huntington Park, CA home in 1968. Membership quickly grew, with Perry overseeing same-sex commitment ceremonies as early as 1970. The congregation met in a variety of locations before acquiring their first building in Los Angeles, California in 1971.[70] The second MCC church convened in San Francisco in 1970 in California Hall, where the Council on Religion and the Homosexual had held the New Year's Ball five years before; over eight hundred people participated at an inaugural service at which Troy Perry preached.[71]

In 1973, thirty-two people died in an arson attack at the UpStairs Lounge, a gay bar in New Orleans, Louisiana; the New Orleans MCC had previously conducted services in the building and many who were killed in the fire were members of the congregation, including MCC pastor Rev. Bill Larson and assistant pastor George Mitchell.[72]

---

[69] Ann Schranz, "Coming Out in Faith," Monte Vista Unitarian Universalist Congregation website, accessed December 5, 2015, http://www.montevistauu.org/minister/NewspaperColumns/2011_October_Daily_Bulletin_column.pdf. Monte Vista Unitarian Universalist Congregation is located at 9185 Monte Vista Avenue, Monte Vista, California. See also: Scott Alexander and Meg Riley, *The Welcoming Congregation Handbook: Resources for Affirming Bisexual, Gay, Lesbian, and/or Transgender People* (Boston: Unitarian Universalist Association, 1999).

[70] The original MCC was located at 2201 South Union Avenue, Los Angeles, California. The building burned in 1973—possibly the result of arson.

[71] "MCC San Francisco Timeline," Metropolitan Community Church San Francisco website, accessed December 3, 2015, http://mccsf.org/timeline. California Hall is located at 625 Polk Street, San Francisco, California.

[72] Helen Freund, "UpStairs Lounge Fire Provokes Powerful Memories 40 Years Later," *Times-Picayune,* June 22, 2013, accessed December 3, 2015,

In spite of hostility, national interest in the church grew quickly, and the first national conference was held in 1970, drawing delegates from eight cities. The MCC has since continued to grow into an international denomination with over two hundred congregations. A Dallas MCC congregation commissioned openly gay architect Philip Johnson to design their building, and affiliated with the United Church of Christ in 2006. As the Cathedral of Hope, with roughly four thousand members, it is perhaps the largest liberal Christian congregation with a primary outreach to LGBTQ people (Figure 6).[74]

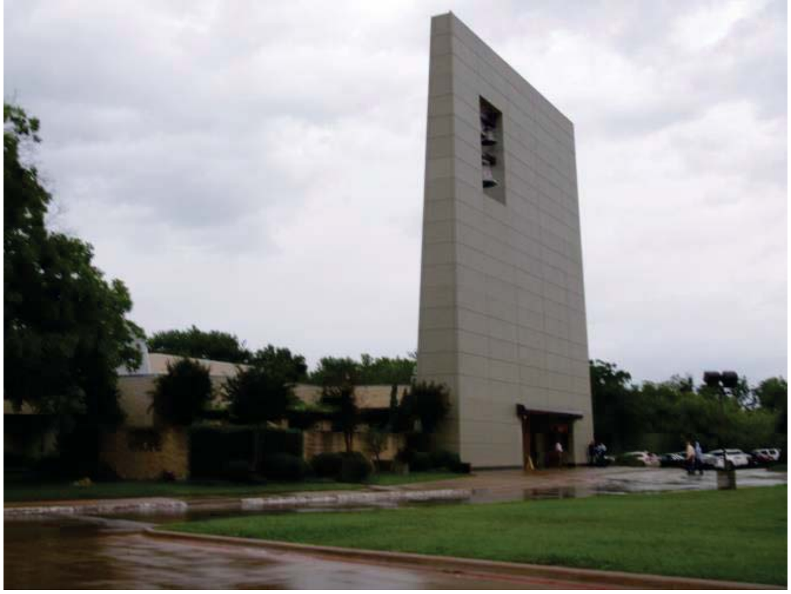


Figure 6: Cathedral of Hope, Dallas, Texas. Photo by PTMurphus, 2015.[73]

---

http://www.nola.com/traffic/index.ssf/2013/06/upstairs_lounge_fire_40_years.html; Erik Ose, "Gay Weddings and 32 Funerals: Remembering the UpStairs Lounge Fire," *Huffington Post,* July 11, 2008, accessed December 3, 2015, http://www.huffingtonpost.com/erik-ose/gay-weddings-and-32-funer_b_110084.html; "Exhibits: The UpStairs Lounge Fire," The Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender Religious Archives Network, accessed December 5, 2015, http://exhibits.lgbtran.org/exhibits/show/upstairs-lounge-fire; and *UpStairs Inferno*, dir. Robert L. Camina (Dallas, TX: Camina Entertainment, 2015). The UpStairs Lounge was located at 141 Chartres Street, New Orleans, Louisiana.

[73] License: CC BY-NC 2.0. https://www.flickr.com/photos/murphus/17513221388

[74] Troy Perry and Thomas Swicegood, *Don't Be Afraid Anymore: The Story of Troy Perry and the Metropolitan Community Churches* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1990); Chris Glaser, *Troy Perry: Pastor and Prophet* (West Hollywood, CA: Metropolitan Community Churches, 2005); Krista McQueeney, "'We Are God's Children, Y'all': Race, Gender, and Sexuality in Lesbian- and Gay-Affirming Congregations," *Social Problems* 56, no. 1 (2009): 151-173; Jenell Williams Paris and Rory E. Anderson, "Faith-Based Queer Space in Washington, DC: The Metropolitan Community Church-DC and Mount Vernon Square," *Gender, Place and Culture: A Journal of Feminist Geography* 8 (2001): 149-168; and Melissa Wilcox, "Of Markets and Missions: the Early History of the Universal Fellowship of Metropolitan Community Churches," *Religion and American Culture* 11, no.1 (Winter 2001): 83-108. The Cathedral of Hope is located at 5910 Cedar Springs Road, Dallas, Texas. Architect Philip Johnson's Glass House in New Canaan, Connecticut was listed on the NRHP and designated an NHL on February 18, 1997.

vii) The Black Church

Within Protestantism, "the Black Church" can refer to (a) historically African American denominations such as the African Methodist Episcopal Church, (b) predominantly African American congregations within otherwise largely white denominations such as the United Church of Christ, and (c) independent African American congregations that are not affiliated with any denomination. The affirmation of LGBTQ African Americans can be found in each of these parts of the Black Church, as well as in the work of independent Black theologians and scholars.[75]

Union United Methodist Church is one of Boston's oldest African American congregations.[76] Beginning in 2000 under the leadership of Rev. Theodore Lockhart, the church made an unprecedented move among

---

[75] Gary David Comstock, *A Whosoever Church: Welcoming Lesbians and Gay Men into African American Congregations* (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox Press, 2001); Todd C. Shaw and Eric L. McDaniel, "'Whosoever Will': Black Theology, Homosexuality, and the Black Political Church," in *The Expanding Boundaries of Black Politics*, ed. Georgia Anne Persons (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 2007), 137-155; R. G. Blaxton, "'Jesus Wept': Reflections on HIV Disease and the Churches of Black Folk" in *Dangerous Liaisons: Blacks, Gays, and the Struggle for Equality*, ed. E. Brandt (New York City: The New Press, 1998), 102-141; Keith Boykin, "Bearing Witness: Faith in the Lives of Black Lesbians and Gays," in *One More River to Cross: Black and Gay in America*, ed. Keith Boykin (New York: Anchor Books, 1996); Kelly Brown Douglass, "Black Church Homophobia: What to Do About It?", *Reflections: A Magazine of Theological and Ethical Inquiry from Yale Divinity School*, accessed December 5, 2015, http://reflections.yale.edu/article/sex-and-church/black-church-homophobia-what-do-about-it; D. Constantine-Simms, ed., *The Greatest Taboo: Homosexuality in Black Communities* (Los Angeles: Alyson Books, 2000), 110-111; Aryana Bates, "Liberation in Truth: African American Lesbians Reflect on Religion, Spirituality, and Their Church" in *Gay Religion*, 221-238; Elijah G. Ward, "Homophobia, Hypermasculinity and the US Black Church," *Culture, Health and Society* 7 (2005): 493-504; Horace Griffin, *Their Own Receive Them Not: African American Lesbians and Gays in Black Churches* (Cleveland, OH: Pilgrim Press, 2006); Anthony Stanford, *Homophobia in the Black Church: How Faith, Politics, and Fear Divide the Black Community* (Santa Barbara, CA: Praeger, 2013); Yvette Flunder, *Where the Edge Gathers: Building a Community of Radical Inclusion* (Cleveland, OH: Pilgrim Press, 2005); Ashton T.Crawley, "Circum-Religious Performance: Queer(ed) Black Bodies and the Black Church," *Theology & Sexuality* 14, no. 2 (January 2008): 201-222; and Delano Squires, "Black Church Leaders Ask for Forgiveness From the LGBT Community," *The Root*, March 3, 2011, accessed December 3, 2015, http://www.theroot.com/articles/culture/2011/03/black_church_leaders_seeking_forgiveness_from_the_lgbt_community.html.

[76] Union United Methodist Church is located at 485 Columbus Avenue, Boston, Massachusetts.

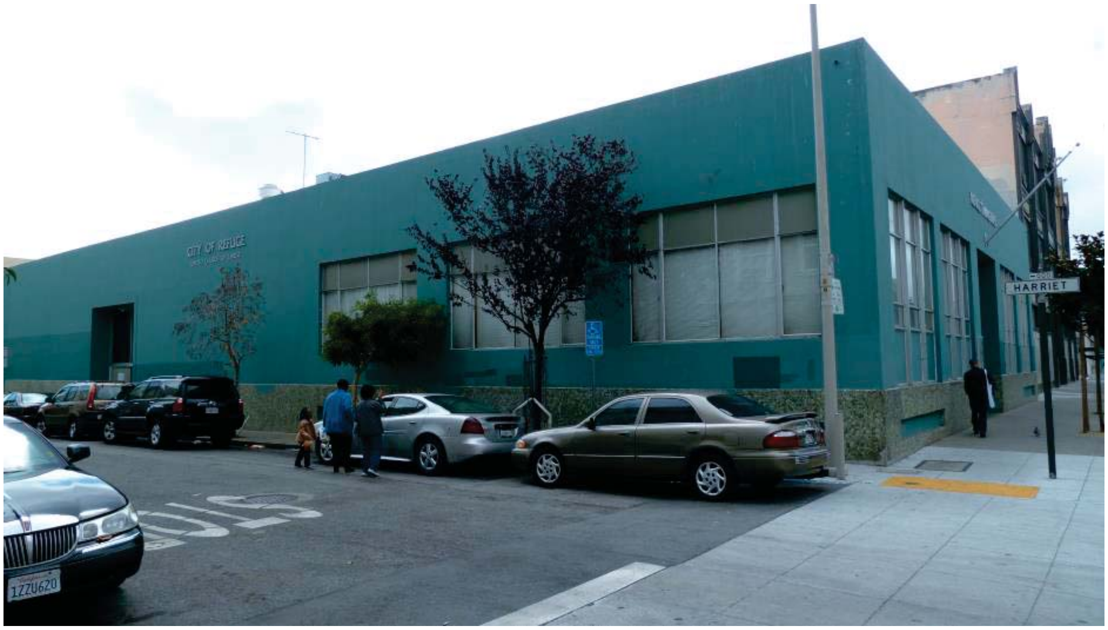


Figure 7: City of Refuge, 1025 Howard Street, San Francisco, California. Photo by Cary Bass-Dechenes, 2010.[77]

black Methodist congregations to unequivocally support LGBTQ members and offer support for those affected by HIV.[78]

Bishop Yvette Flunder was raised within the Church of God In Christ (an historically African American Pentecostal denomination) and established the predominantly LGBTQ African American congregation City of Refuge in San Francisco in 1991. Services were held for a period at 1025 Howard Street in San Francisco (Figure 7) until the congregation re-located to Oakland in 2013. In 1995, City of Refuge formally became part of the United Church of Christ. City of Refuge gave rise to Transcendence, possibly the first transgender gospel choir.[79] Flunder, who is openly lesbian, also founded the Fellowship of Affirming Ministries in 2000, a coalition of approximately forty congregations of different denominations, many of which are predominantly African American and/or led by LGBTQ ministers.[80]

---

[77] License: CC BY-SA 2.0. https://www.flickr.com/photos/bastique/5102053237

[78] Irene Monroe, "Guest Post: One LGBT-Inclusive Black Church in Boston Paves the Way," GLAAD website, February 27, 2012, accessed December 5, 2015, http://www.glaad.org/blog/guest-post-one-lgbt-inclusive-black-church-boston-paves-way.

[79] Rona Marech, "Singing the Gospel of Transcendence," *San Francisco Chronicle,* April 18, 2004, accessed December 3, 2015, http://www.sfgate.com/bayarea/article/SAN-FRANCISCO-Singing-the-gospel-of-2791956.php; "Transcendence Gospel Choir," TransFaith website, accessed December 3, 2015, http://www.transfaithonline.org/explore/christian/traditions/black/transcendence_gospel_choir.

Carl Bean, an entertainer who attended the Metropolitan Community Church's Samaritan College, established the Unity Fellowship Church in 1982 in Los Angeles as a church for LGBTQ African Americans. Meetings were held in members' homes before holding public services at the Cockatoo Inn in Hawthorne, California, then at the Ebony Showcase Theater, and later at the Carl Bean Center, both in Los Angeles, California.[81] The congregation has since expanded into the Unity Fellowship Church Movement with congregations throughout the country. Charlene Jacqueline Arcila-Ecks was a transgender activist who served as minister at Unity Fellowship of Christ Church in Philadelphia until her death in 2015.[82]

In 2012, Pastor Romell Weekly co-founded The Sanctuary, a non-denominational church with connections to both the North American Baptist Conference and the Evangelical Free Church of America. Currently located in Kirkwood, Missouri, the mission of the church is to be a multi-racial, LGBTQ-affirming congregation.[83]

---

[80] City of Refuge UCC is located at 8400 Enterprise Way, Oakland, California. "Oral History: Yvette Flunder," The Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender Religious Archives Network, accessed December 5, 2015, http://www.lgbtran.org/Interview.aspx?ID=25; and "Our History," City of Refuge United Church of Christ website, accessed December 5, 2015, http://cityofrefugeucc.org/about/our-history.

[81] Cockatoo Inn was located at 11500 Acacia Avenue, Hawthorne, California. The Ebony Showcase Theater was at 4718 West Washington Boulevard, Los Angeles, California. The Carl Bean Center is located at 5149 West Jefferson Boulevard, Los Angeles, California.

[82] Pamela Leong, "Religion, Flesh, and Blood: Re-creating Religious Culture in the Context of HIV/AIDS," *Sociology of Religion* 67, no. 3 (2006): 295-311; "History of UFCM," Unity Fellowship Church Movement website, accessed December 5, 2015, http://www.unityfellowshipchurch.org/mainsite/?page_id=20; and Linda Rapp, "Bean, Carl (b. 1944)," The Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender Religious Archives Network, accessed December 5, 2015, http://www.glbtqarchive.com/ssh/bean_c_S.pdf. The Unity Fellowship of Christ Church meets at the Arch Street Methodist Church, 55 North Broad Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

[83] "About Our Church," The Sanctuary website, accessed December 5, 2015, http://www.thesanctuarystl.org/about-our-church. The Sanctuary is located at 601 McKinley Avenue, Kirkwood, Missouri. "Profile: Charlene Jacqueline Arcila-Ecks," TransFaith, accessed December 5, 2015, http://www.transfaithonline.org/display/article/profile-minister-charlene-jacqueline-arcila/?no_cache=1&tx_ttnews%5BbackPid%5D=1206.

Other LGBTQ-affirming African American congregations are not affiliated with a major denomination. One example is Faith Temple, founded by Pentecostal minister James Tinney in Washington, DC, in 1982.[84] Another example is Inner Light Ministries—also in Washington, DC. Founded by Rev. Kwabena Rainier Cheeks in 1993, it initially was part of the Unity Fellowship Church Movement before becoming independent in 2002.[85] Another example comes from the work of Alex D. Byrd, who conducted Bible study sessions with LGBTQ people before holding services as the Living Faith Church of the Full Covenant at the Wyndham Garden Hotel in Dallas, Texas in 2000. The church's name was later changed to Living Faith Covenant Church.[86]

Other openly LGBTQ African American religious leaders have not always been the pastors of regular congregations. Rev. Peter Gomes served as minister at an American Baptist congregation in Plymouth, Massachusetts before being appointed in 1970 as senior pastor at Harvard University's non-denominational Memorial Church and a member of Harvard's faculty

---

[84] "Profile: Dr. James S. Tinney," The Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender Religious Archives Network, accessed December 5, 2015, http://www.lgbtran.org/Profile.aspx?ID=66; and Joseph D. Whitaker, "James Tinney, Howard U. Professor, Dies," *Washington Post,* June 15, 1988, accessed December 5, 2015, https://www.washingtonpost.com/archive/local/1988/06/15/james-tinney-howard-u-professor-dies/46b04f36-870f-4dd9-883c-3c2c5e2bbbb1. Faith Temple is located at 1313 New York Avenue NW, Washington, DC.

[85] Inner Light Ministries initially met at the First Congregational Church at Tenth and G Streets NW, Washington, DC. "About Us," Inner Light Ministries website, accessed December 5, 2015, http://www.innerlightministries.com/about-us.

[86] Wyndham Garden Hotel is located at 2645 Lyndon B. Johnson Freeway, Dallas, Texas. "Church History," Living Faith Covenant Church website, accessed December 5, 2015, http://www.livingfaithdfw.org/AboutUs/ChurchHistory.aspx.

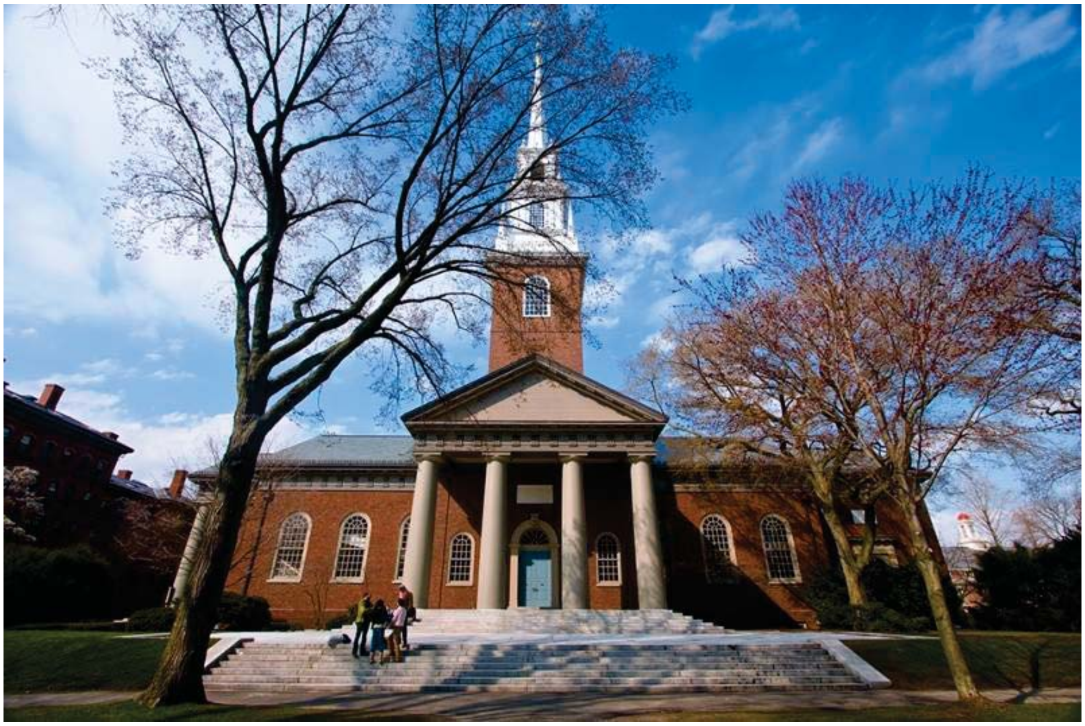


Figure 8: Harvard Memorial Church, Cambridge, Massachusetts. Photo by Rian Castillo, 2009.[87]

(Figure 8).[88] When he came out as a gay man in 1991, his position at Harvard gave him a national platform to advocate for LGBTQ people, which he did until his death in 2011. Rev. Irene Monroe, a PhD candidate at Harvard, served as pastor of a predominantly black Presbyterian church before becoming a syndicated religion columnist and contributing writer in the national media. Her writings regularly include a focus on the role of religion in the lives of LGBTQ African Americans.[89] Rev. Roland Stringfellow, an American Baptist minister, is director of ministerial outreach at the Center for Lesbian and Gay Studies in Religion and Ministry and coordinator of the African American Roundtable at the Pacific School of Religion—an ecumenical seminary in Berkeley, California.[90] In addition to his writings in national media, Rev. Stringfellow has served as director of the Umoja Project, a project assisting African American pastors and church leaders in supporting LGBTQ congregants.[91] Renee L. Hill has taught and been a consultant at a number of institutions, including Drew University in Madison, New Jersey and Seabury-Western Theological Seminary in Chicago.[92]

---

[87] License: CC BY 2.0. https://www.flickr.com/photos/digitizedchaos/3523667077

[88] Robert D. McFadden, "Rev. Peter Gomes is Dead at 68; A Leading Voice Against Intolerance," *New York Times,* March 1, 2011, accessed December 5, 2015, http://www.nytimes.com/2011/03/02/us/02gomes.html; Justin C. Worland, "Remembering Reverend Peter Gomes, Beloved Harvard Spiritual Leader," *The Harvard Crimson,* March 2, 2011, accessed December 5, 2015, http://www.thecrimson.com/article/2011/3/2/gomes-harvard-university-cox/?page=single. Harvard University's Memorial Church is located at 1 Harvard Yard, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

[89] "Irene Monroe," *Huffington Post*, accessed December 5, 2015, http://www.huffingtonpost.com/irene-monroe; "Rev. Irene Monroe," Faith in America website, accessed December 5, 2015, http://www.faithinamerica.org/about-fia/board-members/irene-monroe; Reverend Irene Monroe! website, accessed December 5, 2015, http://www.irenemonroe.com/home.

Other African American LGBTQ clergy and lay leaders have created online networks among Black Church members across denominational lines. These include Senior Minister Camarion D. Anderson, Pastor Raymond Walker II, Yeshua Aaron Holiday, Minister Felicia Harris, Minister Louis Mitchell, and Rev. Yunus Coldman, of the TransSaints network; and Rev. Cedric A. Harmon, Rev. Candy Holmes, Rev. Dr. Pamela Lightsey, and others involved in the Many Voices network.[93]

Some pastors of black congregations do not necessarily identify as LGBTQ but have been strongly vocal in their support of LGBTQ people—sometimes losing significant numbers of members from their congregations as a result. These include Rev. Dennis Meredith of Tabernacle Baptist Church and Rev. Kenneth Samuel of Victory Church, both in the Atlanta, Georgia area.[94]

---

[90] Roland Stringfellow, “Soul Work: Developing a Black GLBT Liberation Theology,” in *Queer Religion* Vol. I, eds. Donald L Boisvert and Jay Emerson Johnson (Santa Barbara, CA: Praeger, 2012): 113-126; “Rev. Roland Stringfellow,” Pacific School of Religion website, accessed December 5, 2015, http://www.psr.edu/portfolio/rev-roland-stringfellow. The Pacific School of Religion is located at 1798 Scenic Avenue, Berkeley, California.

[91] Roland Stringfellow, “Umoja Project Unites Black Faith Leaders around LGBT Equality,” *Huffington Post*, February 15, 2012, accessed December 5, 2015, http://www.huffingtonpost.com/rev-roland-stringfellow/umoja-project-brings-toge_b_1274859.html.

[92] Renee L. Hill, “Who Are We for Each Other?” in *Black Theology: A Documentary History*, Volume II: 1980-1992, eds. James H. Cone and Gayraud S. Wilmore (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1993), 345-351.

[93] “About Us – TransSaints,” TransSaints website, accessed February 24, 2016, http://www.transsaints.org/about-us.html; “Organizational Background - Many Voices,” Many Voices website, accessed February 24, 2016, http://www.manyvoices.org/about/background.

[94] Neela Banerjee, “For Some Black Pastors, Accepting Gay Members Means Losing Others,” *New York Times,* March 27, 2007, accessed December 5, 2015, http://www.nytimes.com/2007/03/27/us/27churches.html?ex=1..&_r=0.

Other major black public intellectuals have also been vocal in calling upon the Black Church to affirm its LGBTQ members, including scholars of religion Cornel West and Anthony Pinn, as well as sociologist Michael Eric Dyson, who is also an ordained Baptist minister.[95]

viii) Latino/a Protestants

Many Latino/as in the United States are Catholic; as mentioned above, Dignity has been involved in outreach to LGBTQ Latino/as. But many Latino/as also come from Protestant—especially evangelical—backgrounds.[96]

The Metropolitan Community Church has long engaged in outreach to LGBTQ Latino/as, including the creation of La Fundadora Iglesia de la Comunidad Metropolitana in 1992 as part of Founders MCC in Los Angeles, California.[97] The MCC in San Antonio, Texas, began offering Spanish-language services in 2009.[98] The MCC of Washington, DC, has partnered with the local chapter of Dignity in doing outreach to LGBTQ Latino/as.[99] Pursuing a broader pro-active outreach among MCC congregations was the focus of a 2014 conference at Resurrection MCC in Houston, Texas—a meeting that involved approximately thirty MCC leaders, including Rev. Dr. Nancy Wilson and Rev. Hector Gutierrez.[100]

---

[95] Michel Martin, "Gay Marriage Divides Black Religions Leaders," *National Public Radio*, June 17, 2011, accessed December 5, 2015, http://www.npr.org/templates/story/story.php?storyId=104179946; "Black Church Resource Provides Dialogue on Homosexuality," Insights Into Religion, accessed December 5, 2015, http://www.religioninsights.org/articles/black-church-resource-provides-dialogue-homosexuality; and Cornel West, *Race Matters* (New York: Vintage, 1994), 119-131. Other examples of LGBTQ-affirming Black churches can be found at "Affirming Churches," Operation Rebirth website, accessed December 5, 2015, http://operationrebirth.com/affirmingchurches.html.

[96] Gastón Espinosa, Virgilio Elizondo, and Jesse Miranda, "Hispanic Churches in American Public Life: Summary of Findings," Institute for Latino Studies, *University of Notre Dame Interim Reports* 2 (January 2003), accessed December 5, 2015, http://www.hispanicchurchesusa.net/hcapl-rpt-1.pdf; "Changing Faiths: Latinos and the Transformation of American Religion," Pew Research Center, April 25, 2007, accessed December 5, 2015, http://www.pewhispanic.org/2007/04/25/changing-faiths-latinos-and-the-transformation-of-american-religion.

[97] "Comunidad Latina (Iglesia de la Comunidad Metropolitana)," Founders MCC website, accessed December 5, 2015, http://www.mccla.org/community/comunidad-latina-iglesia-de-la-comunidad-metropolitana. The Founders MCC is located at 4607 Prospect Avenue, Los Angeles, California.

[98] "MCC to Initiate Sunday Services in Spanish," *Q San Antonio*, February 6, 2009, accessed December 5, 2015, http://www.qsanantonio.com/mccsa.html.

[99] Naima Pettigrew, "Metropolitan Community Church of Washington Offers Services in Spanish," *4 NBC Washington*, December 7, 2012, accessed December 5, 2015, http://www.nbcwashington.com/on-air/community/Metropolitan-Community-Church-of-Washington-offers-services-in-Spanish--182589841.html; and Latino GLBT History Project, "7th DC Latino Pride: La Misa," June 2, 2013, accessed December 5, 2015,

As with African Americans, there have been Latino/a religious leaders who advocated for LGBTQ Latino/as, including leaders who do not serve as pastors of regular congregations. Rev. Dr. Miguel A. De La Torre, a Southern Baptist minister who teaches at Iliff School of Theology in Denver, Colorado, spoke out in favor of marriage equality.[101] Rev. J. Manny Santiago, an American Baptist minister and former pastor of University Baptist Church in Seattle, has written in national media as an advocate of LGBTQ rights.[102]

ix) Soulforce

Soulforce, a Texas-based interdenominational social action organization, was established in 1998 by Mel White, a former evangelical pastor who ghostwrote for conservative televangelists, including Jerry Falwell, before White came out as a gay man in 1994. White switched his affiliation to the MCC and devoted himself full-time to advocating for LGBTQ people—particularly in response to religious homophobia.

---

https://www.facebook.com/media/set/?set=a.523256797734107.1073741832.159454620780995&type=1&l=0d74986b65.

[100] Nancy Wilson, "Leaders of LGBT Inclusive Church to Expand Ministries in Hispanic Communities," Pikes Peak Metropolitan Community Church website, accessed December 5, 2015, http://ppmcc.org/devotional/leaders-of-lgbt-inclusive-church-to-expand-ministries-in-hispanic-communities.

[101] Dawn Wolfe Gutterman, "Miguel De La Torre: The New Face of Gay-Allied Activism," *Pride Source*, June 23, 2005, accessed December 5, 2015, http://www.pridesource.com/article.html?article=14766. The Iliff School of Theology is located at 2323 East Iliff Avenue, Denver, Colorado.

[102] Jahnabi Barooah, "African American And Latino Clergy On Obama's Gay Marriage Support," *Huffington Post,* May 14, 2012, accessed December 5, 2015, http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2012/05/14/african-american-latino-clergy-obama-gay-marriage_n_1509852.html; and Dalia I. García, Jennifer Gray-Stanley, and Jesus Ramirez-Valles, "'The Priest Obviously Doesn't Know That I'm Gay': The Religious and Spiritual Journeys of Latino Gay Men," *Journal of Homosexuality,* 55 (2008): 411-436.

Soulforce's work has included campaigns to support LGBTQ members of Christian colleges and servicemembers in the US military.[103]

The Eastern Church

The Eastern Church includes Eastern Orthodox and Oriental Orthodox churches, such as the Greek Orthodox, Russian Orthodox, and Coptic Orthodox churches. Closely associated with these are Eastern Catholic churches in full communion with Rome, such as the Byzantine and Armenian Rites. Axios is an organization for LGBTQ persons affiliated with any of these Eastern Churches. It was founded in Los Angeles in 1980, and subsequently established chapters throughout the United States, including Boston, Washington, DC, and Chicago. Chapter members are laypersons who meet for support, research, and engagement with Eastern clergy.[104]

Judaism

Among the major Jewish religious movements—Orthodox, Conservative, Reform, Reconstructionist, and Renewal—recognition of and advocacy for LGBTQ members has varied widely.[105]

---

[103] Karma R. Chávez, "Beyond Complicity: Coherence, Queer Theory, and the Rhetoric of the 'Gay Christian Movement,'" *Text and Performance Quarterly* 24, no. 3-4 (2004): 255-275; Robin Reames, "Hermeneutical Rhetoric and the 2006 Soulforce Equality Ride at Wheaton College," *Journal of Communication and Religion* 37, no. 1 (Spring 2014): 126-144; and Mel White, *Stranger at the Gate: To be Gay and Christian in America* (New York: Plume, 1995).

[104] George Battelle, "Founding and Experience of Axios at Los Angeles, California," AXIOS – Eastern and Orthodox Gay and Lesbian Christians, accessed December 5, 2015, http://www.axios.org/doku.php?id=st_seraphim_axios; and *Homosexuality and Religion,* 106-107.

[105] Steven Greenberg, *Wrestling with God and Men: Homosexuality in the Jewish Tradition* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2004); Yaakov Ariel, "Gay, Orthodox, and Trembling: The Rise of Jewish Orthodox Gay Consciousness, 1970s-2000s," *Journal of Homosexuality* 52 (2007): 91-109; Christie Balka and Andy Rose, *Twice Blessed: On Being Lesbian, Gay, and Jewish* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1989); and Randal F. Schnoor, "Being Gay and Jewish: Negotiating Intersecting Identities," *Sociology of Religion* 67 (2006): 43-60.

Orthodox Rabbi Steven Greenberg came out as a gay man in 1999.[106] Two years later, Sandi Simcha DuBowski released his documentary *Trembling Before G-d*, which portrayed the lives of gay and lesbian Orthodox Jews.[107] These events elicited strong reactions from Orthodox Jews in the United States and Israel. In 2010, "Torah View on Homosexuality," a statement by a group of rabbis who serve as *roshei yeshiva* or deans of Yeshiva University in New York City, the most influential Orthodox seminary in the United States, broadly condemned gay sexual activity while cautiously extending limited accommodations to gays in Orthodox Jewish life.[108]

Both in the United States and in Israel, some organizations have been created to provide support to LGBTQ Orthodox Jews, including two New York-based organizations: JQYouth, which began meeting in 2001, and Eshel, a broad-based advocacy and support organization for LGBTQ Orthodox Jews, which was established in 2012.[109] In 2010, Orthodox rabbis Nathaniel Helfgot, Aryeh Klapper, Yitzchak Blau and others drafted the "Statement of Principles on the Place of Jews with a Homosexual Orientation in Our Community," which was subsequently signed by many other Orthodox rabbis and educators in the United States and elsewhere. While not affirming same-sex desire nor relationships, it does call for the fullest possible inclusion of openly gay people in Orthodox life and discourages pressuring gay Orthodox Jews to enter into ostensibly heterosexual marriages.[110] In the late 1990s, Israeli Beth Orens came to New York City to transition from male to female; she subsequently returned to Israel before moving back again to the United States, where she began the Dina email list for other transgender Orthodox Jews.[111] In 2008, Joy Ladin became the first openly transgender person to serve on the faculty of an Orthodox institution of higher learning, Stern College for Women of Yeshiva University in New York City.[112]

---

[106] "CLAL Faculty: Rabbi Steve Greenberg," The National Jewish Center for Learning and Leadership website, accessed December 5, 2015, http://www.clal.org/clal_faculty_sg.html; and Steven Greenberg, "My Truth Isn't an Ugly One," *Guardian,* May 30, 2003, accessed December 5, 2015, http://www.theguardian.com/g2/story/0,3604,966771,00.html.

[107] *Trembling Before G-d*, dir. Sandi Simcha DuBowski (Films That Change The World, 2001); and Debra Nussbaum Cohen, "The 'Trembling' Phenomenon: Film on Religious Gays Making Big Impact" *Jewish Week,* November 9, 2001, archive accessed December 5, 2015, http://web.archive.org/web/20070207100052/http://www.thejewishweek.com/news/newscontent.php3?artid=5349.

[108] "Torah View on Homosexuality," TorahWeb Foundation website, accessed December 5, 2015, http://www.torahweb.org/torah/special/2010/homosexuality.html.

[109] "History," JQY website, accessed December 5, 2015, http://www.jqyouth.org/history.shtml; and "Our History," Eshel website, accessed December 5, 2015, http://www.eshelonline.org/about-new/our-history.

Conservative Judaism

In 2006, the Committee on Jewish Law and Standards of the Rabbinical Assembly (CJLS), which serves as the professional organization of Conservative rabbis, lifted most prohibitions on gay sexual activity. It also declared that openly lesbian, gay, and bisexual rabbis and cantors could be ordained and affirmed that same-sex unions could be recognized.[113] Accordingly, the Jewish Theological Seminary of America, a Conservative seminary, began admitting openly lesbian, gay, and bisexual rabbinical candidates the following year; and the celebration of same-sex unions was established in 2012.[114] In 2003, CJLS determined that sex reassignment surgery could officially change a person's gender under Jewish law.[115]

---

[110] Janelle Eagle, "Incredible Orthodox Response to Homosexuality in Judaism," *Jewish Journal,* July 23, 2010, accessed December 5, 2015, http://www.jewishjournal.com/oy_gay/item/incredible_orthodox_response_to_homosexuality_in_judaism_39100723; and Geoffrey Alderman, "This Line of Gay Jews is Quite Orthodox," *Guardian*, August 10, 2010, accessed December 5, 2015, http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/belief/2010/aug/10/gay-orthodox-judaism-rabbis.

[111] Beth Orens, "Judaism and Gender Issues" in *Balancing on the Mechitza: Transgender in Jewish Community*, ed. Noach Dzmura (Berkeley, CA: North Atlantic Books, 2010): 224-228; Charlie Anders, "Welcoming Transgendered [sic] Jews," *Tikkun,* August 10, 2005, accessed December 5, 2015, http://www.starways.net/beth/tikkun20050810.html; and "When Abba Becomes Ima: Transsexuals in the Orthodox World," *Jewish Telegraphic Agency,* December 26, 2006, accessed December 5, 2015, http://www.jta.org/2006/12/26/archive/when-abba-becomes-ima-transsexuals-in-the-orthodox-world.

[112] Naomi Alderman, "A Transsexual at Yeshiva University," *Forward,* March 19, 2012, accessed December 5, 2015, http://forward.com/culture/153010/a-transsexual-at-yeshiva-university; "Faculty Directory: Joy Ladin," Yeshiva University website, accessed December 5, 2015, http://www.yu.edu/faculty/pages/Ladin-Joy. Stern College for Women at Yeshiva University is located at 245 Lexington Avenue, New York City, New York.

[113] Daniel S. Nevins, "Conservative Halakha and Homosexuality: An Insider's View of the 2006 CJLS Vote," My Jewish Learning website, December 20, 2006, accessed December 5, 2015, http://www.myjewishlearning.com/article/conservative-halakhah-and-homosexuality; and Laurie Goodstein, "Conservative Jews Allow Gay Rabbis and Unions," *New York Times,* December 7, 2006, accessed December 5, 2015, http://www.nytimes.com/2006/12/07/us/07jews.html?pagewanted=all.

Reform Judaism

Beth Chayim Chadashim, a Reform synagogue, was founded in West Los Angeles in 1972 as the first synagogue specifically for lesbians and gay men.[117] Three years later, in 1975, Congregation Or Chadash was founded in Chicago, a Reform synagogue for lesbians and gay men that began as a support group. The group began holding religious services in 1976, moving to share space with the Second Unitarian Universalist Church in 1977.[118] Also in

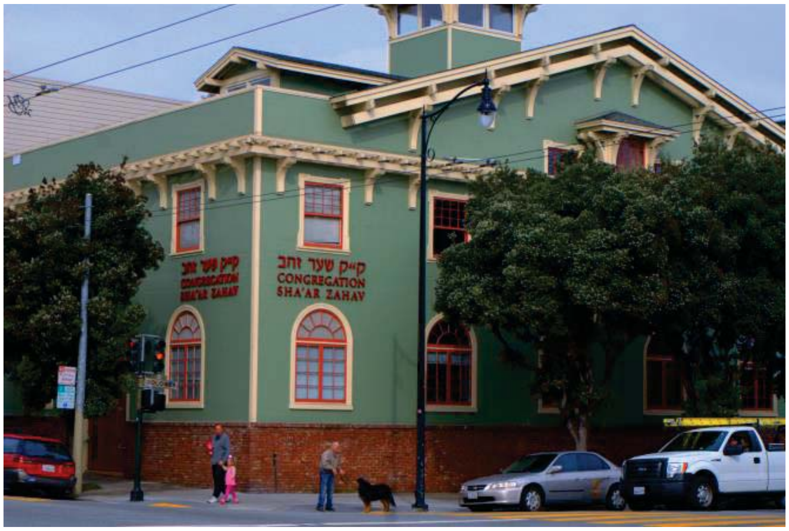


Figure 9: Congregation Sha'ar Zahav, San Francisco, California. Photo by Ed Blerman, 2010.[116]

---

[114] Rachel Zoll, "As Seminary Chancellor, American Jewish Scholar Seeks to Renew Conservative Judaism," *Advocate,* September 13, 2007, accessed December 5, 2015, http://www.advocate.com/news/2007/09/13/seminary-chancellor-american-jewish-scholar-seeks-renew-conservative-judaism; and Ben Sales, "Conservative Rabbinic Group Issues Guidelines for Same-Sex Wedding Rituals," *Jewish Telegraphic Agency,* June 4, 2012, accessed December 5, 2015, http://www.jta.org/2012/06/04/life-religion/conservative-rabbinic-group-issues-guidelines-for-same-sex-wedding-rituals. The Jewish Theological Seminary of America is located at 3080 Broadway, New York City, New York.

[115] Mayer E. Rabinowitz, "Status of Transsexuals," Committee on Jewish Law and Standards of the Rabbinical Assembly, accessed December 5, 2015, http://keshet.wpengine.netdna-cdn.com/wp-content/uploads/2012/02/Status-of-Transsexuals.pdf.

[116] License: CC BY 2.0. https://www.flickr.com/photos/edbierman/4487893209

[117] "History," Beth Chayim Chadashim website, accessed December 5, 2015, http://www.bcc-la.org/about/history. The congregation of Beth Chayim Chadashim bought its own building in 1977, located at 6000 West Pico Boulevard, Los Angeles, California. This may have been the first synagogue owned by an LGBTQ congregation.

[118] "History," Congregation Or Chadash website, accessed December 5, 2015, http://www.orchadash.org/about-us/our-history. The Second Unitarian Universalist Church is located

1977, the Central Conference of American Rabbis (CCAR), which is the national organization of Reform rabbis, determined that Reform organizations should actively oppose discrimination against gay and lesbian members.[119] That same year, Congregation Sha'ar Zahav was founded in San Francisco as a Reform synagogue with a particular outreach to lesbians and gay men (Figure 9).[120]

In 1990, the Union for Reform Judaism (URJ), the national body that supports Reform synagogues, determined that gay and lesbian Jews were fully members of the Reform community, and CCAR took the position that all rabbis should be treated equally regardless of sexual orientation. CCAR also declared in 1998 that rabbis could officiate at same-sex commitment ceremonies.[121] The URJ extended these positions in 2003 to include bisexuals and transgender people, and made a stronger resolution to support transgender members of the congregation in 2015.[122] In 2009, Congregation Sha'ar Zahav published a complete *siddur*, or prayer book—

---

at 656 West Barry Avenue, Chicago, Illinois. In 2003, Congregation Or Chadash moved to 5959 North Sheridan Road, Chicago, Illinois, which it shares with another synagogue.

[119] "Resolution on Same Gender Officiation - Resolution adopted at the 111th Convention of the Central Conference of American Rabbis, March, 2000," Central Conference of American Rabbis website, accessed December 5, 2015, https://www.ccarnet.org/rabbis-speak/resolutions/2000/same-gender-officiation.

[120] Aaron Cooper, "No Longer Invisible: Gay and Lesbian Jews Build a Movement" in *Homosexuality and Religion*, ed. Richard Hasbany (New York: Harrington Park Press, 1989): 83-97; and Dan Pine, "Sha'ar Zahav Celebrates 30 Years of Open Arms," *J Weekly,* May 11, 2007, accessed December 5, 2015, http://www.jweekly.com/includes/print/32365/article/sha-ar-zahav-celebrates-30-years-of-open-arms.

[121] "Resolution on Same Gender Officiation - Resolution adopted at the 111th Convention of the Central Conference of American Rabbis, March, 2000," Central Conference of American Rabbis, accessed December 5, 2015, https://www.ccarnet.org/rabbis-speak/resolutions/2000/same-gender-officiation.

[122] Union for Reform Judaism,"Support for the Inclusion and Acceptance of the Transgender and Bisexual Communities," Berman Jewish Policy Archive at New York University's Robert F. Wagner Graduate School of Public Service website, accessed December 5, 2015, http://www.bjpa.org/Publications/details.cfm?PublicationID=7791; Commission on Social Action of Reform Judaism, "Resolution on the Rights of Transgender and Gender Non-Conforming People," Union for Reform Judaism website, accessed December 5, 2015, https://www.urj.org/what-we-believe/resolutions/resolution-rights-transgender-and-gender-non-conforming-people; Emma Green, "Reform Jews: Transgender People Are Welcome Here," *Atlantic*, accessed December 5, 2015, http://www.theatlantic.com/politics/archive/2015/11/reform-jews-transgender-people-are-welcome-here/414415; and Bethany Rodgers, "Reform Jewish leaders pass sweeping transgender-rights resolution in Orlando," *Orlando Sentinel,* November 5, 2015, accessed December 5, 2015, http://www.orlandosentinel.com/news/breaking-news/os-reform-judaism-transgender-resolution-20151105-story.html.

the first to address the lives and experiences of LGBTQ Jews.[123] In 2010 in Los Angeles, Reuben Zellman became the first openly transgender ordained Reform rabbi.[124] Denise Eger became the first openly lesbian rabbi to serve as president of CCAR in 2015.[125]

Reconstructionist Judaism

The Reconstructionist Rabbinical College in Wyncote, Pennsylvania (Figure 10) is the only Reconstructionist rabbinical school.[127] Its administration determined in 1984 that the seminary would accept openly lesbian, gay, and bisexual students. This led the Jewish Reconstructionist Federation (the national body of congregations) to declare full support of gay and lesbian rights.[128] In 1985,

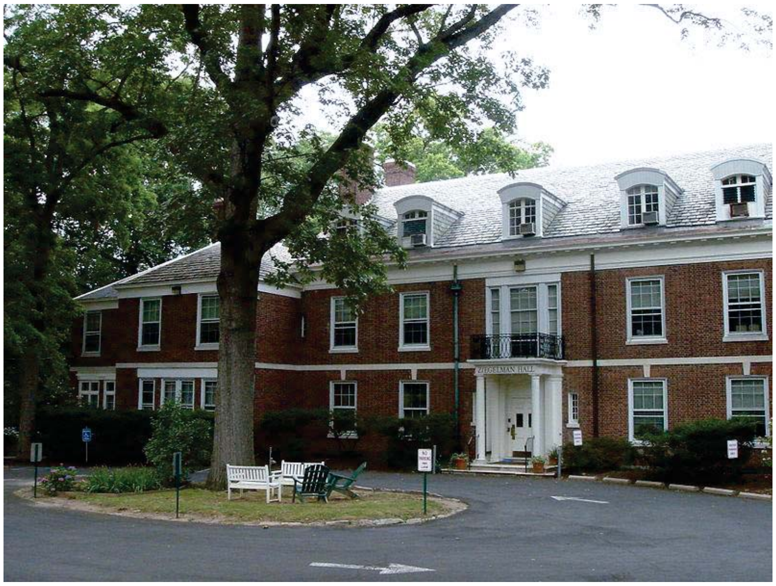


Figure 10: Ziegelman Hall, the main building of the Reconstructionist Rabbinical College, Wyncote, Pennsylvania. Photo by Ike9898, 2008.[126]

---

[123] Stacey Palevsky, "The All-Inclusive Siddur: Sha'ar Zahav's New Prayerbook a Communal Effort," *J Weekly*, June 25, 2009, accessed December 5, 2015, http://www.jweekly.com/article/full/38465/the-all-inclusive-siddur-shaar-zahavs-new-prayerbook-a-communal-effort. Congregation Sha'ar Zahav is located at 290 Dolores Street, San Francisco, California.

[124] Naomi Zeveloff, "Reuben Zellman's Rabbinical Classmates Were 'Unfailingly Supportive,'" *Forward,* July 15, 2013, accessed December 5, 2015, http://forward.com/news/180228/reuben-zellmans-rabbinical-classmates-were-unfaili.

[125] Associated Press, "Lesbian Rabbi Is to Become President of Reform Group," *New York Times,* March 15, 2015, accessed December 5, 2015, http://www.nytimes.com/2015/03/16/us/lesbian-rabbi-is-to-become-president-of-reform-group.html. See also: Jon R. Norman, "Congregational Culture and Identity Politics in a Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender Synagogue: Making Inclusiveness and Religious Practice One and the Same," *Journal of Religion & Society* 13 (2011): 1-19.

[126] License: CC BY-SA 3.0 https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:RRC.JPG

[127] Reconstructionist Rabbinical College is located at 1299 Church Road, Wyncote, Pennsylvania.

Deborah Brin may have become the first openly lesbian rabbi when she was ordained by the Reconstructionist Rabbinical College.[129] That same year, Congregation Bet Haverim was established as a gay and lesbian Reconstructionist synagogue in Atlanta, Georgia.[130] Work by lay leaders, rabbis, and others resulted in the 1993 report "Homosexuality and Judaism: The Reconstructionist Position," which was the basis for designating certain congregations as *kehilah mekabelet*, or officially welcoming of gay and lesbian people.[131]

The Reconstructionist Rabbinical Association elected Rabbi Toba Spitzer, an open lesbian, as president in 2007 and subsequently elected Rabbi Jason Klein, an openly gay man, as president in 2013.[132] That same year, Rabbi Deborah Waxman, an open lesbian, was elected president of the Reconstructionist Rabbinical College.[133] In 2015, openly transgender Jacob Lieberman graduated from the college; while a student, he collaborated with faculty member Rabbi Jacob Staub to create a transgender/genderqueer committee at the college, which has performed outreach and advocacy work with the Reconstructionist Rabbinical Association.[134] The scholarship of Rabbi Rebecca T. Alpert, former dean of

---

[128] Joshua Lesser, "History of Gay Marriage in the Reconstructionist Movement," Keshet website, accessed December 5, 2015, http://keshet.wpengine.netdna-cdn.com/wp-content/uploads/2012/05/HistoryofGayMarriageinReconstMvt_Lesser.pdf.

[129] Diane Schmidt, "Women of the Wall founding Rabbi Deborah Brin," *New Mexico Jewish Link,* May 9, 2014, accessed December 5, 2015, http://www.examiner.com/article/women-of-the-wall-founding-rabbi-deborah-brin.

[130] Steve Goss, "Congregation Bet Haverim Celebrates Its 'Silver Jewbilee,'" *National Public Radio WABE 90.1 FM*, 2010, accessed December 5, 2015, http://news.wabe.org/post/congregation-bet-haverim-celebrates-its-silver-jewbilee. Congregation Bet Haverim is located at 2074 Lavista Road, Atlanta, Georgia.

[131] Joshua Lesser, "History of Gay Marriage in the Reconstructionist Movement," Keshet website, accessed December 5, 2015, http://keshet.wpengine.netdna-cdn.com/wp-content/uploads/2012/05/HistoryofGayMarriageinReconstMvt_Lesser.pdf.

[132] "Rabbi Toba Spitzer," Congregation Dorshei Tzedek website, accessed December 5, 2015, http://dorsheitzedek.org/rabbi-toba-spitzer; and Josh Nathan-Kazis, "Jason Klein Tapped To Lead Group of Reconstructionist Rabbis," *Forward,* March 11, 2013, accessed December 5, 2015, http://forward.com/news/breaking-news/172693/jason-klein-tapped-to-lead-group-of-reconstruction.

[133] Anne Cohen, "Trailblazing Reconstructionist Deborah Waxman Relishes Challenges of Judaism," *Forward,* October 9, 2013, accessed December 5, 2015, http://forward.com/news/185252/trailblazing-reconstructionist-deborah-waxman-reli.

[134] Naomi Zeveloff, "Jacob Lieberman Wants to Change the Jewish World," *Forward,* July 16, 2013, accessed December 5, 2015, http://forward.com/news/180234/jacob-lieberman-wants-to-change-the-jewish-world; and "Fighting For A Good Name," Jewish Reconstructionist Communities website, accessed December 5, 2015, https://jewishrecon.org/resource/fighting-good-name.

students at the Reconstructionist Rabbinical College, has included a focus on the role of lesbians in Judaism.[135] In 2008 in Cotati, California, Congregation Ner Shalom invited Irwin Keller to serve as their rabbi.[136] Keller is a former attorney, AIDS activist, and founding member of the political comedy drag troupe, "The Kinsey Sicks."[137]

Renewal Judaism

Within the Jewish Renewal Movement, Fabrangen Havurah was founded in Washington, DC, in 1971 and would go on to become an LGBTQ-welcoming religious community.[138] Eli Cohen, who may have been the first openly gay Jewish Renewal rabbi, was ordained in 2005.[139] In 2011, openly bisexual Debra Kolodny was ordained. Bisexuality has been a focus of Kolodny's writings and activism.[140]

Other Jewish Congregations

Some LGBTQ-focused synagogues have been established without formal affiliation with any of the major movements in Judaism. Congregation Beit Simchat Torah was founded in New York City in 1973 and first met in the Church of the Holy Apostles, an Episcopal church. Since 1975, they have gathered at rented space in the Westbeth Artists Community in New York City. In 2011, the congregation purchased a permanent home near Madison Square Gardens and have begun renovations in order to relocate there. Beit Simchat Torah claims to be the largest LGBTQ synagogue in the world.[141] Bet Mishpachah was founded in Washington, DC, in 1975 as the Metropolitan Community Temple Mishpocheh. The following year, they hosted the First International Conference of Gay and Lesbian Jews. They spent their first years meeting in rented spaces around Washington, DC. In 1980, they adopted the name Beit Mishpachah and, at the Third International Conference of Gay and Lesbian Jews, they co-founded the World Congress of Gay and Lesbian Jews. In 1997, the congregation moved to the newly-restored Washington, DC Jewish Community Center.[142]

---

[135] Rebecca T. Alpert, *Like Bread on the Seder Plate: Jewish Lesbians and the Transformation of Tradition* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997); Rebecca T. Alpert, Ellen Sue Levi Elwell, and Shirley Idelson, *Lesbian Rabbis: The First Generation* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2001).

[136] Congregation Ner Shalom is located at 85 La Plaza, Cotati, California.

[137] Irwin Keller, "Reflections of a Retiring Drag Queen," *Itzik's Well* (blog), October 9, 2014, accessed December 5, 2015, http://itzikswell.blogspot.com/2014/10/reflections-of-retiring-drag-queen.html; and "About Us," Congregation Ner Shalom website, accessed December 5, 2015, http://www.nershalom.org/about/rabbi.html.

[138] "Key Dates in Fabrangen's History," Fabrangen website, accessed December 5, 2015, http://www.fabrangen.org/about-us/fabrangen-history.The first meeting was held at 2158 Florida Avenue NW, Washington, DC.

[139] "Rabbi's Corner," Chadeish Yameinu website, accessed December 5, 2015, https://sites.google.com/site/cysantacruzorg/rabbi.

[140] Debra Kolodny, "Profile: Debra Kolodny," The Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender Religious Archives Network, modified October 15, 2012, accessed December 5, 2015, http://www.lgbtran.org/Profile.aspx?ID=48.

Broad-based organizations have been created to advocate for LGBTQ Jews. In addition to the World Congress of Gay & Lesbian Jews (also sometimes called Keshet Ga'avah), these include Nehirim and Keshet (not to be confused with Keshet Ga'avah).[143]

Islam

The Al-Fatiha Foundation was established in 1997 by Faisal Alam, a Pakistani-American. Also playing a leadership role was Daaylee Abdullah, an openly gay African American imam in Washington, DC. Multiple local chapters were founded and annual conferences were held until Alam stepped down in 2005 and the organization folded.[144]

---

[141] Henry Rabinowitz, "Talmud Class in a Gay Synagogue," *Judaism* 28, no. 2 (Spring 1979): 237-247; "Exhibits: Congregation Beit Simchat Torah," The Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender Religious Archives Network, accessed December 5, 2015, http://www.lgbtran.org/Exhibits/CBST/index.aspx; Doug Chandler, "In a Move Freighted With Symbolism, CBST Purchases First Home," *Jewish Week,* July 26, 2011, accessed December 5, 2015, http://www.thejewishweek.com/news/new_york/move_freighted_symbolism_cbst_purchases_first_home; Ayelet S. Cohen, *Changing Lives, Making History: Congregation Beit Simchat Torah: The First Forty Years* (New York: Congregation Beth Simchat Torah, 2014). The Episcopal Church of the Holy Apostles is located at 296 Ninth Avenue, New York City, New York. It was listed on the NRHP on April 26, 1972. Beit Simchat Torah's address in Westbeth is 57 Bethune Street, New York City, New York. Westbeth was listed on the NRHP on December 8, 2009. The new location of Beit Simchat Torah will be 130 West 30th Street, New York City, New York.

[142] "About Us: Our History," Bet Mishpachah website, accessed November 7, 2015, http://www.betmish.org/index.php/about-us/who-we-are/our-history. The DC Jewish Community Center is located at 1529 Sixteenth Street NW, Washington, DC.

[143] "World Congress of GLBT Jews Celebrates 40 Years of Progress," Beth Chayim Chadashim, accessed December 5, 2015, http://www.bcc-la.org/world-congress-of-glbt-jews-celebrates-40-years-of-progress; "About Nehirim," Nehirim, archived website accessed December 5, 2015, https://web.archive.org/web/20150401062736/http://www.nehirim.org/gayjewishcommunity; and "Our Story," Keshet, accessed December 5, 2015, http://www.keshetonline.org/about/our-story.

In 2007, Ani Zonneveld and Pamela Taylor founded Muslims for Progressive Values (MPV), based in Los Angeles.[146] Among its ten principles: "We endorse the human and civil rights of lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, queer, and intersex (LGBTQI) individuals."[147] With support from the Human Rights Campaign (a national LGBTQ civil rights organization),

FLORA LAMSON HEWLETT LIBRARY

Figure 11: The Flora Lamson Hewlett Library at the Graduate Theological Union, Berkeley, California. Photo by Betsian, 2009.[145]

---

[144] Omar Minwalla et al., "Identity Experience Among Progressive Gay Muslims in North America: A Qualitative Study Within Al-Fatiha," *Culture, Health & Sexuality: An International Journal for Research, Intervention and Care* 7, no. 2 (2005): 113-128; Joseph Andoni Massad, "Re-Orienting Desire: The Gay International and the Arab World," *Public Culture* 14, no. 2 (2002): 361-385; and Emily Wax, "Imam Daayiee Abdullah Welcomes Gay Muslims to Worship, Marry," *Washington Post,* April 17, 2013, accessed December 5, 2015, https://www.washingtonpost.com/lifestyle/style/imam-daayiee-abdullah-welcomes-gay-muslims-to-worship-marry/2013/04/17/3ebcab3a-a5db-11e2-b029-8fb7e977ef71_story.html; Neil MacFarquhar, "Gay Muslims Find Freedom, of a Sort, in US," *New York Times,* November 7, 2007, accessed December 5, 2015, http://www.nytimes.com/2007/11/07/us/07gaymuslim.html?pagewanted=1; Hannah Kreider, "Openly Gay Imams Serve as an Affirming Gleam of Hope in Muslim LGBT community," GLAAD website, June 21, 2013, accessed December 5, 2015, http://www.glaad.org/blog/openly-gay-imams-serve-affirming-gleam-hope-muslim-lgbt-community; "Faisal Alam: Biography," Hidden Voices website, accessed December 5, 2015; http://www.hiddenvoices.info/biography; and Sadiq Ali Sheraze, "The Progressive Muslim Movement," *Outsmart*, October 1, 2013, accessed December 5, 2015, http://www.outsmartmagazine.com/2013/10/the-progressive-muslim-movement.

[145] License: CC BY-NC-ND 2.0 https://www.flickr.com/photos/betsian/3701121867

[146] Kari Huus, "Battling for Gay Rights, In Allah's Name," *MSNBC,* October 24, 2011, accessed December 5, 2015, http://www.nbcnews.com/id/44993807/ns/us_news-life/t/battling-gay-rights-allahs-name/#.VmeW-7iDGkp.

[147] "About MPV: MPV Principles," Muslims for Progressive Values website, accessed December 5, 2015, http://www.mpvusa.org/mpv-principles.

MPV commissioned openly transgender Muslim Tynan Power to adapt material by Scott Siraj al-Haqq Kugle (a scholar of Islam who teaches at Emory University). The result was the 2010 document "Sexual Diversity in Islam: Is There Room for Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender Muslims?"[148] MPV has also partnered with Daayiee Abdullah to produce an online LGBTQ lecture series.[149]

With support from the National Gay and Lesbian Task Force, the Muslim Alliance for Sexual and Gender Diversity (MASGD) was established at the 2013 Creating Change conference in Atlanta, Georgia.[150]

Ibrahim Farajajé, who described himself as "a gay-identified bisexual Black theologian," explored Islamic mysticism and taught about Islam at the Graduate Theological Union in Berkeley, California (Figure 11).[151]

Some LGBTQ Muslims have sought to portray their own lives through a variety of projects. *A Jihad for Love* is a 2007 documentary featuring LGBTQ Muslims in the United States and elsewhere. *Coming Out Muslim: Radical Acts of Love* is a play that premiered at the 2014 Fresh Fruit Festival in New York City.[152]

---

[148] Scott Siraj al-Haqq Kugle,"Sexual Diversity in Islam: Is There Room in Islam for Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender Muslims?" Muslims for Progressive Values, created 2010, accessed December 5, 2015, http://www.mpvusa.org/sexuality-diversity; "Scott Kugle," Emory College website, accessed December 5, 2015, http://www.mesas.emory.edu/home/people/faculty/kugle.html.

[149] Muslims for Progressive Values, "Intro to LGBTQI Lecture Series," YouTube video, published May 21, 2014, accessed December 5, 2015, https://www.youtube.com/watch?list=PLE3saqAXcc3ahCLB4FWqyd7XAJ_Lh72IZ&v=xZagLCVhaDw.

[150] "About MASGD," Muslim Alliance for Sexual and Gender Diversity website, accessed December 5, 2015, http://www.muslimalliance.org/aboutmasgd.

[151] Elias Farajajé Jones, "Breaking Silence: Toward an In-The-Life Theology," in *Black Theology: A Documentary History*, 139-159. Ibrahim Farajajé passed away in February 2016. The Graduate Theological Union is located at 2400 Ridge Road, Berkeley, California.

[152] *A Jihad for Love*, dir. Parvez Sharma (New York, First Run Features, 2007); J Mase III, "Radically Queer Islam: An Interview with the Cast of Coming Out Muslim," *Huffington Post,* July 2, 2014, accessed December 5, 2015, http://www.huffingtonpost.com/j-mase-iii/queering-islam-an-intervi_b_5549913.html. See also: Habib Samar, *Islam and Homosexuality* (Santa Barbara, CA: Praeger, 2010); Scott Alan Kugle, *Homosexuality in Islam: Critical Reflection on Gay, Lesbian, and Transgender Muslims* (Oxford, UK: Oneworld, 2010); and Scott Alan Kugle, *Living Out Islam: Voices of Gay, Lesbian, and Transgender Muslims* (New York: New York University Press, 2014).

Hinduism

There is little organized presence of LGBTQ Hindus in the United States. The Gay and Lesbian Vaishnava Association has existed in online formats since 2001, and includes members primarily from the International Society for Krishna Consciousness (ISKCON) and other Vaishnava traditions from the United States and abroad.[153]

Trikone is a social organization for LGBTQ people of South Asian descent—including Hindus and Muslims—founded by Arvind Kumar and Suvir Das in Northern California in 1986. Other chapters have developed elsewhere in the country. A newsletter of the same name has published articles on religion in the lives of LGBTQ South Asians.[154]

Buddhism

Buddhists in the United States are usually immigrants and their descendants who have brought Buddhist traditions from home countries, or converts. The latter are almost exclusively white people who refer to themselves as "Western Buddhists" and who, unlike Buddhist lay persons in Asia, tend to focus on meditation and doctrine.

Some LGBTQ Buddhists have emerged as teachers and leaders. Enkyō Pat O'Hara is an openly lesbian Soto (Japanese) Zen teacher in New York City.[155] Soeng Hyang is also openly lesbian, and is a Jogye (Korean) Zen teacher at the Kwan Um School of Zen in Cumberland, Rhode Island.[156] Caitriona Reed is a transgender woman and a Thiền (Vietnamese) Zen teacher based in Southern California. Sarika Dharma was an openly lesbian monk of Vietnamese Zen and head of the International Buddhist Meditation Center in Los Angeles, California; she also oversaw a lesbian Buddhist group in Los Angeles.[158] Issan Dorsey was an openly gay man, Soto Zen teacher, and former abbot at the Hartford Street Zen Center in the Castro district of San Francisco (Figure 12). Dorsey also established in San Francisco the Maitri Hospice for people with AIDS.[159] Zenju Earthlyn Manuel is an openly bisexual African American Soto Zen teacher in East Oakland, Caliornia.[160]

---

[153] "GALVA-108," Gay and Lesbian Vaishnava Association website, accessed May 1, 2015, http://www.galva108.org.
[154] "What is Trikone?" Trikone website, accessed December 5, 2015, http://www.trikone.org/index.php/about-us/trikone; and *Homosexuality and Religion*, 9-10.
[155] "Roshi Enkyo O'Hara," The Village Zendo website, accessed December 5, 2015, https://villagezendo.org/teachers/roshi-enkyo-ohara.
[156] The Kwan Um School is located at 99 Pound Road, Cumberland, Rhode Island.

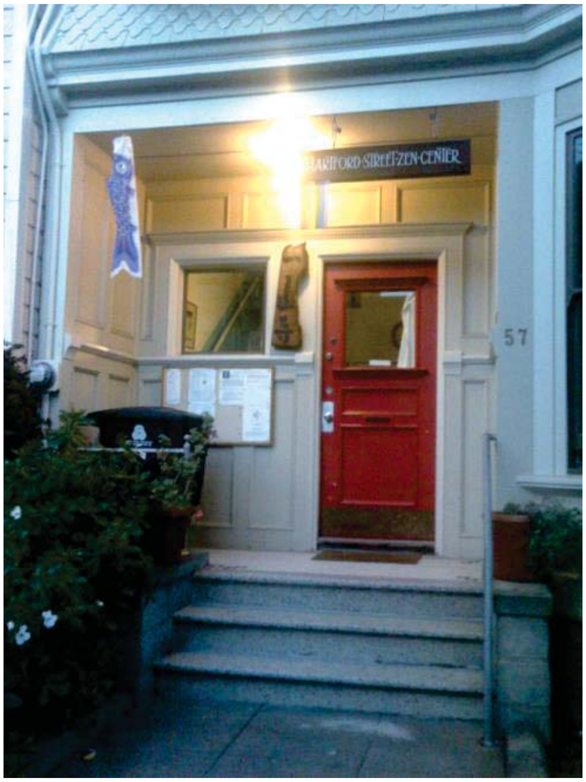


Figure 12: Hartford Street Zen Center, San Francisco, California. Photo by TalgenEtsudo, 2006.[157]

Some forms of LGBTQ Buddhist organization have emerged, especially in the form of meditation practice groups. Examples include the Queer Dharma Meditation group at the Shambhala Meditation Center of New

---

[157] License: CC BY 2.0. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Hartford_Street_Zen_Center.jpg

[158] Miriam Levering and Grace Jill Schireson, "Women and Zen Buddhisms: Japanese, Chinese, Korean, and Vietnamese," in *Encyclopedia of Women and Religion in North America*, eds. Rosemary Skinner Keller, Rosemary Radford Ruether, and Marie Cantlon (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2006): 639-646; "Rev. Sarika Dharma, Head Monk at Buddhist Center in LA," *Los Angeles Times,* August 29, 1996, accessed December 5, 2015, http://articles.latimes.com/1996-08-29/news/mn-38698_1_sarika-dharma. The International Buddhist Meditation Center is located at 928 South New Hampshire Avenue, Los Angeles, California.

[159] David Schneider, *Street Zen: the Life and Work of Issan Dorsey* (Boston: Shambhala, 1993); Ronald Y. Nakasone, "Illness and Compassion: AIDS in an American Zen Community," *Cambridge Quarterly of Healthcare Ethics* 4, no. 4 (Fall 1995): 488-493; and "Our History," Maitri website, accessed December 5, 2015, archived at https://web.archive.org/web/20141101192540/http://maitrisf.org/care/index.php/history. The Hartford Street Zen Center is located at 57 Hartford Street, San Francisco, California. The Maitri Hospice is located at 401 Duboce Avenue, San Francisco, California.

[160] Kimberly Winston, "Black, Bisexual, and Buddhist: Zenju Earthlyn Manuel Is Not Afraid to Embrace Who She Is," Tricycle website, August 15, 2015, accessed February 12, 2016, http://www.tricycle.com/blog/black-bisexual-and-buddhist.

York and the Gay Buddhist Fellowship in San Francisco.[161] The East Bay Meditation Center in Oakland, California states that its mission involves intentionally creating a "welcoming environment for people of color, members of the LGBTQI community, people with disabilities, and other underrepresented communities."[162]

Some Western Buddhists practice "socially engaged Buddhism," i.e., Buddhist teachings applied to community organizing and activism. *Turning Wheel*, a magazine dedicated to socially engaged Buddhism, ran a special issue in fall 1992 on LGBTQ activism.[163]

Pagans and Wiccans

Leo Martello was a gay man and Wiccan in New York City who engaged in LGBTQ activism following the Stonewall riots in 1969. He wrote widely about witchcraft and Wicca in the LGBTQ press and about LGBTQ issues in the Pagan press. Like Leo Martello, Arthur Evans was a gay activist in New York. After moving to San Francisco, Evans published *Witchcraft and the Gay Counterculture* in 1978, claiming that gay men were among the victims of the witch hysteria in early modern Europe.[164]

Two associates of Martello's, Eddie Buczynski and Herman Slater, were a gay couple who founded The Warlock Shop, a New York City occult bookstore.[165] Buczynski also founded the Minoan Brotherhood in 1975, a group for gay and bisexual men interested in Wicca who may have felt excluded from the heterosexual assumptions of other established Wiccan traditions. Multiple groves, or groups, of the Brotherhood now exist in cities throughout the United States and internationally.[166]

---

[161] "Queer Dharma," Shambhala Meditation Center of New York website, accessed December 5, 2015, http://ny.shambhala.org/queer-dharma; "About," Gay Buddhist Fellowship website, accessed December 5, 2105, http://gaybuddhist.org/v3-wp. The Queer Dharma Group meets at the Shambhala Center at 118 West 22nd Street in New York City. The Gay Buddhist Fellowship meets at the San Francisco Buddhist Center at 37 Bartlett Street, San Francisco, California.

[162] "Mission and History," East Bay Meditation Center website, accessed February 12, 2016, http://www.eastbaymeditation.org/index.php?s=12. In 2007, The East Bay Meditation Center opened its first permanent location at 2147 Broadway, Oakland, California. In 2012, the Center re-located to 285 Seventeenth Street, Oakland, California.

[163] "Turning Wheel Media," Buddhist Peace Fellowship website, accessed December 5, 2015, http://www.buddhistpeacefellowship.org/our-work/turning-wheel-media. See also: Winston Leyland, *Queer Dharma: Voices of Gay Buddhists* (San Francisco: Gay Sunshine Press, 1998); and Winston Leyland, *Queer Dharma: Voices of Gay Buddhists,* Vol. II (San Francisco: Gay Sunshine Press, 2000); Christopher S. Queen, *Engaged Buddhism in the West* (Boston: Wisdom Publications, 2000), 271; Jonathan Alexander and Karen Yescavage, "Bi, Buddhist, Activist: Refusing Intolerance, But not Refusing Each Other," *Journal of Bisexuality* 10, no. 1-2 (2010): 154-165.

[164] Arthur Evans, *Witchcraft and the Gay Counterculture: A Radical View of Western Civilization and Some of the People it has Tried to Destroy* (Boston: Fag Rag Books, 1978).

As gay men were developing new forms of community drawn from Pagan and Wiccan sources, so too were lesbians. Beginning in the 1970s, writers such as Margot Adler, Luisah Teish, Mary Daly, Judith Plaskow, and Carol P. Christ offered visions of feminist and/or Goddess-centered religion for women.[167] In this context, openly lesbian Z. Budapest developed female-only Dianic Wicca, starting with Susan B. Anthony Coven #1, founded in Venice, California in 1971.[168]

Bisexuals and those attracted to multiple genders have also had a high profile in Pagan and Wiccan communities. Starhawk published the best-selling book *The Spiral Dance: a Rebirth of the Ancient Religion of the Great Goddess* in 1979; she was later involved in the founding Reclaiming (a Wiccan organization) and collaborated with the Covenant of Unitarian Universalist Pagans (CUUPS).[169] Shamanic practitioner Raven Kaldera is an intersex female-to-male activist, author, priest, and Pagan organizer in central Massachusetts. Sherry Marts is a feminist Wiccan who has been affiliated with the Open Hearth Foundation, a Pagan community center in

---

[165] The Warlock Shop was located at 300 Henry Street, Brooklyn Heights, New York City, New York.
[166] Michael G. Lloyd, *Bull of Heaven: The Mythic Life of Eddie Buczynski and the Rise of the New York Pagan* (Hubbardston, MA: Asphodel Press, 2012).
[167] Margot Adler, *Drawing Down the Moon: Witches, Druids, Goddess-Worshippers, and Other Pagans in America Today* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1986); Luisah Tesh, *Jambalaya: The Natural Woman's Book of Personal Charms and Practical Rituals* (San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1985); Mary Daly and Jane Caputi, *Websters' First New Intergalactic Wickedary of the English Language* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1987); and Judith Plaskow and Carol P. Christ, *Weaving the Visions: New Patterns in Feminist Spirituality* (San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1989).
[168] Ruth Rhiannon Barrett, "Lesbian Rituals and Dianic Tradition," *Journal of Lesbian Studies* 7, no. 2 (2003): 15-28; and Zsuzsanna Emese Budapest et al., *The Feminist Book of Lights and Shadows* (Venice, CA: Feminist Wicca, 1976).
[169] Starhawk, *The Spiral Dance: A Rebirth of the Ancient Religion of the Great Goddess* (San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1979); Starhawk's presentation at the National Conference Celebrating Bisexuality in Washington, DC, in 1993 was published as "The Sacredness of Pleasure" in *Bisexual Politics: Theories, Queries, and Visions,* eds. John Dececco and Naomi S. Tucker (New York: Haworth Press, 1995): 325-329.

Washington, DC.[170] Also based in Washington, DC, Wiccan Loraine Hutchins has focused her writing and teaching on sexuality and spirituality.[171]

Radical Faeries and the Sisters of Perpetual Indulgence

In 1979, three gay activists—Don Kilhefner, Mitch Walker, and Harry Hay—organized a "Spiritual Conference for Radical Fairies." Held at the Sri Ram Ashram near Benson, Arizona over Labor Day weekend, the gathering drew approximately two hundred men. Similar to some earlier forms of gay Paganism and Wicca, participants envisioned a distinctively gay male spirituality that celebrated drag, sexuality, and nature. A second conference was held in 1980 at the town of Estes Park near Boulder, Colorado followed by the establishment of Radical Faerie rural communes throughout the United States. Although the focus has remained on cis-gender gay men, some Radical Faerie communes, events, and networks have come to include other genders and sexual orientations.[172] Black

---

[170] The Open Hearth Foundation is located at 1502 Massachusetts Avenue SE, Washington, DC.

[171] Helen Boyd, "Five Questions With… Raven Kaldera," *En/Gender: Helen Boyd's Journal of Gender & Trans Issues* (blog)*,* October 12, 2005, accessed December 5, 2015, http://www.myhusbandbetty.com/2005/10/12/five-questions-with-raven-kaldera; Raven Kaldera, "Profile: Raven Kaldera," The Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender Religious Archives Network, last modified December 13, 2013, accessed December 5, 2015, http://www.lgbtran.org/Profile.aspx?ID=141; Sherry Marts, "Harlot for the Queen of Heaven," in *Blessed Bi Spirit,* eds. Debra R. Kolodny and Mary E. Hunt (New York: Continuum, 2000): 124-133; Loraine Hutchins, "Erotic Spiritualities," in *Blessed Bi Spirit*, 203-217; and Loraine Hutchins, "Profile: Loraine Hutchins," The Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender Religious Archives Network, last modified January 28, 2004, accessed December 5, 2015, http://www.lgbtran.org/Profile.aspx?ID=51. See also: Susan Harper, "'All Cool Women Should Be Bisexual': Female Bisexual Identity in an American NeoPagan Community," *Journal of Bisexuality* 10 no. 1-2 (2010): 79-107.

[172] Jay Hasbrouck, "Utopian Imaginaries and Faerie Practice: Mapping Routes of Relational Agency" in *Gay Religion*, 239-258; Blackberri, "Searching for My Gay Spiritual Roots," *BLK* (June 1990): 11; Gryphon Blackswan, "It's a Shame We Don't Have More People of Color Participating," *Lavender Reader* 7, no. 1 (1992): 26-28; Henry Holmes, "Into The Woods: Radical Faerie Movement Combines Earthy Spirituality With Insurgent Politics," *BLK* (June 1990): 7, 8, 10, 12, 13; Rosette Royale, "As a Matter of Fact… Musings on the First 'Faeries of All Colors Together' Gathering," *RFD* 28, no. 2 (2001): 29, 47; Scott Lauria Morgensen, *Spaces Between Us: Queer Settler Colonialism and Indigenous Decolonization* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2011); John A. Stover III, "When Pan Met Wendy: Gendered Membership Debates Among the Radical Faeries" *Nova Religio: The Journal of Alternative and Emergent Religions* 2008 (11) 31-55; and Peter Hennen, "Fae Spirits and Gender Trouble: Resistance and Compliance Among the Radical Faeries" in Peter Hennen, ed., *Faeries, Bears, and Leathermen: Men in Community Queering the Masculine* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008): 59-94. See also: Randy Conner, *Blossom of Bone: Reclaiming the Connections Between Homoeroticism and the Sacred* (San Francisco: HarperSanFrancisco, 1993); Mark Thompson, *Gay Spirit: Myth and Meaning* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1987); and Mark Thompson, Richard Neely,

Leather Wings was borne out of the Radical Faeries; those involved draw on the inspiration of Radical Faerie gatherings and rituals to explore leather sexuality.[173] The Billy Club is a gay men's group that is similar to the Radical Faeries but with less emphasis on drag and camp; the Billys held their first gathering in Northern California in 1988 and have remained concentrated in Northern California.[174]

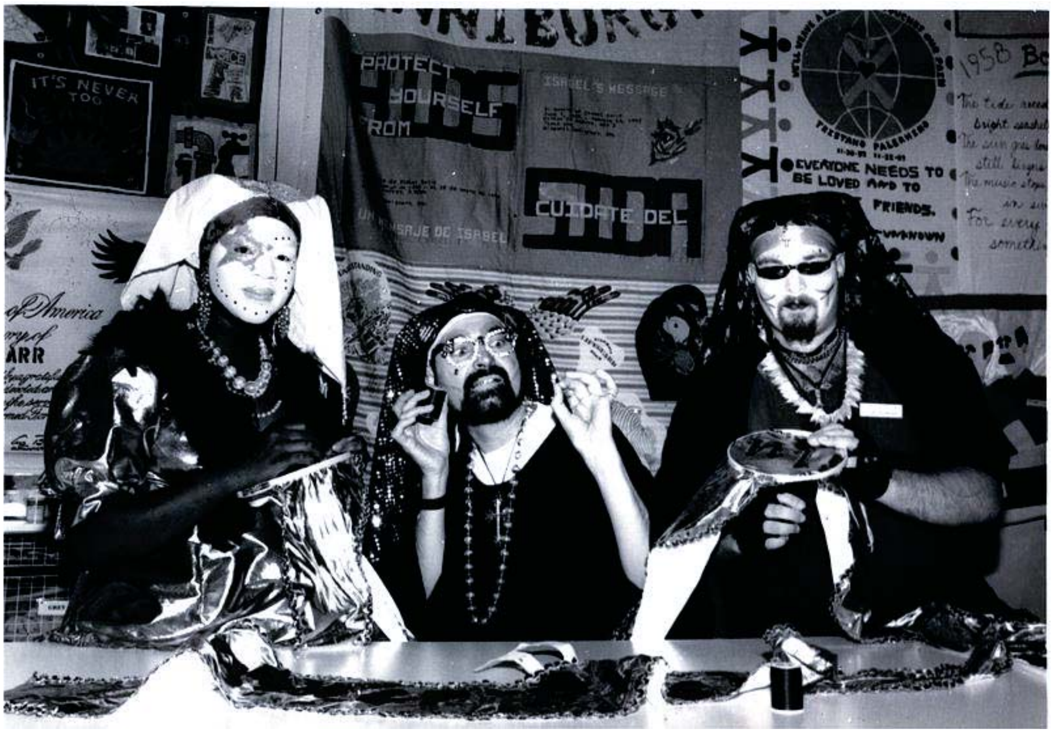


Figure 13: Sister Sistah, Sister Dana Van Iquity and Sister Kitty Catalyst O.C.P. at the NAMES Project office, 2362 Market Street, San Francisco, California working on the Nuns of The Above AIDS memorial quilt squares, honoring those Sisters who have died from AIDS. Photo by Rink Photo, ca. 1990s.[175]

On Easter weekend in 1979, in an act of spontaneous public theater, gay activists Ken Bunch, Fred Brungard, and Baruch Golden donned nun's garb and, leaving the small home that they shared together, went on a

---

and Bo Young, *The Fire in Moonlight: Stories From the Radical Faeries, 1975-2010* (Maple Shade, NJ: White Crane Books, 2011).

[173] Mark Thompson, "Black Leather Wings: the Radical Faeries Host a Leather Gathering," *Drummer* 136 (January 1990): 6-8; and Andrea Sharon Dworkin, "Bisexual Histories in San Francisco in the 1970s and Early 1980s," *Journal of Bisexuality* 1, no.1 (2000): 87-119. See also: Mark Thompson, ed., *Leatherfolk: Radical Sex, People, Politics, and Practice* (Los Angeles: Alyson Books, 2001).

[174] Ron Vanscoyk, "Beginnings: A Billy Story," The Billys website, accessed December 5, 2010, http://thebillys.org/name.pdf.

[175] License: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Sister_Sew_and_Sew_and_Sew.jpg

spree through San Francisco.[176] They later made further public appearances dressed as nuns. Two other activists who became involved early on, Agnes de Garron and Bill Graham, had attended the 1979 Spiritual Conference for Radical Fairies, where they found more men drawn to the notion of an order of gay male nuns. Four of these early participants (Ken Bunch, Bill Graham, Fred Brungard, and Agnes de Garron) were among those involved in establishing the order as the Sisters of Perpetual Indulgence with a mission to "promulgate universal joy and expiate stigmatic guilt." The Sisters developed into an international organization for fundraising and community service with new "houses" established throughout the United States and abroad. Although the Sisters remain primarily comprised of cis-gender gay men, their ranks now include all genders and sexualities (Figure 13). The Sisters vary widely in terms of their religious convictions; some are Catholic, but others are Jewish, Sikh, Pagan, Wiccan, and atheist. As such, some Sisters have sometimes described their order as being non-religious.[177]

Coda

This chapter has offered a brief overview of religious communities in which LGBTQ people have sought to affirm the value of their lives.

The differences in structure and organization among these communities is illustrated by the ways in which LGBTQ people sometimes clash with their co-religionists over the authority to interpret the meaning of LGBTQ lives. Chapters of Dignity, for example, are sometimes prohibited from meeting within the same Catholic churches where their members celebrate mass. Furthermore, Catholic priests and members of Catholic religious orders who advocate for LGBTQ people can face disciplinary action. In contrast, LGBTQ members of Unitarian congregations can expect that their relationships will be recognized and valued, and that the church will mobilize to confront forces that seek to demonize or diminish LGBTQ people.

---

[176] The home they shared was in the Mission District of San Francisco, California. Fred Brungard became Sister Missionary Position, now known as Sister Soami or simply as "Mish." Ken Bunch originally took the name Sister Adhanarishvara, then Sister Vicious Power Hungry Bitch, and is now known as Sister Vish-Knew or "Vish." Barouk (Bruce) Golden did not remain heavily involved in the order. A fourth founding member who joined them at their second manifestation is Agnes de Garron, known as Sister Hysterectoria. Later in 1979, these four moved to an apartment in San Francisco known as The Convent, located near the Panhandle of Golden Gate Park (Melissa Wilcox, personal communication).

[177] "A Sistory, Blow By Blow," The Sisters of Perpetual Indulgence website, accessed December 5, 2015, http://www.thesisters.org/sistory.

In spite of the differences in the workings of authority from one community to another, and despite the variety of ritual, language, and religious meanings, there is a commonality to the work discussed in this chapter. In every instance, LGBTQ people have sought to re-work, re-imagine, and re-interpret the stories, symbols, rituals, and meanings that they have inherited, adopted, or invented. Although expressions vary from one religious community to another, they all seek to assert the dignity and humanity of LGBTQ people.

22

LGBTQ AND HEALTH

Katie Batza

Introduction

Debates over what constitutes health and sickness have shaped LGBTQ history, identities, community building, and political activism in the United States since at least the nineteenth century. Deployed by mainstream medicine and utilized by sexual and gender minorities, "health" has fueled, reinforced, and challenged ideals of sexuality and gender, particularly as they have intersected with perceptions of race, class, ability, morality, and citizenship. In LGBTQ history, health has always meant more than simply charting rates of various illnesses and treatments, as the concept has been so crucial in defining and redefining LGBTQ people and communities. Consequently, a catalogue of LGBTQ health-related historic places extends far beyond the typical confines of health sites so that prisons and asylums, bars and bathhouses, city streets and parks, hotels and conference centers, government buildings and corporate headquarters prove equally important to the map of LGBTQ health history as do clinics, hospitals, and laboratories.

To provide some structure to this menagerie of sites as well as a corresponding timeline, I have devised three sections for this chapter:

Sites of Discrimination, Sites of Protest, and Sites of Service. Sites of Discrimination will examine the various ways and places in which “health,” sickness, and medicine have worked counterproductively against gender and sexual minorities to create pathologies and treatments that legitimized stigmatization and discrimination. Over time, members of LGBTQ communities resisted their medical classifications and the resulting mistreatment, sites of which I will explore in the Sites of Protest section. Sites of Service will document places where members of the LGBTQ community and allies within the medical field offered health care and services to LGBTQ individuals and where LGBTQ individuals have made significant contributions to medicine and health. While these categories allow for a roughly chronological historical narrative that showcases the full range of possible historic sites and illustrates the complexity of the relationship between health and LGBTQ histories, the categories are somewhat arbitrary and also fluid. For example, while I may list and explore a LGBTQ clinic in the Sites of Service section, it could also easily fit into the Sites of Protest section. Similarly, I list some places as Sites of Discrimination even as they were clearly Sites of Service because they illustrate the type and degree of discrimination common for LGBTQ individuals and communities in different periods. These sections will provide a brief historical overview of when, how, and why discrimination, protest, and service molded LGBTQ history, as well as an examination of related historic sites. While far from exhaustive, this approach should provide a strong orientation for future research on LGBTQ historic health sites.

In each of the following sections, as in LGBTQ history more generally, the concept of health works in two distinct, but overlapping ways: as it relates to LGBTQ communities as a group/groups and as it relates to individuals. From almost the first instances of medical research on sexual and gender minorities, which occurred in the late 1800s, doctors and scientists labeled them “deviant,” “pathological,” and “unnatural.” These medical designations then bolstered social stigma, legal persecution, and discrimination against the newly defined minorities. Consequently, early definitions of normal sexual “health” excluded and ostracized gender and sexual minorities as a group/groups so much so that many avoided possible diagnoses of sexual or gender “deviance” for fear of the consequences that included incarceration, job loss, and social ostracism. This group experience of “health,” or perhaps more accurately “sickness,” had serious implications for health on the individual level as well. Individuals fearful of a possible sexual or gender “deviant” diagnosis avoided doctors to such an extent that, when they finally did go to the doctor about an unrelated health concern, gender and sexual minorities would often have illnesses more advanced and difficult to treat than their “normal” counterparts. This scenario continues to play out even today as members of the LGBTQ community still report higher mortality rates than heterosexuals for many illnesses, including various cancers.[1] Those individuals already classified as sexual or gender minorities found their personal experiences in doctor’s offices frustrating and counterproductive as many doctors focused on treating their perceived deviance rather than their actual illnesses. Understandings and definitions of health, both group and individual experiences of it, changed within and among the LGBTQ communities over time, but it has remained a consistently important factor in LGBTQ identity formation, community building, and politics.

Sites of Discrimination

While legal and social discrimination certainly predated medical research of gender and sexual minorities, the terminology and pathology that resulted from the work of early sexologists, a new subfield of scientific research that emerged in the late 1800s to study sex and sexual practices, legitimized, perpetuated, and compounded this mistreatment. Inspired in part by Social Darwinism, eugenics, and the new interest in taxonomies, scientists and doctors of the 1880s began to study and categorize sexual behaviors and gender nonconformity. In creating new medical categories and identities, these scientists changed the social understanding of homosexuality and gender nonconformity by interpreting sex acts and gender presentations as indicative of identity. Previously, for example, homosexuality did not exist as an identity; instead, people participated in homosexual activities and society viewed those acts, not necessarily the people who committed them, as perverse. With these new medical identities and the pathologies, diagnoses, and treatments that soon followed, doctors of the late 1800s and early twentieth century emerged as incredibly powerful regulators of gender and sexual expression as well as arbiters of sickness and health.

---

[1] Jessica P. Brown and J. Kathleen Tracy, "Lesbians and Cancer: An Overlooked Health Disparity," *Cancer Causes & Control* 19, no. 10 (2008); Kenneth H. Mayer et al., "Sexual and Gender Minority Health: What We Know and What Needs to Be Done," *American Journal of Public Health* 98, no. 6 (2008): 909-995.

Diagnoses of “deviance,” “sexual inversion,” and “transvestism,” all common medical terminology by the early twentieth century, had the potential to ruin lives, or at least drastically alter them, causing many, like Murray Hall, to attempt living undetected.[2] Born “Mary Anderson” in Scotland in 1840, Hall immigrated to the United States where he began living as a man, married two women over the course of his life, and eventually became a well-known politician at Tammany Hall in New York City. Only after his death from breast cancer in 1901 did Hall’s female biology become widely known, sparking a national scandal and much intrigue.[3] Though publicized as unique and shocking, Murray Hall was far from the first woman to assume a male identity during a time when men had much greater privileges economically, socially, and politically. He was certainly was not the only to die, in part, from his fear of a doctor discovering his gender nonconformity or sexuality. Yet fear and avoidance of medical treatment were hardly the only operative factors in this period.

Medicine worked much more as a criminalizing and penalizing force for many gender and sexual minorities during the first half of the twentieth century than as a healing one.[4] Doctors and sexologists' work extended far beyond the hospital and doctor's office as they became expert witnesses, like sexologist Dr. James Kiernan in Chicago, at the criminal trials of gender and sexual minorities, or medical examiners of immigrants at Ellis Island where they regularly denied entry to immigrants suspected of homosexuality, or consultants to the government, like those at the Menninger Clinic and Sanatorium in Topeka, Kansas on how to use Rorschach tests to identify homosexuals in the military and in the State Department during World War II.[5] Those diagnosed as "deviant" faced a wide array of possible responses ranging from temporary acceptance of behavior attributed to a short phase of sexual development to state-mandated commitment to criminal insane asylums for indeterminate sentences.[6] The individual's race, class, gender, immigration status, ability, and family often, though not always, informed their experiences post-diagnosis.[7]

---

[2] Havelock Ellis, *Sexual Inversion*, *Studies in the Psychology of Sex* (Philadelphia: F.A. Davis Co., 1901); R. von Krafft-Ebing, *Psychopathia Sexualis: Mit Besonderer BerüCksichtigung Der ConträRen Sexualempfindung: Eine Klinisch-Forensische Studie*, 2. verm. und verb. Aufl. ed. (Stuttgart, Germany: Ferdinand Enke, 1887). The Murray Hall Residence is located in Greenwich Village, New York City, New York.

[3] "Amazed at Hall Revelations," *Chicago Tribune*, January 19, 1901.

Certainly gender presentation, lack of family support, and poverty shaped the life of Lucy Ann Lobdell, an unemployed widow from Delaware County, New York who wore men's clothing and went by the name "Joe" for much of his adulthood. In 1876, Joe was imprisoned after his wife's uncle discovered he was a female. Reunited with his wife upon his release many months later, Joe became impoverished and then, at the urging of the almshouse keeper, committed to the Willard Asylum for the Chronic

---

[4] Jennifer Terry, *An American Obsession: Science, Medicine, and Homosexuality in Modern Society* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1999).

[5] Alexis Coe, *Alice + Freda Forever: A Murder in Memphis* (San Francisco: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 2014); Margot Canaday, *The Straight State: Sexuality and Citizenship in Twentieth-Century America* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2009); Martin S. Bergmann, "Homosexuality on the Rorschach Test," *Bulletin of the Menninger Clinic* (1945); and Ivan Crozier, "James Kiernan and the Responsible Pervert," *International Journal of Law and Psychiatry* 25, no. 4 (2002). The James Kiernan residence is located in Chicago, Illinois. Ellis Island, in New York Harbor, is part of the Statue of Liberty National Monument (designated October 15, 1965). The Statue of Liberty National Monument is managed by the NPS, and was listed on the NRHP on October 15, 1966. The Menninger Clinic and Sanatorium site operated from 1925 through 2003 at 5800 SW Sixth Street in Topeka, Kansas.

[6] Don Romesburg, "The Tightrope of Normalcy: Homosexuality, Developmental Citizenship, and American Adolescence, 1890-1940," *Journal of Historical Sociology* 21, no. 4 (2008).

[7] Siobhan B. Somerville, *Queering the Color Line : Race and the Invention of Homosexuality in American Culture*, Series Q (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2000); and Julian Carter, *The Heart of Whiteness: Normal Sexuality and Race in America, 1880-1940* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2007).

Insane (Figure 1) where he eventually died in 1890 after nearly ten years of "treatment."[8] The Willard Asylum, like many asylums of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, frequently housed gender and sexual "deviants" for indeterminate sentences because medicine at the time had determined their "deviancy" possibly contagious and a danger to society, a view that also fueled the sexual psychopath laws of the mid-twentieth century that incarcerated thousands in prisons for indeterminate sentences.[9]

Throughout the twentieth century, medicine—particularly the field of psychology—slowly evolved its understanding of sexuality and gender so that new "treatments" began to emerge, all of which generally left patients physically or psychologically scarred and mistrusting of medicine.[10] Even as asylums and prisons transitioned from places that quarantined the criminal and mentally ill to places of potential "rehabilitation" during the middle decades of the twentieth century, concomitant "treatments" that included hormonal castration, lobotomy, and psychoanalysis often did more harm than good. With the new psychological theories of the esteemed

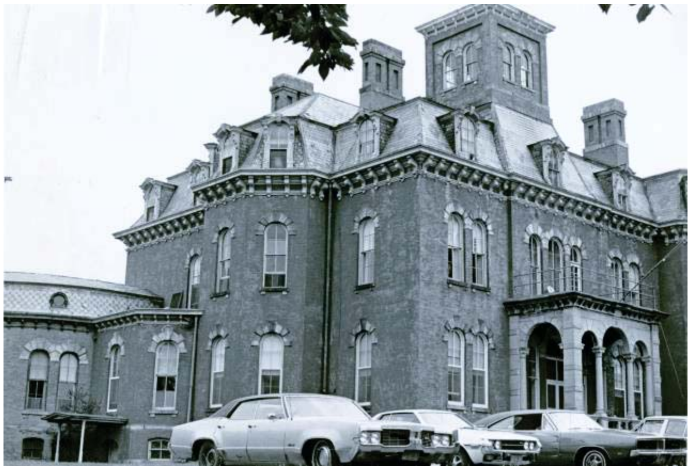


Figure 1: A 1974 view of the Willard Asylum, where Ann Lubdell remained captive for nearly a decade before her death in 1890. The Willard Asylum was one of many asylums across the country where gender and sexual minorities were committed against their wills and for indeterminate sentences during the late nineteenth century and for much of the twentieth. Photo by Richard Meams, courtesy of the National Park Service.

---

[8] P.M. Wise, "Case of Sexual Perversion," *The Alienist and Neurologist* 4, no. 1 (1883); James G. Kiernan, "Original Communications. Insanity. Lecture XXVI. - Sexual Perversion," *Detroit Lancet* 7, no. II (1884); and Jonathan Katz, *Gay American History: Lesbians and Gay Men in the U.S.A.: A Documentary* (New York: Crowell, 1976), 601. The Willard Asylum for the Chronic Insane in Ovid, New York was listed on the NRHP on June 7, 1975.

[9] Tamara Rice Lave, "Only Yesterday: The Rise and Fall of Twentieth Century Sexual Psychopath Laws," *Louisiana Law Review* 69, no. 3 (2009); and Estelle Freedman, ""Uncontrolled Desires": The Response to the Sexual Pyschopath, 1920-1960," *The Journal of American History* 74, no. 1 (1987).

[10] Martin B. Duberman, *Cures : A Gay Man's Odyssey* (New York: Dutton, 1991).

Dr. Joseph Wolpe at Temple University and the nurturing of the well-regarded researchers at the Masters and Johnson Institute, the 1960s witnessed the widespread adoption of aversion therapy, a new outgrowth of the flourishing field of psychology.[11] Aversion therapy delivered unpleasant physical experiences (often in the form of electric shocks) to men and women who showed arousal at homoerotic images. The theory behind aversion therapy hypothesized that after treatment, patients would associate homosexual arousal with pain and unpleasantness, train themselves to shun homosexual thoughts, and thus cure themselves of homosexuality. While widely accepted and practiced in the 1960s, this treatment coincided with shifting sexual norms, budding gay political activism, and a growing minority of psychiatrists that questioned the validity of homosexuality's classification as a mental illness. These changes caused the removal of homosexuality from the American Psychiatric Association's *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders* (DSM) in 1973.

Despite the important 1973 reclassification of homosexuality as no longer pathological, mainstream medicine remained a source of discrimination for many gender and sexual minorities for the remainder of the twentieth century. For one, numerous other diagnoses specific to gender nonconformity and some sexual practices remained classified as mental illnesses, ensuring that stigma endured for a large number of LGBTQ people and even making diagnoses of mental illness a prerequisite for hormones or surgery for trans* individuals desiring those services.[12] Second, the removal of homosexuality from the DSM did not bring an end to treatment programs for homosexuality. Conversion therapy, encompassing a broad range of treatments including strict policing of gender roles, guided visualization, and practices common in aversion therapy, still remains common practice at the fringes of psychology, despite the disapproval of the American Psychological Association, the overwhelming body of evidence proving its ineffectiveness, and bans against it in a growing number of states.[13] Additionally, the medical disentangling of homosexuality from mental illness did not equate to quality medical care for LGBTQ patients. While a growing number of doctors no longer viewed their LGBTQ patients as innately sick, they rarely knew how to ensure their health as few received any medical training on LGBTQ-specific health issues or treatment.[14] Lastly, changing the medical classification did not erase the larger social stigma and discrimination against LGBTQ individuals that almost a century of medical research helped to build and support.

---

[11] Basil James, "Case of Homosexuality Treated by Aversion Therapy," *British Medical Journal* 1, no. 5280 (1962): 768; M.P. Feldman and M.J. MacCulloch, "The Application of Anticipatory Avoidance Learning to the Treatment of Homosexuality: 1. Theory, Technique and Preliminary Results," *Behaviour Research and Therapy* 2, no. 2 (1964): 165-183; M.J. MacCulloch and M. P. Feldman, "Aversion Therapy in Management of 43 Homosexuals," *British Medical Journal* 2, no. 5552 (1967): 594-597; John Bancroft, "Aversion Therapy of Homosexuality: A Pilot Study of 10 Cases," *The British Journal of Psychiatry* 115, no. 529 (1969): 1417-1431; Joseph Wolpe, *The Practice of Behavior Therapy*, 3rd ed., Pergamon General Psychology Series (New York: Pergamon Press, 1982); and William H. Masters and Virginia E. Johnson, *Homosexuality in Perspective* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1979). Dr. Joseph Wolpe's office was located on the campus of Temple University Medical School, Henry Avenue, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. The Masters and Johnson Institute opened in 1964 as the Reproductive Biology Research Foundation at 4910 Forest Park Boulevard, St. Louis, Missouri. In 1978, it became the Masters and Johnson Institute, and closed in 1994.

The AIDS crisis of the 1980s showcased the full and lasting extent of this discrimination. First reported in June 1981, the new and fatal illness disproportionately affected gay men from the outset, a fact emphasized by doctors, researchers, and the media to such an extent that doctors initially and informally called it Gay-related Immune Deficiency (GRID).[15] Acquired immune deficiency syndrome (AIDS) became the formal name of the disease in July 1982 at a Washington, DC meeting of gay community leaders, government, and Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC) officials, where gay leaders argued against GRID's inaccuracy and stigma, but the association remains intact today. Consequently, homosexual men as a group, whether infected or not, experienced extreme forms of discrimination in health care, employment, and everyday life as the public feared contracting the deadly disease that no one, at the time, understood. For those infected, the stigma and fear surrounding AIDS translated into tragic injustices ranging from denial of hospital service, eviction, job loss, ejection from public spaces such as pools and schools, and even rejection from funeral homes and cemeteries.[16] The Brewer's Hotel (Figure 2), a dilapidated hotel often a site for paid sex work above a long-standing blue-collar gay bar in Pittsburgh, exemplifies the consequences of this discrimination. During the AIDS crisis, the hotel became an informal AIDS hospice for people who had lost their homes to housing discrimination and money to ineffective and expensive treatments, literally providing them with a place to die as volunteer nurses tended to them.[17] The Arthur J. Sullivan Funeral Home in San Francisco was one of the few funeral homes to accept the bodies of those who died from AIDS in the earliest months and years of the epidemic.[18] This discrimination expanded in the 1980s to also affect bisexuals and men who had sex with men. AIDS hysteria became so fever-pitched that the federal government made public health history in 1988 when it sent the informational pamphlet "Understanding AIDS" to every household in the United States, totaling approximately 126 million copies, to raise awareness and quell fear.[19] The harsh realities of the early AIDS crisis expanded the list of historic sites of medically-related LGBTQ discrimination exponentially in number and scope but also created unprecedented in-depth education around LGBTQ health and sex more broadly that had positive

---

[12] Trans* is an inclusive umbrella term that encompasses a wide range of gender nonconforming people that might also identify as transgender, transsexual, transvestite, genderqueer, and/or other terms. I use it here to be as inclusive and accurate as possible. Dean Spade, "Mutilating Gender," in eds., Susan Stryker and Stephen Whittle *The Transgender Studies Reader* (New York: Routledge, 2006).

[13] Erik Eckholm, "California Is First State to Ban Gay 'Cure' for Minors," *New York Times*, September 30, 2012; Tia Ghose, "Why Gay Conversion Therapy Is Harmful," in *livescience* (2015); and Angela Delli Santi, "Chris Christie Signs Ban on Gay Conversion Therapy," *The Huffington Post*, August 19, 2013, http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2013/08/19/chris-christie-gay-conversion-ban_n_3779489.html.

[14] D. G. Ostrow and N. L. Altman, "Sexually Transmitted Diseases and Homosexuality," *Sexually Transmitted Diseases* 10, no. 4 (1983); D. G. Ostrow and D. M. Shaskey, "The Experience of the Howard Brown Memorial Clinic of Chicago with Sexually Transmitted Diseases," ibid. 4, no. 2 (1977).

[15] "Gay Cancer Focus of Hearing," *The Washington Blade*, April 16, 1982; and L.K. Altman, "New Homosexual Disorder Worries Health Officials," *New York Times*, May 11, 1982.

---

[16] Philip James Tiemeyer, *Plane Queer: Labor, Sexuality, and AIDS in the History of Male Flight Attendants* (Oakland: University of California, 2013); and Sean Strub, *Body Counts: A Memoir of Politics, Sex, AIDS, and Survival* (New York: Scribner, 2014).

[17] The Brewer's Hotel is located at 3315 Liberty Avenue, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.

[18] The Arthur J. Sullivan Funeral Home is located at 2254 Market Street, San Francisco, California. In 2014, a developer filed plans to demolish and redevelop the property.

[19] D. Davis, "'Understanding AIDS' – The National Mailer," *Public Health Reports* 106, no. 6 (1991).

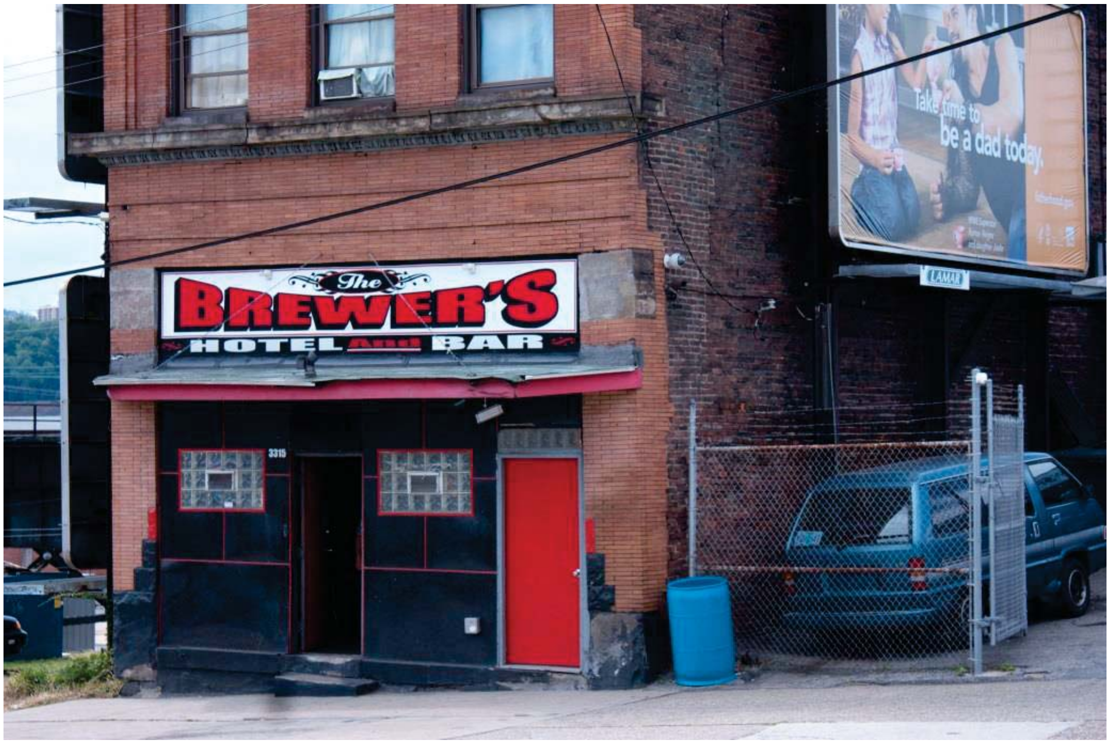


Figure 2: The Brewer's Hotel above a long-standing working-class gay bar and across the street from an old brewery became an impromptu AIDS hospice during the 1980s. Volunteer nurses would go from room to room caring for the gay men who had lost their homes and livelihoods as a result of their battle with HIV/AIDS. Photograph 2015, courtesy of Joseph W. Edgar.

repercussions on the health of people both in and beyond LGBTQ communities.

Sites of Protest

While manipulating definitions of health proved a useful tool of discrimination against LGBTQ people and communities starting in the 1880s, it also sparked various forms of protest. In creating sexual and gender minority identities, medicine also inadvertently helped create communities of people who shared those new identities, including experiences of fear, discrimination, and mistreatment, as well as a desire for change. That same change had, in fact, been the intention of some of the earliest sexologists. Those whose work introduced "sexual inversion," "transvestism," and "deviance" into the scientific lexicon and legitimized existing social stigmas actually intended to create more understanding and acceptance of sexual and gender minorities.[20] While doctors in the United States in the early twentieth century mostly embraced the more discriminatory aspects of sexological taxonomies, some "deviants" clung to their potential use for social acceptance. In December 1924, inspired by the work of German sexologist Magnus Hirschfeld, Bavarian immigrant Henry Gerber and African American pastor John T. Graves cofounded the oldest documented homosexual rights organization in the United States, the Chicago-based Society for Human Rights.[21] Though they faced police harassment and the organization only survived a few months, the charter "to promote and protect the interests of people who by reasons of mental and physical abnormalities are abused and hindered in the legal pursuit of happiness," makes clear the importance of medical diagnosis in the organization's origins.[22]

In the mid-twentieth century, activists changed tactics, challenging the medical diagnoses themselves rather than trying to harness their potential to create more social acceptance—as the Society for Human Rights unsuccessfully had. The 1948 and 1953 medical research studies from the Kinsey Institute in Bloomington, Indiana that suggested homosexuality was much more common than previously thought and Evelyn Hooker's 1957 findings at the University of California at Los Angeles that questioned the categorization of homosexuality as an illness bolstered this perspective.[23] Local chapters of the midcentury homophile organization the Mattachine Society approached the questions of diagnosis and illness differently with Frank Kameny insisting “Gay is Good” as he led the Washington, DC chapter in its fight against the federal government’s post-World War II policy to identify and terminate all homosexual employees.[24] The New York City chapter saw the questions around homosexuality and health produce infighting and eventual fracture of the group, with one side wanting to accept but de-emphasize their classification as mentally ill and the other challenging the diagnosis.[25] From this perspective, medicine and health played a central and crucial role in kick-starting the earliest LGTBQ political activism and also in shaping the ways that activism evolved over time.

---

[20] Magnus Hirschfeld, *Die Homosexualität Des Mannes Und Des Weibes*, Handbuch Der Gesamten Sexualwissenschaft in Einzeldarstellungen (Berlin: L. Marcus, 1914).

[21] The Henry Gerber residence is located within the Old Town Triangle Historic District (listed November 8, 1984) in Chicago, Illinois. It was designated an NHL on June 19, 2015.

[22] Katz, *Gay American History*, 386-387.

[23] Institute for Sex Research and Alfred C. Kinsey, *Sexual Behavior in the Human Female* (Philadelphia: Saunders, 1953); Alfred C. Kinsey, Wardell Baxter Pomeroy, and Clyde E. Martin, *Sexual Behavior in the Human Male* (Philadelphia: W. B. Saunders Co., 1948); and E. Hooker, "The Adjustment of the Male Overt Homosexual," *J Proj Tech* 21, no. 1 (1957). The Kinsey Institute for Research on Sex, Gender, and Reproduction is currently located at the University of Indiana, Morrison Hall 302, 1165 E Third Street, Bloomington, Indiana. When established in 1947, it was located in Biology Hall (now Swain Hall East); in 1950, the institute moved to Wylie Hall (on the NRHP as part of the Old Crescent Historic District, listed on September 8, 1980; in 1955 relocated to Jordan Hall, and in 1967 moved to its current location (The Kinsey Institute website, "Chronology of Events" at http://www.kinseyinstitute.org/about/chronology.html). Evelyn Hooker's office was located in the Psychology department at the University of California, Los Angeles.

The flow of influence was multidirectional and LGBTQ political activism in turn, shaped medicine. Beginning in 1970, LGBTQ individuals, mostly former patients of psychiatrists who no longer accepted the validity of homosexuality as a mental illness, began protesting the American Psychological Association’s (APA) annual meetings, first at the San Francisco Civic Auditorium in 1970 then at the Sheraton-Park Hotel in Washington DC the following year. In 1972, as the APA met in the Dallas Memorial Auditorium and Convention Center, a man donning a paper sack to hide his identity and calling himself Dr. Anonymous appealed to his colleagues when he spoke of the challenges he faced as a psychiatrist who was also gay.[26] The protests proved effective when, in 1973 at the Sheraton Waikiki Hotel, members of the APA voted to remove homosexuality from the DSM, from which its members drew diagnoses.[27] However, the 1973 vote did not mark the end of sexual and gender minorities' struggles with medicine or the APA. Just seven years later in 1980, members of the trans* community found their identities and lives pathologized with the new addition of Gender Identity Disorder in the DSM, not only linking them to mental pathology but also making them reliant upon the diagnosis of mental illness to gain access to hormone and surgical options.[28] Multiyear protests again resulted in the APA amending the DSM, replacing the longstanding Gender Identity Disorder with the less stigmatizing, though still problematic, diagnosis of Gender Dysphoria at their 2011 annual meeting held at the Hawai'i Convention Center (Figure 3).[29]

---

[24] David K. Johnson, *The Lavender Scare: The Cold War Persecution of Gays and Lesbians in the Federal Government* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004); and John D'Emilio, *Sexual Politics, Sexual Communities: The Making of a Homosexual Minority in the United States, 1940-1970,* 2nd ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998). Dr. Franklin E. Kameny’s residence in Washington, DC was listed on the NRHP on November 2, 2011.

[25] D’Emilio, *Sexual Politics, Sexual Communities*.

[26] Ronald Bayer, *Homosexuality and American Psychiatry: The Politics of Diagnosis* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1987); Jack Drescher and Joseph P. Merlino, *American Psychiatry and Homosexuality: An Oral History* (New York: Harrington Park Press, 2007). The San Francisco Civic Auditorium, now known as the Bill Graham Civic Auditorium, is located at 99 Grove Street, San Francisco, California. The Sheraton-Park Hotel, now known as the Washington Marriott Wardman Park Hotel, is located at 2660 Woodley Road NW, Washington, DC; it was listed on the NRHP on January 31, 1984. The Dallas Memorial Auditorium and Convention Center, now known as the Kay Bailey Hutchison Convention Center, is located at Canton and Akard Streets, Dallas, Texas.

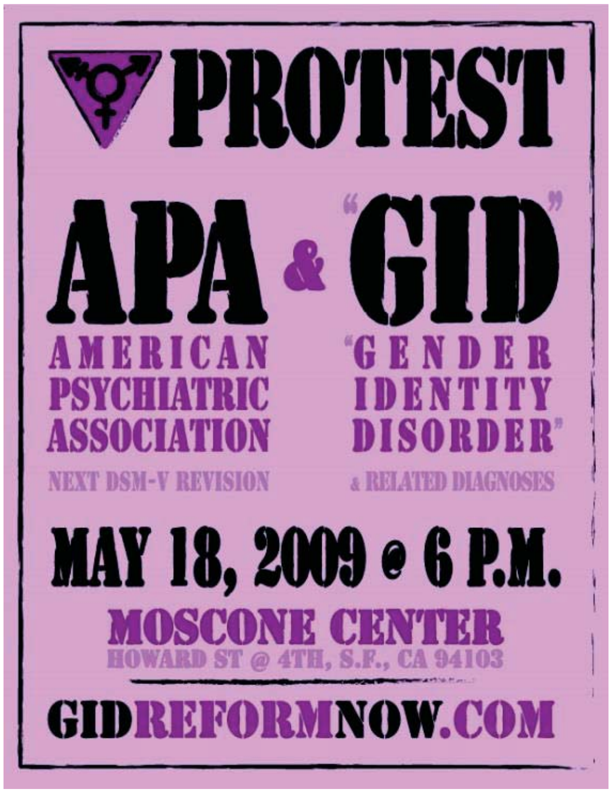


Figure 3: A poster made by activist Andrea James and used during a protest of the APA as it deliberated removing Gender Identity Disorder from the DSM in 2009. Protest poster by Andrea James, 2009.[30]

Protest played a central role in LGBTQ health history with the emergence of the AIDS crisis in the 1980s. For most of the 1980s, doctors and the public struggled to understand AIDS, how it was transmitted, who was susceptible, and how to treat those infected. Fear informed policy.

---

[27] American Psychological Association, "Memo Regarding the Status of Homosexuality as a Mental Disorder," in *Walter Lear Personal Collection* (Philadelphia1973). The Sheraton Waikiki Hotel is located at 2255 Kalakaua Avenue, Honolulu, Hawai'i.

[28] Spade, "Mutilating Gender."

[29] Kenneth J. Zucker et al., "Memo Outlining Evidence for Change for Gender Identity Disorder in the DSM-5," *Archives of Sexual Behavior* 42, no. 5 (2013): 901-914. The Haiwai'i Convention Center is located at 1801 Kalakaua Avenue, Honolulu, Hawai'i.

[30] License: CC BY 2.0. https://www.flickr.com/photos/andreajames/3510437558/in/photolist-6mcUMu-6oCPAA-6pQCaH/

Educated guesses drove research. Desperation fueled treatments. Community spaces such as gay bars and bathhouses became battlegrounds as health commissioners and mayors sought to shutter sites they saw as contributing to the epidemic, and gay community members fought to maintain the community hubs as sites for possible education and intervention. Until 1987, there were no Food and Drug Administration (FDA) approved treatments, and even then those patients on the medication AZT fared almost as poorly as those receiving nothing.[31] Not until 1996, with the discovered efficacy of a "cocktail" of approved medications did HIV-positive people in the United States see their prospects for daily quality of life and life expectancy improve.[32] However, access to these new antiretroviral (ARV) therapies varied widely across class and race. Disproportionately affected by the disease and the discrimination related to it, members of the LGBTQ community used protest to educate the public and doctors, demand research funding, insist upon humane treatment in medical settings, and fight widespread homophobia exacerbated by fear of the illness. Protests took many forms from quilting to kiss-ins, from spreading the ashes of loved ones to dispensing condoms, and from illegally importing treatments from abroad to speaking before legislators.[33]

While groups protesting AIDS discrimination are far too numerous to enumerate here, highlighting the work of a handful of organizations demonstrates both the scope of the crisis and the creativity employed in fighting it. The group ACT UP (AIDS Coalition to Unleash Power) began in March 1987, meeting in the basement of what is now the Lesbian, Gay,

---

[31] Richard D. Moore and Richard E. Chaisson, "Natural History of Opportunistic Disease in an HIV-Infected Urban Clinical Cohort," *Annals of Internal Medicine* 124, no. 7 (1996).

[32] Roy Gulick et al., "Treatment with Indinavir, Zidovudine, and Lamivudine in Adults with Human Immunodeficiency Virus Infection and Prior Antiretroviral Therapy," *New England Journal of Medicine* 337, no. 11 (1997); and SM Hammer et al., "A Controlled Trial of Two Nucleoside Analogues Plus Indinavir in Persons with Human Immunodeficiency Virus Infection and Cd4 Cell Counts of 200 Per Cubic Millimeter or Less. AIDS Clinical Trials Group 320 Study Team," ibid.

[33] The basement of what is now the Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender Community Center, 208 W 13th Street, New York City, New York, hosted New York ACT UP for many years. Tamar W. Carroll, *Mobilizing New York: AIDS, Antipoverty, and Feminist Activism*, Gender and American Culture Series (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2015); and Deborah B. Gould, *Moving Politics: Emotion and ACT UP's Fight against AIDS* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2009).

Bisexual and Transgender Community Center in New York City, and inspired chapters to start around the world. This group employed creative and disruptive tactics in direct action protests to draw attention and spur action on many fronts of the AIDS crisis (Figure 4). With a massive protest in October 1988, the group successfully shut down the FDA offices in Rockville, Maryland, drawing national media coverage and highlighting the slow and ineffective policies of the institution in administering drug trials and approving medications. A "die-in" protest against drug profiteering at the New York Stock Exchange a year later proved pivotal in forcing Burroughs Wellcome, the pharmaceutical company that developed and released AZT, to drop the medication's annual cost from approximately $10,000 per patient to $6,400 per patient. The 1990 protest of the National Institutes of Health brought hundreds of activists and dozens of protest posters in the shape of gravestones to the campus lawn to challenge the slow paces of research and drug approval (AZT was the only approved drug after a full decade of the epidemic and more than one billion of research funding spent) as well as the lack of racial diversity in medical trials. A map of the ACT UP protests is diverse, ranging from the White House lawn to the Trinity Church in New York where organizers gathered for an early ACT UP protest on Wall Street and from the CDC in Atlanta to the FDA in Rockville.[34]

ACT UP, while among the most vocal and aggressive in their protests, was far from the only group protesting AIDS and memorializing those claimed by the disease. The Names Project, first conceived by San Francisco activist Cleve Jones in 1985, encouraged friends and family members of those who succumbed to the disease to create commemorative quilt panels. The organization then arranged for display of the quilt, and later pieces of the quilt, at cities around the world to heighten AIDS awareness. The last display of the entire quilt occurred in

---

[34] The White House is located at 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue NW, Washington, DC. Trinity Church is located at 74 Trinity Place, New York City, New York. It was listed on the NRHP and as an NHL on December 8, 1976. The Centers for Disease Control (1980-1992), now the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, is located at 1600 Clifton Road, Atlanta, Georgia. The Food and Drug Administration is located at 5600 Fishers Lane, Rockville, Maryland.

October 1996, when it filled the National Mall in Washington, DC. Founded in 1985 and displaying a completely different strategy to fight AIDS, amfAR, the Foundation for AIDS Research, has pushed research in new directions through funding initiatives and service programs directly. The works of these organizations expands the map of LGBTQ health history sites into sewing circles and living rooms across the country, hundreds of city parks and buildings, and into the labs of over the three thousand amfAR funded research teams.

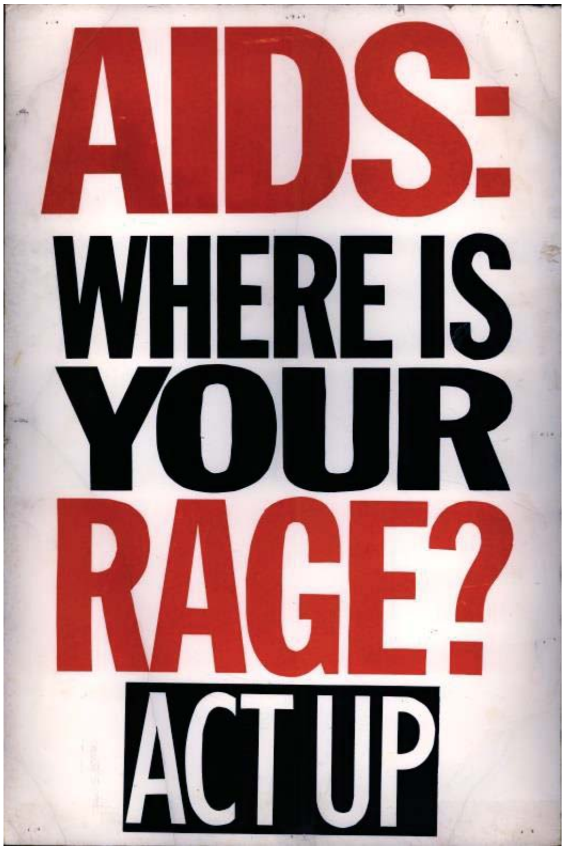


Figure 4: Activist and Kansas resident Bruce McKinney used this handmade poster during an ACT-UP protest in Wichita, Kansas. Created by Bruce McKinney. Photo courtesy of Tami Albin.

LGBTQ people of color and working-class people faced another layer of complexity and discrimination that required protest. Frequently pushed to the margins by the predominantly white and middle-class protesters within and beyond the LGBTQ communities, they often struggled to be heard by existing groups or built their own to highlight the health impacts of compounding forms of discrimination.[35] The annual Black Lesbian and Gay Pride event, held from 1991-1999 at Washington, DC's Banneker Field was one such event that proved incredibly successful in fundraising for HIV/AIDS-related services for the black community.[36] Regardless of which group organized the actions, the vast majority of protests were directed at sites of service, either to draw attention to inaction, ineffectiveness, or discrimination, or to raise awareness and money for them.

---

[35] Jennifer Brier, *Infectious Ideas: U.S. Political Responses to the AIDS Crisis* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2009); and Cathy J. Cohen, *The Boundaries of Blackness: AIDS and the Breakdown of Black Politics* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999).

[36] Banneker Field is associated with the Banneker Recreation Center at 2500 Georgia Avenue NW, Washington, DC. The Banneker Recreation Center was listed on the NRHP on April 28, 1986.

The ripple effects of the protests during the early AIDS crisis emanated into changing public attitudes toward people with AIDS, the LGBTQ communities more broadly, and in health policy. Most immediately for the AIDS crisis of the 1980s, protests led to the FDA streamlining its drug approval process in 1987, shaving 2-3 years off of the standard time period required for drug approval. However, the impact of AIDS activism and the more sympathetic society it created translated into health policy that, by the end of the twentieth century, began to examine health disparities of sexual and gender minorities beyond mental health, substance abuse, and sexual health for the first time in American

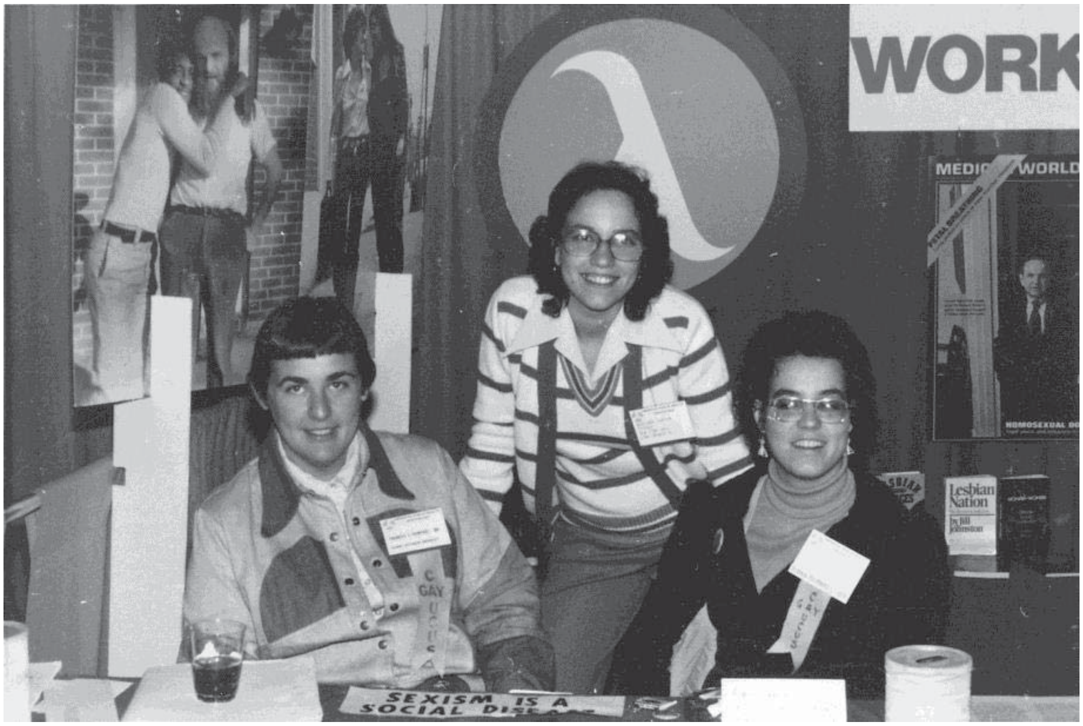


Figure 5: Volunteers staff the first gay caucus booth at the American Public Health Association's annual meeting in 1975. Founded by Walter Lear, the American Public Health Association's gay caucus was one of the first of any professional medical association in the country and furthered LGBTQ issues within the public health profession and also improved the public health of the LGBTQ community at large. Within a decade, nearly all major medical professional organizations had a similar caucus, each working to make its specific field more welcoming to LGBTQ colleagues and better serve the LGBTQ community. Photo by Walter Lear and gifted to author.

history.[37] Other developments that resulted in policy shifts predated AIDS, most notably the creation of LGBTQ caucuses within all the major medical professional organizations between 1973 and 1981 (Figure 5). From their inception, these caucuses proved pivotal in propelling research, garnering support within the medical profession, and shaping LGBTQ health policy. Changing health policy is only as effective as its implementation and another battle that began in the 1970s, but continues today, seeks to make LGTBQ health a more prominent component of medical school training, expanding the map of LBGTQ history sites into medical schools across the country.[38]

Sites of Service

Even as "health" was a source of discrimination and protest for much of LGBTQ history, gender and sexual minorities also found or created sites of service throughout the twentieth century in an effort to obtain needed health care. These sites, like those of discrimination and protest, include an unusual variety of venues and illustrate the true diversity of LGBTQ health needs. With the distrust produced by the stigma and consequences of diagnosis being so extreme for much of the twentieth century, many of these health sites appear in places or areas where members of the LBGTQ community already felt comfortable, such as bars or gay enclaves. These sites also had to serve an impressive array of health needs ranging from general care to research and from hormone therapy to fertility services. The sites of service exemplify the ingenuity of the LGBTQ communities to receive and provide health care in what was often an otherwise unwelcoming medical landscape. They also symbolize the literal growth and transformation of the LGBTQ's relationship to health.

---

[37] Steven Epstein, "Sexualizing Governance and Medicalizing Identities: The Emergence of 'State-Centered' LGBT Health Politics in the United States," *Sexualities* 6, no. 2 (2003); Institute of Medicine Committee on Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender Health Issues and Research Gaps and Opportunities, *The Health of Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender People: Building a Foundation for Better Understanding*, (Washington, DC: National Academies Press, 2011); Institute of Medicine, Andrea L. Solarz, ed., *Lesbian Health: Current Assessment and Directions for the Future*, (Washington, DC: National Academy Press, 1999).

[38] Marie Murphy, "Hiding in Plain Sight: The Production of Heteronormativity in Medical Education," *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography* (2014).

The documentation of early twentieth-century sites of service is sparse, suggesting that most gender and sexual minorities either never disclosed their practices or simply avoided medical interactions altogether. However, the Portland, Oregon office of Dr. J. Allen Gilbert is an exception.[39] Here in 1918, Dr. Gilbert treated "H" (Alberta Lucille Hart) who transitioned to Alan Hart and went on to use x-rays in diagnosing tuberculosis in Boise, Idaho, a revolutionary screening method that saved thousands of lives.[40] Dr. Harry Benjamin's New York and San Francisco offices also provided treatment for transgender patients starting in the 1940s and was the basis for research for his *Transsexual Phenomenon*, a foundational text of transgender care published in 1966.[41] Benjamin's work also proved pivotal in the development of sexual reassignment surgery (SRS), a topic Susan Stryker discusses at great length in her chapter in this volume. While few in number, these sites show how members of the LGBTQ community occasionally found medical allies and built networks in the first half of the twentieth century.

The vast majority of service sites emerged in the 1970s and 1980s, as liberation politics combined with shifting sexual norms and the changing medical understanding of sexuality. The government support of community health clinics in the 1970s and the AIDS crisis of the 1980s also factored heavily in the development of many of these service sites.[42] Equally important in mapping these spaces, the definition of service also expanded during this time period to include social services for those infected with diseases, preventative care and public health initiatives, and research that addressed the gaps in medical knowledge left by a medical profession focused, for nearly a century, on treating gender and sexual

---

[39] Dr. J. Allen Gilbert's office was located at 601 SW Alder Street, Portland, Oregon.

[40] J. Allen Gilbert (October 1920), "Homo-Sexuality and Its Treatment," *Journal of Nervous and Mental Disease* 2(4): 297–332; and Alan L. Hart, "Mass X-ray Surveys in Tuberculosis Control: A Discussion of Certain Phases of Mass Radiography in Continuous Tuberculosis Control Program," (PhD diss., Yale University, 1948). Dr. Alan Hart's home and office were located in Boise, Idaho.

[41] Harry Benjamin, *The Transsexual Phenomenon* (New York: Julian Press, 1966). Harry Benjamin's offices were located at 728 Park Avenue, New York City, New York and 450 Sutter Street, San Francisco, California. 450 Sutter Street was added to the NRHP on December 22, 2009.

[42] Catherine Batza, "Before AIDS: Gay and Lesbian Health Activism in the 1970s," (PhD diss., University of Illinois at Chicago, 2010); and Brier, *Infectious Ideas*.

"abnormalities" rather than the actual illnesses that gender and sexual minorities faced.

Each site of service set its own parameters of intended clientele and services, reflecting its capabilities, interest, and the needs of LGBTQ individuals and communities. Some, like the Gay and Lesbian Community Centers in Memphis, Washington, DC, New York, and dozens of other cities that emerged in the 1970s and 1980s, provided services for an expanding range of LGBTQ identified people.[43] Others, like the Tom Waddell Health Center in San Francisco that opened in 1993, limited their focus to addressing the specific and poorly-attended health needs of low-income trans* identified people.[44] These different approaches illuminate logistical limitations but also speak to a larger and more complicated reality. Increasingly over the last four decades, the LGBTQ communities have aspired for unity and equality across all gender and sexual minorities but have also repeatedly, though often unintentionally, marginalized and underserved members of the trans* community, women, people of color, and low-income individuals.[45] From this perspective, the spectrum of health services that emerged in the 1970s and 1980s illustrate the real health consequences of structural racism, sexism, transphobia, classism, and ableism that operate within LGBTQ communities as much as they do in every other segment of the population.

The services offered in these sites cumulatively recast the relationship between health and LBGTQ communities, paving the way for greater trust of the medical community among LGBTQ individuals, and ultimately improved health care and quality of life. While far from complete today, this shift toward positivity in the relationship between "health" and LGBTQ communities started with seemingly small service offerings that began in the second half of the twentieth century that would expand, or replicate elsewhere. The Homophile Health Services in Boston, Massachusetts, which began offering affirming, rather than pathologizing, mental health counseling to gays and lesbians in 1971, gave space to an emerging activism and branch of psychology that would lead to the removal of homosexuality from the DSM just a few years later.[46] The Man's Country Bathhouse in Chicago, Illinois initiated, in 1974, a VD Van program that traveled between various gay nightclubs to provide free venereal disease testing.[47] Communities in other cities copied the program and transformed bars and bathhouses from sites of transmission to sites of potential education and treatment (a concept much discussed and debated in the early AIDS crisis a decade later).[48] The Sperm Bank of Northern California, when it began as a side project of the Oakland Feminist Women's Health Center in 1982, granted lesbians and single women access to banked and screened sperm for alternative insemination for the first time, providing a new and influential pathway to lesbian motherhood.[49] Each of these sites, and the medical services they offered, altered the landscape for LGBTQ health in deeply impactful ways.

---

[43] The Memphis Gay and Lesbian Community Center is located at 892 S Cooper Street, Memphis, Tennessee. In 1975, the Gay and Lesbian Community Center of Washington, DC was located at 1469 Church Street NW, Washington, DC. It closed (two locations later) in 1990. Founded in 1983, the Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender Community Center is still at its original location, 208 W 13th Street, New York City, New York.

[44] The Tom Waddell Health Center was originally located at 50 Lech Walesa (Ivy) Street, San Francisco, California. In 2013, it was renamed the Tom Waddell Urban Health Center and many services, including the transgender clinic, were relocated to 230 Golden Gate Avenue.

[45] Brier, *Infectious Ideas*; Cohen, *The Boundaries of Blackness*; and Susan Stryker, *Transgender History*, Seal Studies (Berkeley, CA: Seal Press, 2008).

Research also propelled the improved relationship between health and LGBTQ communities during the waning decades of the twentieth century, expanding the sites of service to include medical labs and research facilities. Medical researchers' century-long focus on gender expression and sexuality as illnesses left a dearth of research on how LGBTQ individuals experienced actual illnesses and diseases or how gender and sexuality informed health experiences more broadly. While midcentury researchers like Kinsey and Hooker blazed a path into this kind of research, medical researchers, many of them identifying as LGBTQ, took up this vein of research in earnest in the 1970s and 1980s. Responding to the 1978 research conducted by the Women's Clinic of the San Francisco General Hospital on the medical disparities lesbians experienced in traditional health settings (some of the earliest research in the United States to focus solely on women's health), Lyon-Martin Health Services opened in 1980, building upon more than a decade of feminist health clinics and activism across the country.[50] Dr. Fred "Fritz" Klein of San Diego, California founded the American Institute of Bisexuality in 1998 to research the largely unstudied experiences of bisexuals, improving and broadening understanding of their medical needs.[51]

---

[46] Homophile Health Services was located at 112 Arlington Street, Boston, Massachusetts.

[47] Man's Country opened in 1972 and remains in business. It is located at 5017 N Clark Street, Chicago, Illinois.

[48] Batza, "Before AIDS: Gay and Lesbian Health Activism in the 1970s."

[49] Katie Batza, "From Sperm Runners to Sperm Banks: Lesbians, Assisted Conception, and the Fertility Industry, 1971-1983," *Journal of Women's History* Forthcoming (2015). "Feminists Open Their Own Sperm Bank," *The Evening Independent,* October 8, 1982. The Sperm Bank of Northern California, currently known as The Sperm Bank of California, is now located at 2115 Milvia Street, Berkeley, California.

LGBTQ activists and medical professionals also played a key role in the early identification and understanding of AIDS. Founded in 1982, the Gay Men's Health Crisis in New York City sought to connect those infected with willing service providers, but also initiated connections between researchers, doctors, and activists.[52] Also opening that year, the San Francisco AIDS Foundation offered the first national AIDS hotline and has been instrumental in educating San Francisco residents and officials, advocating on behalf of people with AIDS, and providing direct medical and social services to local people touched by the disease for over thirty years.[53] Community health clinics specifically serving the LGBTQ communities, like the Fenway Community Health Center in Boston or the Howard Brown Health Center in Chicago, also did this work while simultaneously conducting research into treatments and modes of transmission and serving as medical first responders to the first people with AIDS.[54]

---

[50] San Francisco General Hospital is located at 1001 Potrero Avenue, San Francisco, California. Lyon-Martin Health Services is located at 1748 Market Street, San Francisco, California.

[51] Fred Klein, *The Bisexual Option*, 2nd ed., Haworth Gay and Lesbian Studies (New York: Haworth Press, 1993). The American Institute of Bisexuality is located at 8265 West Sunset Boulevard, West Hollywood, California. The Fred "Fritz" Klein residence, where he lived with his partner Tom Reise from 1995 until his death in 2006, is located in San Diego, California.

[52] The Gay Men's Health Crisis was founded at 318 W 22nd Street, New York City, New York.

[53] The San Francisco AIDS Foundation, originally called the Kaposi's Sarcoma Research and Education Foundation, opened at 520 Castro Street, San Francisco, California.

AIDS research took many different forms from understanding modes of transmission to developing treatments, and even possible cures, for those infected. After identifying the specific retrovirus, later called HIV, that causes AIDS in 1984, AIDS researchers developed a screening test for the virus and then moved on to manufacturing treatments and prophylactics. Some researchers focused on designing treatments that would kill or render harmless the virus once inside the body, others honed in on preventing the virus from ever being transmitted, others still sought to develop a vaccine. Treatment development and government approval proved painfully slow and many well-conceived ideas proved ineffective or impossible to execute. However, these, and countless other AIDS research efforts have combined to provide a much better understanding of LGBTQ health as well as effective transmission prevention methods within and beyond the LGBTQ community.

LGBTQ scientists and doctors also shaped the medical field around them, both within and beyond the subfield of LGBTQ health. Just as Alan Hart had made great strides in tuberculosis treatment methods, Sara Josephine Baker played a pivotal role in improving fetal health, reducing infant mortality, and curbing Typhoid fever in the early twentieth century.[55] In the 1960s and 1970s, pioneering LGBTQ doctors like Walter Lear and Howard Brown fought to make the medical profession more accepting of LGBTQ practitioners.[56] Doctors Kenneth Mayer and David Ostrow conducted extensive and important research in the final decades of the twentieth century on LGBTQ health regarding sexually transmitted infections, HIV/AIDS treatments, and creating inclusive medical services.[57] The work of these, and many other LGBTQ doctors and scientists, expands the map and scope of LGBTQ health-related historic sites.

---

[54] The Fenway Community Health Center, today known as Fenway Health, was founded in 1971 at 16 Haviland Street, Boston, Massachusetts. It currently has several locations in Boston, with the original one being the Haviland Street location. The Howard Brown Health Center began in a room above the grocery store across from Chicago’s Biograph Theater in 1974. On October 4, 1997, they moved into their current facility at 4025 N Sheridan Road, Chicago, Illinois.

[55] Sara Josephine Baker lived much of her adult life with her female companion, novelist Ida A. R. Wiley. They eventually retired to a farm in Skillman, New Jersey.

[56] Walter Lear’s residence was located in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania and in it he held regular meetings of LGBTQ health professionals and organized the creation of LGBTQ caucuses in many professional organizations. Howard Brown was a New York City Health Services Administrator before coming out and founding the National Gay Task Force (now the National LGBTQ Task Force) in 1973.

Conclusion

Few forces have shaped LGBTQ history to the extent that health and medicine have. The relationship between medicine and gender and sexual minorities has been complex since doctors first initiated it in the late nineteenth century, fueling extreme discrimination, harming countless individuals with physical and emotionally painful "treatments," yet also providing the basis for LGBTQ community building and spurring political activism that factor prominently in our national history. The history told by the sites outlined here is equal parts adversity and redemption, sickness (of both society and individuals) and health, tragedy and hope, and discrimination and service. Each of the LGBTQ health-related sites reflect individual experiences of suffering that can be traced back to the first doctors who set gender and sexual minorities apart and classified them as "other" and "deviant." The lasting legacy of that stigma is what unifies these sites, makes them noteworthy and, in fact, made many of them necessary at all.

This history continues to mold our present and future. The sites of discrimination presented here only scratch the surface of a reality that suggests that nearly every site that offered any sort of medical assessment or interaction (doctor's offices, hospitals, court rooms, prisons, immigration entry points, etc.) before the 1970s was also very likely the site of discrimination for gender and sexual minorities. The sites of protest demonstrate the power of oppressed and vilified people, but also reflect their suffering and frustration with a medical system, society, and government that failed them. The temptation to view the sites of service as proof of progress and redemption exists, but the fact that so many of these service sites still exist to fill the gaps in medical treatments, research, and social services that LGBTQ people need, but can't find elsewhere, speaks to the lasting effects of gender and sexuality-based discrimination today. The future of LGBTQ health looks bright, but only in contrast to the darkness of its history. LGBTQ individuals still face discrimination in medical settings on a regular basis and LGBTQ communities still bear stigmas ascribed by a society informed by stereotypes and misunderstandings. Today's LGBTQ health statistics reflect these realities as fear of medical interactions, additional stress from structural discrimination, and uninformed medical professionals contribute to LGBTQ individuals experiencing more incidents of late diagnoses, more advanced disease, and death from a wide array of illnesses.[58] While this LGBTQ health-related history illustrates great strides already taken, there is much yet to do.

---

[57] Kenneth Mayer's office is located at the Fenway Health Clinic on 1340 Boylston Street, Boston, Massachusetts, with the clinic's main office originally being on 16 Haviland Street. David Ostrow's office was located at the Howard Brown Health Center in Chicago, Illinois.

Though unfinished, the broader impact and significance of the struggle for LGBTQ heath extends far beyond the LGBTQ communities. Through the experiences outlined here, LGBTQ health initiatives and research have improved broader understandings of sex, sexuality, and sexual transmission of disease in ways that benefit people across the full sexuality spectrum. They have illuminated another important dimension of the health consequences of structural discrimination that adds greater depth and nuance to research and services designed for those who experience racial, age, economic, and ability-based discrimination. The fights for and debates over LGBTQ health have, in fact, shaped understandings of health for all Americans and transformed aspects of health policy, medical research, pharmaceutical practices, government oversight, expectations of medical privacy, and interactions with individual care providers that regularly benefit individuals and society at large.

---

[58] Kenneth H. Mayer et al., "Sexual and Gender Minority Health: What We Know and What Needs to be Done," *American Journal of Public Health* 98, no. 6 (2008): 989-995; M.K. Hutchinson, Angela C. Thompson, and Julie A. Cederbaum, "Multisystem Factors Contributing to Disparities in Preventive Health Care Among Lesbian Women," *Journal of Obstetric, Gynecologic, & Neonatal Nursing* 35, no. 3 (2006): 393-402; Karen I. Fredriksen-Goldsen et al., "The Health Equity Promotion Model: Reconceptualization of Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender (LGBT) Health Disparities," *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry* 84, no. 6 (2014): 653; and Sean Cahill and Harvey Makadon, "Sexual Orientation and Gender Identity Data Collection in Clinical Settings and in Electronic Health Records: A Key to Ending LGBT Health Disparities," *LGBT Health* 1, no. 1 (2014): 34-41.

23

LGBTQ ART AND ARTISTS

Tara Burk

This chapter focuses on LGBTQ art and artists in the United States. Due to the scope of this essay the content is necessarily limited. These locations provide a sampling of LGBTQ contributions to broader social milieus and artistic movements. I have attempted to provide content that is representative in terms of region, diversity, and historical scope.[1] Artworks range from performance to the visual arts; places range from murals to theaters to community centers. Two key characteristics have shaped the histories of the places listed in this chapter: multiple identities and historical context. Although the historical scope of this essay is limited to the twentieth century, there are examples of LGBTQ arts in the United States as far back as the eighteenth century.[2]

---

[1] There are several excellent resources on LGBTQ art and artists, including: James Saslow, *Pictures and Passions: A History of Homosexuality in the Visual Arts* (New York: Viking Penguin, 1999); Harmony Hammond, *Lesbian Art in America: A Contemporary History* (New York: Rizzoli, 2000); Christopher Reed, *Art and Homosexuality: A History of Ideas* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011); Richard Meyer and Catherine Lord, *Art and Queer Culture* (New York: Phaidon Press, 2013); and Claude J. Summers, ed., *The Queer Encyclopedia of the Visual Arts* (Jersey City, NJ: Cleis Press).

[2] In the collection of the New-York Historical Society, *Portrait of an Unidentified Woman* (c.1700-1725) has long been identified as a likeness of Edward Hyde, who served as Governor of New York and New Jersey from 1702-1708 and was known to appear in public wearing women's clothing. Pre-twentieth century artists of note who engaged in homoerotic themes include the photographers F. Holland Day, Frances "Fannie" Benjamin Johnston, and Alice Austen, and the painter Thomas Eakins. The Fred Holland Day House is located at 93 Day Street, Norwood, Massachusetts; it was listed on the NRHP on April 18, 1977. Clear Comfort, the Alice Austen House, is located at 2 Hylan Boulevard, Staten Island,

The umbrella term “LGBTQ” actually encompasses many identities. In other words, the experiences of individuals who identify with components of this acronym are widely diverse. This impacts the ways in which their art has been created and seen. Most disparities are grounded in uneven social and material conditions based on gender, race, and class discrimination. Male artists, historically and today, benefit from more exhibition opportunities and higher art values than women artists. There have been shifts in this dynamic since the advent of social liberation movements in the late 1960s-1970s. Underrepresented artists have taken it upon themselves to create exhibition opportunities including community art centers and cooperative galleries, some of which are explored in this study.

Due to the fact that until recently it was socially unacceptable to be LGBTQ in the United States, the ways in which we understand and categorize the history of LGBTQ art in the US are different from other art histories.[3] Issues of social discrimination – homophobia as well as racism – have impacted the actual form and content of LGBTQ art. There was a time in the United States when LGBTQ individuals experienced intense pressure to remain "in the closet," meaning one's sexual proclivities and/or identity were kept separate from other aspects of professional, familial, and religious life.[4] Actions of censorship such as the Hollywood

---

New York. It was listed on the NRHP on July 28, 1970, and designated an NHL on April 19, 1993. The Thomas Eakins House is located at 1729 Mount Vernon Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; it was listed on the NRHP on October 15, 1966 and designated an NHL on December 21, 1965.

[3] For most of the twentieth century, LGTBQ Americans could not disclose their sexual identity in the public sphere without fear of persecution including religious persecution, police brutality, violence, and discrimination in employment (see footnote 3). This climate had ramifications in art: until the 1970s there were no art movements centered on the promotion of LGBTQ concerns and most LGBTQ artists did not create art intended for public exhibition with overt homoerotic content. After the gay liberation movement of the late 1960s and 1970s there was an effort by artists, art historians, and gallery owners to collect and publish histories of LGBTQ participation in the arts. One of the earliest examples of this is Vito Russo’s *The Celluloid Closet: Homosexuality in the Movies* (New York: Harper and Row, 1981).

[4] The first long-lasting homosexual political organizations, known as homophile groups, began in the 1950s: the Mattachine Society, founded in the Silver Lake neighborhood of Los Angeles in 1950, and the Daughters of Bilitis, a lesbian organization founded in San Francisco in 1955 which had their headquarters at 165 O'Farrell Street, San Francisco. Areas in which LGBTQ people were persecuted include government employment; for example in 1953 President Eisenhower issued an executive order that made disclosure of homosexuality grounds for termination of employment for any federal employee, an order that stood until 1993. Besides employment discrimination, LGBTQ people faced physical assault in gay bashings, some of them carried out by law enforcement officials. Until 1973,

Production Code (which banned depictions of "sex perversion" from films made and distributed in the United States between 1932 and 1968) and the Culture Wars (an attempt by conservatives to eliminate funding of controversial art in the 1980s and 1990s, many by LGBTQ artists) have impacted the development of LGBTQ art in the US.[5] Before the gay liberation movement of the early 1970s when many people "came out," artists for the most part did not express their sexuality outright.[6] Instead, under various mantles of modernism, artists found ways to indirectly express their sexual difference within countercultural art movements. Similarly, gay men developed "camp talk" in the decades before gay liberation, to safely communicate in public by referring to one another using women's names or pronouns, in order to protect their personal and sexual lives.[7] In fact, particularly before the advent of gay liberation in the

---

the American Psychiatric Association considered homosexuality a mental illness, which contributed to discrimination against LGBTQ people. In the 1970s, gay activists pushed for anti-discrimination laws and successfully defeated anti-gay initiatives such as the 1978 effort to ban LGBTQ people from teaching in California public schools. In 1986 in Bowers v. Hardwick the US Supreme Court upheld the right of states to criminalize sodomy, even including consensual and private sexual behavior.

[5] For more on homosexuality and the Hollywood Production Code see Russo, *Celluloid Closet* and Patricia White, *Uninvited: Classical Hollywood Cinema and Lesbian Representability* (Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1999). The "Culture Wars" of the 1980s-1990s consisted of ideological battles between conservative and liberal Americans in religious and political contexts. The touchtone issues besides the censorship and defunding of federally funded controversial art included battles over reproductive rights (specifically abortion), homosexuality, the appropriate expressions of patriotism, the separation of church and state, and school curricula. For more information about the Culture Wars as they pertained to LGBTQ artists, see Richard Bolton, *Culture Wars: Documents from the Recent Controversies in the Arts* (New York: New Press, 1992), Steven C. Dubin, *Arresting Images: Impolitic Art and Uncivil Actions* (New York: Routledge, 1992), and Richard Meyer, *Outlaw Representation: Censorship and Homosexuality in Twentieth-Century American Art* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002).

[6] Many LGBTQ artists made LGBTQ art for private display, and stuck to conventional themes for the art market. There are notable exceptions including Domingo Orejudos (1933-1991), known as Etienne, who was an artist who created large-scale murals and illustrated storybooks featuring heavily muscled men in homoerotic and sadomasochistic contexts. Along with Chuck Renslow, his lover and business partner, Etienne opened the first leather bar in the country, the Gold Coast, in Chicago in 1958. At 501 North Clark Street, the second location of the Gold Coast, Etienne painted large-scale murals depicting members of the leather community that are now permanently installed in the Leather Archives and Museum in Chicago (6418 North Greenview Avenue). Renslow and Etienne published male physique photography out of their Kris Studios, founded in 1950 in Chicago.

[7] For example, as Michael Bronski explains, "If one man were to be overheard at a public dinner table saying to another, 'you'll never guess what Mary said on our date last night,' nothing would be thought of it." Bronski is cited in Lord and Meyer, *Art and Queer Culture*, 17. Despite the predominance of coding as a mode of public survival for gay men and lesbians during the mid-twentieth century, there were some artists for whom gay sentiment was an unequivocal part of their aesthetic, such as Paul Cadmus and George Platt Lynes. For examples of visual coding, see Jonathan D. Katz, "Agnes Martin: The Sexuality of Abstraction," in *Agnes Martin*, eds. Lynne Cooke and Karen Kelly (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2012) and Meyer, *Outlaw Representation*.

1970s, many LGBTQ people engaged in varying degrees of censorship for self-protection. This relates to an important fact of queer art history: the archive of LGBTQ art necessarily includes conventional fine art but it also includes works intended for private and underground circulation, such as scrapbooks, cartoons, anonymous photographs, and bar murals.[8] It is not a coincidence that cities have historically been centers for the development of vanguard art as well as places for LGBTQ people to live a life out of the closet. While rural locations are mentioned in this chapter, urban sites are particularly well represented because of these factors. These places date primarily from the latter half of the twentieth century, which reflects the shift in which LGBTQ art is more often celebrated than censored.[9] However, issues of discrimination persist. I do not wish to establish a narrative towards progress that ends with the unproblematic celebration of LGBTQ individuals and communities and their assimilation into mainstream US society. Many LGBTQ artists maintain a position of marginality in order to critique dominant social norms, and use art as a means to document marginalized communities and promote subversive messages.[10] The sites that follow reflect these factors and include a range of urban places including a community center, a contemporary art museum, a public art mural, and a theater, as well as rural locations (a studio/house and a college).

Royal Theater

The Royal Theater (Figure 1) in Philadelphia opened in 1920 and closed in 1970.[11] During that period it was a premiere location for African

---

[8] For an anthology of queer visual art in these terms, see Lord and Meyer, *Art and Queer Culture*.

[9] While censorship was the rule in mainstream US art contexts, LGBTQ art circulated and was displayed through alternative networks and exhibition venues including bars, magazines, and private collections. Some examples include the Gold Coast bar in Chicago, *Physique Pictorial* in Los Angeles (founded by Bob Mizer in 1951 as the first all-nude, all-male magazine), and the phallic gay art collection of Charles Leslie, a founder of the Leslie-Lohman Museum of Gay and Lesbian Art in New York City (26 Wooster Street).

[10] Examples include Robert Mapplethorpe, Ron Athey, Vaginal Cream Davis, and Catherine Opie.

[11] Irvin R. Glazer, *Philadelphia Theaters: A Pictorial Architectural History* (New York: Dover Publications, 1994). In 1919 architect Frank E. Hahn designed its neo-Georgian exterior, and in 1925

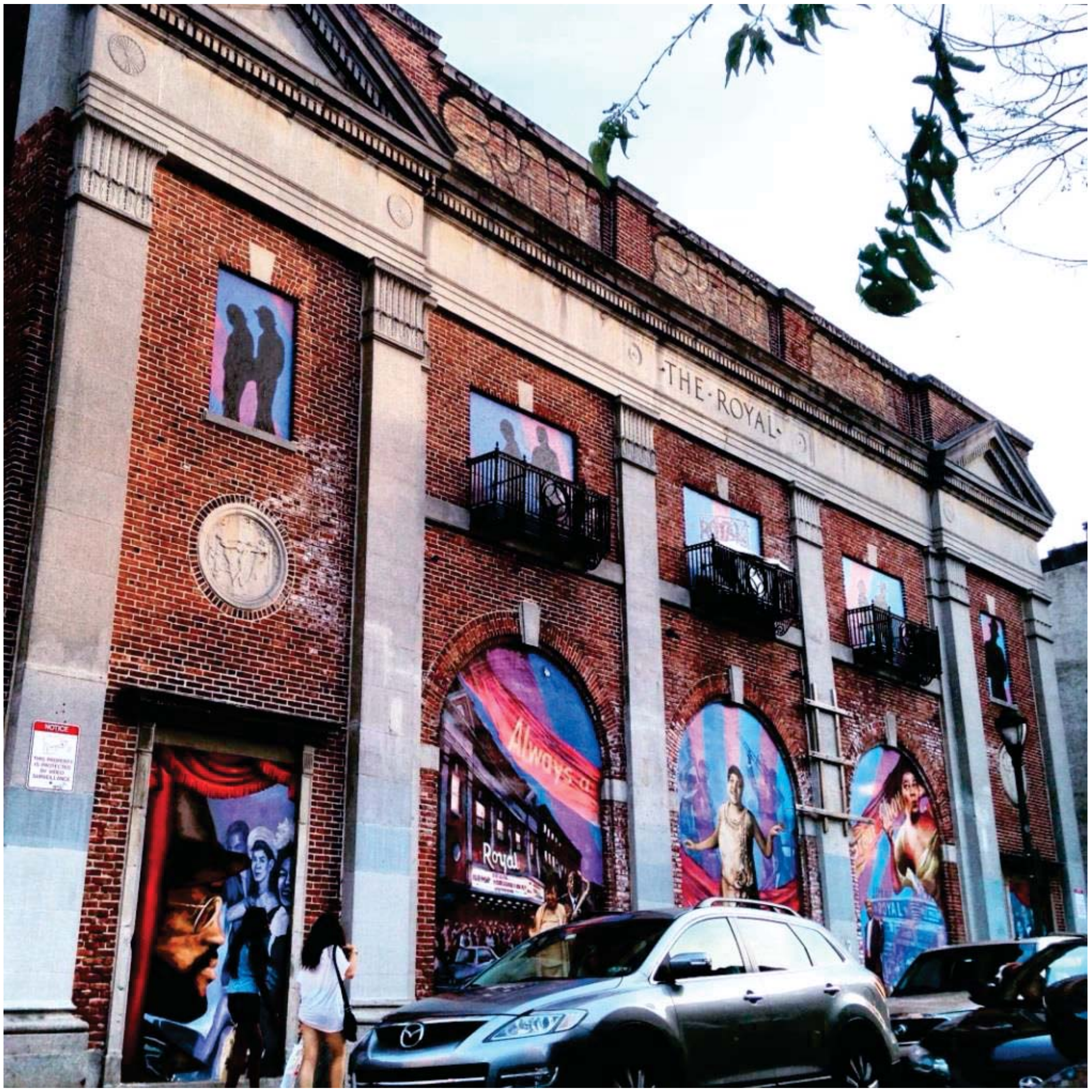


Figure 1: The Royal Theater, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, 2015. Photograph by Tara Burk.

American entertainment. It is an important site because it provided opportunities to LGBTQ artists of color during a period of segregation in the United States. Located at 1522 South Street, the Royal was the first theater in Philadelphia to feature an all-black staff, and was touted as "America's First Colored Photoplay House" since it screened films featuring black actors. Some of the most prominent African American performers of the period performed at the Royal, including Bessie Smith (1894-1937), who moved to Philadelphia from the American South in the early 1920s. The iconic blues singer, who engaged in sexual relationships

---

theater designer William H. Lee completed an art deco interior. The Royal Theater was listed on the NRHP on February 8, 1980.

with men and women, lived in proximity to the Royal and often performed there in the 1920s and early 1930s, during the prime of her career.[12] Smith's trajectory reflects the Great Migration, a period in which African Americans relocated from the southern to the northern United States in the first half of the twentieth century to escape racial oppression and to gain economic opportunity. One result of the Great Migration was a flourishing arts movement in Harlem as well as in Philadelphia.[13] The theater was part of a corridor of African American culture on South Street that flourished during the early-to-mid twentieth century. The Royal, among other locations on this South Street corridor, was featured in the 1996 film by Cheryl Dunye, *The Watermelon Woman,* which is notably the first US feature film directed by a black lesbian.[14] Today the building is vacant and there are development projects in the works, with a plan for the historic facade to be preserved.

Black Mountain College

Open from 1933 to 1957, Black Mountain College (BMC) was a progressive arts and educational institution located in the remote hills of Black Mountain, near Asheville, North Carolina. The college, founded by

---

[12] See Chris Albertson, *Bessie*, rev. ed. (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2005), and Billy J. Harbin, Kim Marra, and Robert A. Schanke, eds., *The Gay and Lesbian Theatrical Legacy: A Biographical Dictionary of Major Figures in American Stage History in the Pre-Stonewall Era* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2007).

[13] Philadelphia is an important, although lesser known, center for African American history and culture during the period of the Great Migration, which engendered greater political and social activism among African Americans and promoted cultural production as well. The most famous example is the Harlem Renaissance of the 1920s and 1930s, wherein the wealthy middle-class African American community of Harlem in New York City produced some of the most talented cultural figures in the nation, such as Langston Hughes, a poet known to have same-sex relationships, and Gladys Bentley, a cabaret singer and pianist who performed a tuxedo at the Clam House. Bentley drew black lesbians and gay men, as well as white sightseers, to the venue because of her gender-bending style (short hair and tuxedo) and her provocative attitude (she would flirt with women in the audience and improvise lewd lyrics to popular songs). See Bonnie Zimmerman, ed., *Encyclopedia of Lesbian Histories and Cultures* (New York: Routledge, 1999) and A.B. Christa Schwarz, *Gay Voices of the Harlem Renaissance* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2003). Langston Hughes spent some time living at the Harlem YMCA, now known as the Claude McKay Residence, at 180 West 135th Street, New York City. It was listed on the NRHP and designated an NHL on December 8, 1976. Hughes also spent time writing at Yaddo, an artists' retreat in Saratoga Springs, New York that was designated an NHL on March 11, 2013. Among the venues that hosted Gladys Bentley was the Ubangi Club, 131st Street at Seventh Avenue, New York City (demolished in 2013).

[14] In 2005 under the auspices of the Philadelphia-based Mural Arts Program, artist Eric Okdeh memorialized Bessie Smith and others in a mural on the exterior of the Royal.

John Rice, was never accredited and its experimental pedagogy and welcoming environment attracted many of the most influential artists and writers of the day.[15] The school was, in many ways, a do-it-yourself effort: a farm on campus provided the food and students and faculty both helped construct the school's buildings, designed in Craftsman and International Style. These two architectural styles, one American in origin and one associated with the development of modernism in Germany, reflect the school's diverse and international community of students and faculty.[16] Today, BMC is well regarded for the subsequent influence of its students and instructors, many of whom engaged in same-sex relationships, on countercultural arts in the United States. It was added to the National Register of Historic Places on October 5, 1982.[17]

Amidst the social stigmas of the period, BMC was a training ground for gay artists: a beacon for men who had personal, professional, and artistic relationships with other men. In 1952, John Cage, a composer who was known to have same-sex relationships, staged the first "happening" in the dining room at the college. This multidisciplinary event combined sound, performance, visual art, and audience participation in a manner that challenged the ways in which different types of media had traditionally been kept separate in the arts. Happenings were a precursor to the now-common form of art known as "performance art" and are an important American Avant-garde art form, later developed in New York by Cage's student Allan Kaprow.[18] Cage and his life partner and frequent collaborator Merce Cunningham were both affiliated with BMC early in their careers, as were Jasper Johns, Robert Rauschenberg, and Cy Twombly; all were men who had relationships with men.[19]

---

[15] Mary Emma Harris, *The Arts at Black Mountain College* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1987). In memoirs and interviews many former students and visitors to Black Mountain College detail the same-sex relationships they had there. Many of these BMC alums became major artistic figures in the US. They include the poet Robert Duncan, the writer Michael Rumaker, the composer John Cage, the choreographer Merce Cunningham, and the visual artists Jasper Johns and Robert Rauschenberg. See Martin Duberman, *Black Mountain: An Exploration in Community*, Reprint (Chicago: Northwestern University Press, (1972) 2009) and Michael Rumaker, *Black Mountain Days*, Reprint (Brooklyn, NY: Spuyten Duyvil Press, (2003) 2012).

[16] During World War II, the school became a beacon for Jewish intellectuals fleeing Europe including former faculty members at the Bauhaus school in Germany; this was an important connection that influenced the development of modern art at the college. The school was at the forefront of racial integration at a time in US history when education was segregated.

[17] The college moved in 1941 from its original site at Blue Ridge Assembly to a nearby campus at Lake Eden. Today it is Camp Rockmont, a Christian summer camp for boys, and the site of the Lake Eden Arts Festival (375 Lake Eden Road, Black Mountain, North Carolina). *Leap Before You Look: Black Mountain College 1933-1957*, organized by Helen Molesworth and on view at the Institute of Contemporary Art in Boston from October 2015 through January 2016, is the first major museum exhibit to explore the legacy of Black Mountain College.

The Kinsey Institute

The Kinsey Institute for Research in Sex, Gender, and Reproduction (commonly known as the Kinsey Institute) is located on the campus of Indiana University in Bloomington, Indiana.[20] Formerly the Institute for Sex Research, Inc., it was founded in 1947 by the pioneering American sexologist Dr. Alfred C. Kinsey (1894-1956). Kinsey and his staff collected over fifty thousand erotic images (including painting and photographs) beginning in the late 1930s, many having to do with homosexual and transgender subject matter. The collection of these images challenged the public morality and obscenity laws of the time. In 1957 the US Federal Court ruled in favor of the institute for its right to import erotic photographic material for research purposes. These images are now part of the collection of the Kinsey Institute's Library and Special Collections. The Kinsey Institute has been exhibiting and publishing selections from its erotic art and archives since 1990; many of these objects depict LGBTQ subjects.

Kinsey's research and impact on American culture changed the way Americans thought and talked about sex. Specifically, his research introduced bi- and homosexuality into popular American discourse. His 1948 study, *Sexual Behavior in the Human Male*, was based on thousands of sexual history interviews. It was in this publication that he introduced to American audiences the idea of a continuum of human sexuality rather than discrete categories of heterosexuality and homosexuality.[21] Kinsey asked interviewees to place themselves on a scale, between zero (exclusively heterosexual) and six (exclusively homosexual). His findings indicated that at least twenty percent of the adult male population fell between three and six on the scale. He and his researchers also recognized asexuality. His bestselling books *Sexual Behavior in the Human Male* (1948) and *Sexual Behavior in the Human Female* (1953) were precursors to the national conversations about sexuality that characterized the 1960s and 1970s.

---

[18] Harris, *The Arts at Black Mountain College;* Vincent Katz, ed., *Black Mountain College: Experiment in Art* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2002).

[19] See Jonathan D. Katz, "John Cage's Queer Silence or How To Avoid Making Matters Worse," Queer Cultural Center website, http://www.queerculturalcenter.org/Pages/KatzPages/KatzWorse.html

[20] The Institute is currently located in Morrison Hall, on campus at 1165 East Third Street. Other campus locations have included Biology Hall (now Swain Hall East), Wylie Hall, and Jordan Hall.

Six Gallery

San Francisco was a key location for the development of a countercultural artistic milieu during the conservative climate of the 1950s, one that was distinct from the abstract expressionist painting movement that developed simultaneously in New York City. This countercultural movement included the development of beat poetry; many Beat Generation poets, including Allen Ginsberg, had same-sex relationships. In 1952, gay visual artist Jess (a.k.a. Burgess Collins) founded King Ubu Gallery in a former auto repair shop at 3119 Fillmore Street, San Francisco. In 1954 King Ubu was renamed Six Gallery and was facilitated by Jess' lover, the poet Robert Duncan.[22] Six Gallery is best known for the first public manifestation of the Beat Generation, a bohemian group of writers who gained influence in the 1950s through their pessimistic writings on life in America. Many Beat-affiliated writers engaged in same-sex relationships with each other. At Six Gallery, the first manifestation of the Beat movement occurred at a poetry reading in the upstairs room of the gallery on October 7, 1955, which was attended by 150 people. The gallery promoted the reading as "a remarkable collection of angels on one stage reading their poetry."[23] This was the first public reading of the 1955 poem "Howl" by the gay poet Allen Ginsberg, now considered one of the significant poems in the American lexicon. Today, a plaque and podium outside the former gallery commemorate the October 1955 reading. It was dedicated in 2005 by San Francisco town supervisor Michela Alioto-Pier and Lawrence Ferlinghetti of City Lights Bookstore.[24]

---

[21] For more on the history of sexuality, see Michel Foucault, *History of Sexuality Volume 1: An Introduction*, reissue edition (New York: Viking Press, 1990) and George Chauncey, *Gay New York: Gender, Urban Culture, and the Making of a Gay Male World, 1890-1940* (New York: Basic Books, 1995).

[22] The name "Six" Gallery was in reference to its six founders: Wallace Hedrick, Deborah Remington, John Ryan, Jack Spicer, Hayward King, and David Simpson.

The Jewel Box Lounge

The Jewel Box Lounge in Kansas City, Missouri, located at 3219 Troost Avenue, was open from 1948 to 1982.[25] The Jewel Box Lounge featured cabaret acts with female impersonators called "femme-mimics," who recalled earlier vaudeville performances of the early twentieth century and was distinct from the drag performances that exist today in their emphasis on musical and comedy numbers rather than runway.[26] In the 1950s and 1960s it was a successful bar despite the conservative climate in which police enforced laws against cross-dressing.[27]

---

[23] Lisa Philips, *Beat Culture and the New America, 1950-1965* (New York: Whitney Museum of American Art, 1995); Mick Sinclair, *San Francisco: A Cultural and Literary History,* Cities of the Imagination Series (Northampton, MA: Interlink Pub Group, 2003); Jonah Raskin, *American Scream: Allen Ginsburg's 'Howl' and the Making of the Beat Generation* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2006). Kenneth Rexroth organized the event, which featured readings by Michael McClure, Gary Snyder, Philip Whalen, Philip Lamantia, and Allen Ginsberg.

[24] City Lights Bookstore itself was an important location for the dissemination of Beat poetry—in fact, it was its associated publishing company, City Lights Publishers, which published *Howl and Other Poems* in 1956. City Lights Bookstore is located at 261 Columbus Avenue at Broadway, San Francisco, California. Ferlinghetti was charged with obscenity for selling *Howl*, and the case went to court. The judge decided that books with "the slightest redeeming social importance" were guaranteed First Amendment protection. This opened the way for previously banned publications, including D.H. Lawrence's *Lady Chatterley's Lover* and Henry Miller's *Tropic of Cancer*, to be published in the United States. Philips, *Beat Culture and the New America*; Raskin, *American Scream.* For an account of queer identity in the East Coast Avant-garde scene of the 1950s, see Ann Gibson, "Lesbian Identity and the Politics of Representation in Betty Parson's Gallery," *Journal of Homosexuality* 27, no. 1-2 (1994): 245-270.

[25] In 1972 the venue changed locations, to Main Street and Thirty-First Street in Kansas City, Missouri.

[26] See Eric Marcus, Sherry Thomas, and Lynn Witt, eds., *Out in All Directions: A Treasury of Gay and Lesbian America* (New York: Grand Central Publishing, 1997).

[27] David W Jackson, *Changing Times: Almanac and Digest of Kansas City's Gay and Lesbian History* (Kansas City, MO: The Orderly Pack Rat, 2011). The Jewel Box Lounge was distinct from the internationally known travelling variety show called the Jewel Box Revue, founded in 1939 in Miami by Danny Brown and Doc Benner, who were business and romantic partners. The Revue consisted of predominantly female impersonators and was the first racially integrated drag show in the United States, playing to mixed-race audiences in venues such as the Apollo Theater in Harlem, New York.

Harmony Hammond Studio

Harmony Hammond (b. 1944 in Chicago) is an artist and art writer who lives and works in Galisteo, New Mexico.[28] From her home and studio in New Mexico, where she has lived for the past thirty years, Hammond has become a prominent figure in national feminist, lesbian, and queer art communities. Galisteo itself is a small town (with a population of only 265 in the 2000 census) that is known for its artist residents. Located a half-hour drive south of Sante Fe, Galisteo became a mecca in the 1970s for prominent artists such as Agnes Martin (a minimalist painter and discreet lesbian), and the feminist art writer and critic Lucy R. Lippard, who has been a champion of lesbian artists.[29] Hammond's residential structure in Galisteo is a converted nineteenth-century adobe sheep barn. Before living in New Mexico, she moved to New York from the Midwest in 1969 and came out as a lesbian in 1973. She was integral to the creation of a feminist art movement in the 1970s and is particularly significant for her tireless advocacy for the particular concerns of lesbian art and artists. Hammond was a cofounder of the A.I.R. Gallery (Artists in Residence, the first women's cooperative art gallery in New York City) as well as *Heresies: A Feminist Publication on Art and Politics* (founded in 1977 in New York City).[30] Hammond's first solo exhibition was at A.I.R. in 1973. Since then she has had over forty shows. As an artist Hammond is well respected for her contribution to queering the legacy of modernist abstraction, a

---

One of the most famous of the performers was Stormé DeLarverie (1920-2014), a biracial lesbian master of ceremonies, singer, and male impersonator who is rumored to have thrown the first punch at the Stonewall Rebellion in New York in 1969. The Apollo Theater is located at 253 West 125th Street, New York City; it was listed on the NRHP on November 17, 1983.

[28] Other places associated with Harmony Hammond include: the New York Feminist Art Institute located at 325 Spring Street, New York City, New York from 1979 to 1985, and at 91 Franklin Street, New York City, New York from 1985 to 1990, where she taught; the 112 Greene Street Workshop (now private residences) in New York City's SoHo neighborhood where she curated *A Lesbian Show* in 1978; and the Women's Building, 1727 North Spring Street, Los Angeles, California, where she was one of the featured artists in the 1980 *Great American Lesbian Art Show.*

[29] The Harwood Museum of Art, 238 Ledoux Street, Taos, New Mexico is home to the permanent Agnes Martin Gallery dedicated to her work.

[30] Harmony Hammond, oral history interview by Julia Bryan-Wilson at Hammond's Home and Studio in Galisteo, New Mexico, September 14, 2008, Smithsonian Archives of American Art Oral History Program, http://www.aaa.si.edu/collections/interviews/oral-history-interview-harmony-hammond-15635. A.I.R. gallery was originally located in the SoHo neighborhood of New York City, at 98 Wooster Street.

historically male-dominated art form, by challenging audiences to think about issues of identity. Her large-scale, abstract and often monochrome compositions, as well as a large body of prints and sculpture, have pushed the ideas of what queer art can be. Rather than work in a documentary idiom, aiming to represent marginalized subjects, Hammond works in nonfigurative abstract mode, prompting viewers to think of “queer art” in terms of *form* as well as content.[31] In 2000, after years of research and interviews, Hammond’s book *Lesbian Art in America: A Contemporary History* was published. This is the first publication to look exclusively at lesbian art in the United States, and remains a principal text in the field.[32]

The History of California

Judith Baca (b. 1946) identifies as a Chicana lesbian feminist artist. She works in a figurative style of muralism that recalls the political golden age of the 1930s in the United States and Mexico. She is best known for the 1976 public art mural *The History of California*, popularly known as *The Great Wall of Los Angeles* in Los Angeles. The large (13 feet x 2,754 feet) mural covers six city blocks, and is one of the largest in the world. It is located on Coldwater Canyon Avenue between Oxnard Street and Burbank Boulevard at the eastern edge of the Los Angeles Valley College campus in the San Fernando Valley area of Los Angeles. It is used in the curriculum of the college and other local schools. The Army Corps of Engineers commissioned the mural from Baca as a beautification project and painting began in 1978. It was completed in 1984 with the help of over four hundred volunteers, many of whom came from impoverished or disenfranchised backgrounds and were coordinated by the community center Social and Public Art Resource Center (SPARC) in Venice, which Baca founded in 1976.[33]

---

[31] See Harmony Hammond, *Wrappings: Essays on Feminism, Art and the Martial Arts* (New York: Time and Space, 1984).

[32] While lesbian artists such as Hammond and Louise Fishman explored abstract strategies of art, Tee A. Corinne was one of the few artists of the 1970s who grappled with the problem of how to represent lesbian sexuality in photographs that range from explicit to sexually symbolic. Other artists associated with lesbian feminism include the documentary photographer Joan E. Biren (JEB). Tee A. Corinne and Louise Fishman were among the featured artists at the 1980 *Great American Lesbian Art Show* at the Women’s Building, 1727 North Spring Street, Los Angeles, California. JEB was part of the Furies Collective who, from 1971 through 1973, operated out of their home in the Capitol Hill neighborhood of Washington, DC. The Furies Collective was added to the NRHP on May 2, 2016.

The mural is significant because it tells the history of California from the perspective of women and minorities. The social realist style harkens back to the US government-funded Works Progress Administration murals of the 1930s as well as to the visual traditions of Mexican muralism by artists such as David Alfaro Siqueiros. Social justice movements that emerged in the late 1960s and 1970s, including labor rights, feminism, gay liberation, and indigenous rights were important influences on *The Great Wall of Los Angeles*. The mural is significant because it includes the history of LGBTQ identified people as well as Native Americans in California. Its chronological scope moves from the time of dinosaurs through the 1950s, and there are current plans to update it through the present-day and to make it more accessible with the addition of a bike path and restoration.

Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender Community Center

The Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender Community Center (known as The Center) is located at 208 West 13th Street, in the historically gay West Village neighborhood of Manhattan, New York. Since opening in 1983, The Center has been a beacon for many in New York City. The Center is important because it demonstrates the notion of art as activism and/or a means to build LGBTQ community. The Center is located in a large brick building that formerly housed the Food and Maritime Trades High School; it was purchased from the City of New York for $1,500,000 in 1983. The *New York Times* made note with the headline “Sale of Site to Homosexuals Planned.” Gay and lesbian advocacy groups had already been using the building as a site for health, counseling, and social services—particularly urgent needs in the early years of the HIV/AIDS crisis. Then New York City Mayor Ed Koch was quoted at the time discussing the significance of the sale as one of “a number of steps to be taken by the city to combat AIDS and other health problems that have particularly affected the gay and lesbian community.”[34]

---

[33] SPARC is located at 685 Venice Boulevard, Venice, California.

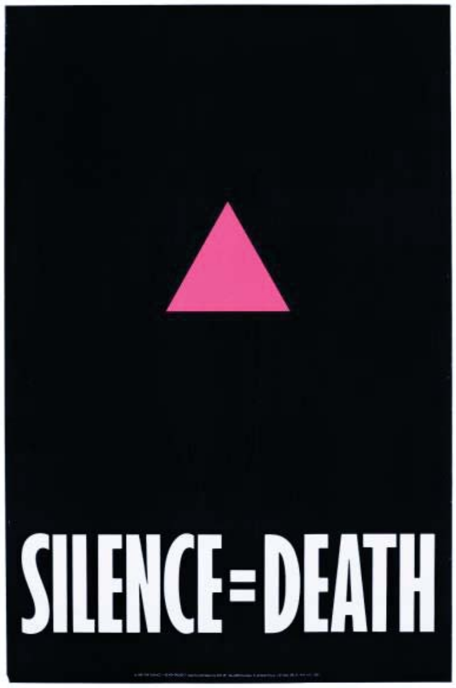


Figure 2: *Silence=Death*, 1987. Color lithograph by ACT-UP, The AIDS Coalition To Unleash Power.[35]

From the beginning, The Center promoted a vision of LGBTQ community that prioritized both art and politics. In 1985 The Center initiated the “Second Tuesdays” program, a lecture series bringing notable figures in the arts (including Audre Lorde, Fran Lebowitz, and Quentin Crisp) to speak directly to the LGBTQ community.[36] On March 10, 1987 activist, author, and playwright Larry Kramer used his platform as a “Second Tuesdays” lecturer to address the government’s unresponsiveness to the escalating AIDS crisis. This meeting led to the formation later that month of ACT UP, the AIDS Coalition to Unleash Power. ACT UP meetings were held each Monday at The Center. Many artists were participants in ACT UP and the group became well known for its striking use of visual graphics on placards, t-shirts, and posters designed to bring awareness and action to the AIDS crisis (Figure 2).

Besides agitprop, The Center facilitated other important responses to HIV/AIDS such as support groups. The Center also housed the New York

---

[34] David D. Dunlap, “Sale of Site to Homosexuals Planned,” *New York Times*, December 20, 1983.

[35] Creative Commons License (BY-NC-ND 4.0). http://wellcomeimages.org/indexplus/image/L0052822.html

[36] Audre Lorde (1934-1992) was a Caribbean-American writer, lesbian, and civil rights activist. From 1972 through 1987 she lived with her children and her partner Frances Clayton on Staten Island. She was one of the speakers at the Lincoln Memorial at the second National March on Washington in 1987. Fran Lebowitz (b. 1950) is a lesbian American author and public speaker. Quentin Crisp (1908-1999) was a gay English writer.

Memorial Quilt, a participatory art therapy project completed at The Center Quilt Workshop, events held from February to July 1988 that were part of a national effort to contribute panels in memory of people who died of AIDS for the NAMES Project AIDS Memorial Quilt. The New York Memorial Quilt was displayed on the Great Lawn in Central Park in June 1988.[37] The impact of HIV/AIDS on gay art was immense. Many queer artists of the 1980s were HIV positive or were friends or lovers of those who were. They responded with intensity to the AIDS crisis through the production of fine art as well as agitprop, guerilla street theater, and a direct-action protest movement in the form of ACT UP and later, Queer Nation (founded in 1990).[38] Paradoxically, at the same time the mainstream art world began to deal with the topic of gay art in exhibitions, the HIV/AIDS crisis nearly decimated a generation of gay artists.[39]

These connections were explored in 1989 at The Center in two important art exhibitions: *Imagining Stonewall* and *The Center Show*. *Imagining Stonewall* was a commemoration of the twentieth anniversary of the June 27, 1969 occasion when LGBTQ people fought back against a typical police raid of the Stonewall Inn, located at 53 Christopher Street (in the same neighborhood as The Center). *Imagining Stonewall* was an important exhibition because it provided an example of defiant activism to contemporary LGBTQ AIDS activists and it also gave LGBTQ artists the opportunity to come out in their work and display it in a specifically LGBTQ environment. Many pieces combined personal and political content, such as Thomas Lanigan-Schmidt's *Mother Stonewall and the Golden Rats*, installed in the stairwell in the back of the building as well as the roof, which included text featuring the artist's own memories of the 1969 Stonewall riots.[40] *The Center Show*, which opened on June 1, 1989 commissioned fifty artists to make site-specific installations throughout The Center. Curated by Rick Barnett and Barbara Sahlman, *The Center Show* featured established and emerging artists who dealt with gay sexuality directly in their work including the sculptor Arch Connelly (1950-1993), the AIDS activist art collective Gran Fury (1988-1995), and the painter Keith Haring (1958-1990).

---

[37] Central Park was added to the NRHP on October 15, 1966 and designated an NHL on May 23, 1963.

[38] Some of the most important LGBTQ art institutions today emerged in the context of the HIV/AIDS crisis in the 1980s, for example Visual AIDS and the Leslie-Lohman Museum of Gay and Lesbian Art. Visual AIDS was founded in New York in 1988 as a contemporary arts organization committed to raising AIDS awareness, assisting artists living with HIV/AIDS, and preserving the work of artists lost to the disease. It operates from offices at 526 West 26th Street, New York City, New York. The Leslie-Lohman Museum of Gay and Lesbian Art began in 1969 with the private showing of art from the personal collections of Charles Leslie and Fritz Lohman in New York City. During the 1980s, Leslie and Lohman committed to preserving works of art that were being thrown away; after artists' death from AIDS their homophobic families discarded all of their belongings, including art. In 1987 they founded the nonprofit organization Leslie/Lohman Gay Art Foundation, Inc. The Leslie-Lohman Museum of Gay and Lesbian Art is located at 26 Wooster Street, New York City, New York. The exhibition *Art AIDS America*, co-organized by Jonathan D. Katz and Rock Hushka and on view at the Tacoma Art Museum, 1701 Pacific Avenue, Tacoma, Washington from October 2015 to January 2016, was the first major museum exhibition to explore the impact of HIV/AIDS on American art.

[39] *Extended Sensibilities: Homosexual Presence in Contemporary Art* was the first museum exhibition in the United States to explore the relationship between art and homosexuality, a decade after the impact of gay liberation and its visibility mandates. The exhibition, organized by Dan Cameron, was on view at the New Museum of Contemporary Art, 235 Bowery, New York City, New York, from October through December, 1982.

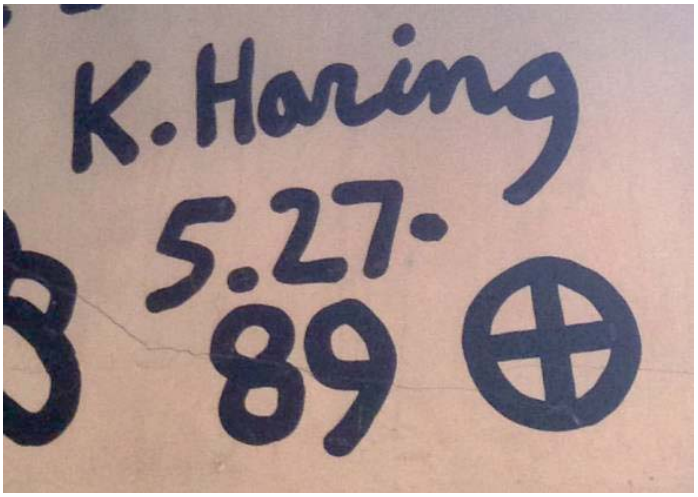


Figure 3: Detail, Once Upon A Time, mural by Keith Haring at the LGBT Center, New York City, New York, 2015. Photograph by Tara Burk.

Keith Haring was one of the most famous artists of the 1980s. He was integral to the Downtown or East Village art scene of the 1980s, which included many LGBTQ artists such as Peter Hujar, David Wojnarowicz, Nan Goldin, Mark Morrisroe, Greer Lankton, and Martin Wong.[41] Haring began his artistic career as a street artist drawing in chalk in the New York City subways. Haring chose a second floor men's bathroom at The Center for his installation, a mural entitled *Once Upon a Time* (Figure 3). He painted this mural just nine months before he died of AIDS in 1990. The mural itself is a celebration of gay sex and is rife with phallic imagery; it is particularly suited for its location, as men's public bathrooms have historically been places where men who have sex with other men have found each other. Called "A Joyful Mural, Born in a Time of Shame and Fear" by the *New York Times*, it promoted sex positivity—that sex could be pleasurable and empowering—at a time when the gay community was focused largely on HIV/AIDS prevention measures ranging from abstinence to condom use. The room housing *Once Upon a Time* was later converted to a meeting room, and today is devoted exclusively to the Haring installation.[42]

---

[40] Reed, *Art and Homosexuality*.

[41] Peter Hujar lived for a time at 189 Second Avenue, New York City, New York. Works by David Wojnarowicz were included in the 1985 *Graffiti Show* at the Whitney Museum of Modern Art, 99 Gansevoort Street, Lower Manhattan, New York City, New York. A location associated with Mark Morrisroe is the Pyramid Club, 101 Avenue A, New York City, New York where he and Stephen Tashjian founded the drag duo, the "Clam Twins." Greer Lankton was a featured artist in the important *New York/New Wave* exhibit at PS 1 (now MoMA PS1), 22-25 Jackson Avenue, Long Island City, New York.

The Center is also home to the LGBT Community Center National History Archive and Pat Parker/Vito Russo Center Library, which contain many arts-related objects.[43] The building has undergone several major renovation projects since the 1980s including in 1998 and in 2013.[44] Today, The Center remains an important meeting spot, particularly for queer youth of color.

Club Uranus

Jerome Caja (1958-1995) was an artist who represents the radical queer scene that developed in San Francisco in the 1980s and 1990s, which he participated in as a visual artist, a drag queen, a go-go dancer, and a contributor to the nascent "queercore" zine movement. Caja cultivated a nontraditional drag persona that eschewed glamorous mimicry of conventional femininity and instead embraced a haggish persona represented in part by ripped lingerie and messy makeup. Caja's art reflected the influence of his Catholic upbringing in its references to saints and iconography. He drew upon art history as well, and broke the rules of conventional subject matter and taste to create a distinctly queer aesthetic. Caja worked on a small scale, utilizing drag materials such as glitter, lace, and nail polish to create tiny portraits that combined traditional concerns with transgressive subject matter. Caja received an MFA from the San Francisco Art Institute in 1986. Afterwards he achieved national attention, including exhibitions at the San Francisco Museum of Modern Art and inclusion in *In a Different Light*, the groundbreaking lesbian and gay art exhibition co-organized by Lawrence Rinder and Nayland Blake in 1995 at the Berkeley Art Museum and Pacific Film Archive of the University of California, Berkeley.[45] Caja died from AIDS complications in 1995, at age thirty-seven, shortly after completing interviews for the Smithsonian Archives of American Art.

---

[42] John Gruen, *Keith Haring: The Authorized Biography* (New York: Prentice Hall, 1991). Because Haring intended it as a temporary site-specific installation, he did little to prepare the bathroom walls for his mural; he just covered the existing paint job, some of which was flaking in parts. In 2011-2012, conservator Harriet Irgang Alden restored the mural. The newly restored mural was unveiled with a special reception and programming and March 2012 was dedicated to celebrate the mural and Haring's legacy, with partnership participation from the Brooklyn Museum among other institutions.

[43] Founded in 1991 to promote LGBTQ literature, the library was named after Pat Parker (1944-1989), a prominent lesbian poet and author of *Movement in Black,* and Vito Russo (1946-1990), gay film historian best known for his 1981 book, *The Celluloid Closet*, which was released as a motion picture in 1996.

[44] For its facade renovation in the early 1990s, the building, along with architect Françoise Bollack, was honored with several awards including the New York City Landmarks Preservation Commission Certificate of Merit and the New York Landmarks Conservancy Lucy G. Moses Preservation Award.

A series of clubs (Club Chaos, Club Screw, and Club Uranus) in San Francisco opened in the late 1980s and early 1990s and were notable for mixed-gender and gender-bending crowds that gathered for performances, dancing, and live art events. These bars were also favored hangout places of Queer Nation and ACT UP activists, as well as local queer musicians and cultural producers. Importantly, the patronage of these clubs reflected a queer sensibility—women, men, and transgender people were encouraged to attend. Whereas in previous decades the gay community tended to remain separated along gender lines, due to the urgency of the AIDS crisis, men and women came together and "queer" became a favored self-designation which reflected a more expansive and fluid notion of sexual identity. Club Uranus was primarily located at The EndUp, in the South of Market district at 401 Sixth Street and Harrison. The EndUp opened in

---

[45] The San Francisco Museum of Modern Art is located at 151 Third Street, San Francisco, California. From 1970 through 2014, The UC Berkeley Art Museum and Pacific Film Archive was located at 2625 Durant Avenue, Berkeley, California. Citing structural and seismic deficiencies in the iconic Brutalist structure, the UC Berkeley Art Museum and Pacific Film Archives moved out. Their new location at 2120 Oxford Street, Berkeley, California opened to the public in January 2016.

1973 and was a gay disco open seven nights a week, and today is renowned as a center for House music. Club Uranus began at The EndUp on December 10, 1989. Caja was one of the master of ceremonies for the first Miss Uranus contest (judged by a *San Francisco Examiner* art critic, a sex magazine editor, and a San Francisco Arts Commission Gallery Director). Caja was a frequent attendee of Club Uranus and detailed his performances there in his interview with the Smithsonian Archives of American Art.

The Corcoran

The Corcoran is an important location in LGBTQ history as the site where the late-1980s controversy over the erotic art of gay American artist Robert Mapplethorpe (1946-1989) reached its apex.[46] This controversy has become a touchstone of the US Culture Wars—debates in the 1980s and 1990s—that played out predominantly between conservative politicians and religious leaders and liberal artists and academics. Among the Culture War battlefields were debates about artistic freedom and funding for controversial artworks, including those with sexually explicit themes.

Robert Mapplethorpe: The Perfect Moment was a retrospective of the American photographer, who died from AIDS complications in 1989 and was as famous for his still life photographs of flowers as he was for his similarly composed homoerotic photographs of nude black men. Janet Kardon of the Institute of Contemporary Art at the University of Pennsylvania organized the exhibition, which was mounted at the university in December 1988 to acclaim by critics and audiences alike, before it traveled to the Museum of Contemporary Art in Chicago early in

---

[46] The Corcoran Gallery at 500 Seventeenth Street NW in Washington, DC was founded in 1869 by William Wilson Corcoran. Architect Ernest Flagg designed the Beaux-Arts building and, for over a century, the private museum housed one of the most significant collections of American art in the United States. The building was added to the NRHP on May 6, 1971 and was designated an NHL on April 27, 1992.

1989.[47] Despite the popular and critical acclaim, the show was cancelled two weeks before it was to open at the Corcoran. Director Christina Orr-Cahall, under conservative pressure from several of the museum's trustees as well as Republican United States Senate Representatives Jesse Helms (North Carolina) and Dick Armey (Texas), cancelled the show amid threats that the Corcoran (and other institutions showing controversial art) would lose funding from the National Endowment for the Arts (NEA). Opponents claimed that Mapplethorpe's work, particularly his *X Portfolio* of sadomasochistic imagery, were obscene.[48]

Orr-Cahall's decision not to show Mapplethorpe's work was controversial, and several artists cancelled exhibits they had scheduled for the Corcoran. The Coalition of Washington Artists organized protests including rallies attended by hundreds of people outside the Corcoran, and on June 30, 1989, they projected slides of Robert Mapplethorpe's work onto the façade of the building. Orr-Cahall resigned from the Corcoran as a result of the controversy. In July and August of 1989, the nonprofit arts organization, Washington Project for the Arts, hosted the Mapplethorpe exhibit in DC.[49] Senator Helms and others followed up on their threats, and in 1990, Helms introduced a Senate bill to deny NEA funds to artwork considered "obscene." The bill did not pass.[50] Today, Mapplethorpe is well respected, and has had a tremendous influence on other artists including the gay artist Glenn Ligon and has been written about in influential articles by the gay art historian Richard Meyer, the gay art critic Douglas Crimp, and the gay art theorist Kobena Mercer.[51] In

---

[47] Janet Kardon, David Joselit, and Kay Larson, *Robert Mapplethorpe: The Perfect Moment* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, Institute of Contemporary Art, 1989). The ICA is located at 118 South Thirty-Sixth Street in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; the Museum of Contemporary Art in Chicago is located at 220 E. Chicago Avenue, Chicago, Illinois.

[48] Richard Meyer, "The Jesse Helms Theory of Art," *October* 104 (Spring 2003): 131-148.

[49] In 1989 the Washington Project for the Arts was located in the Jenifer Building in the 400 block of Seventh Street NW, Washington, DC.

[50] Meyer, "The Jesse Helms Theory of Art"

[51] The black gay artist Glenn Ligon created an installation entitled *Notes on the Margin of the Black Book* (1991-1993) as a response to Mapplethorpe's 1986 *The Black Book*, a collection of homoerotic nude photographs of black men taken by the (white) photographer. For literature on Mapplethorpe see, for example, Richard Meyer, "Imaging Sadomasochism: Robert Mapplethorpe and the Masquerade of Photography," Queer Cultural Center website; Arthur C Danto, *Playing with the Edge: The Photographic Achievement of Robert Mapplethorpe* (Berkeley: University of California Press,

2014 the Corcoran Gallery closed and its collection was transferred to the National Gallery of Art.

The groundswell of hostility to transgressive culture was nowhere more evident than in the controversy that surrounded *Robert Mapplethorpe: The Perfect Moment*. However, the fallout of the Culture Wars was enormous. In July 1989, one month after the Mapplethorpe exhibition was cancelled at the Corcoran, Senator Helms called for an amendment prohibiting the use of public NEA funds for works of art including depictions of homoeroticism among other taboos. All 1990 NEA grant recipients were required to sign this anti-obscenity pledge. In July 1990, John Frohnmayer, the head of the NEA, vetoed four grants by the lesbian, gay, and feminist performance artists Karen Finley, Holly Hughes, Tim Miller, and John Fleck for being too politicized.[52] The artists filed suit when their appeal was rejected, and three years later they settled the suit, winning reinstatement of the grants and challenging the constitutionality of the "decency" pledge required by NEA guidelines in the wake of Helm's amendment. In retrospect these controversies served to raise important issues: who decides what is art? Is 'quality' a relative, socially determined word, like 'obscenity'? The decency clause remains in effect to this day, and NEA grants to individual artists were discontinued in the 1990s. There are continuing effects of the Culture Wars on the creation, funding, and distribution of contemporary art.[53]

1996); Douglas Crimp, *Melancholia and Moralism: Essays on AIDS and Queer Politics* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2004); Kobena Mercer, "Skin Head Sex Thing: Racial Difference and the Homoerotic Imagination," in Coco Fusco and Brian Wallis, eds., *Only Skin Deep: Changing Visions of the American Self* (New York: International Center of Photography, 2003).

[52] Karen Finley performed some of her early works in places like Mabuhay Gardens, 443 Broadway, San Francisco, California and Club Foot, a live-music venue just east of the Greyhound Bus Station on Fourth Street, between Brazos Street and Congress Avenue, Austin, Texas (now demolished). Holly Hughes performed early work at Women's One World Café (WOW). From 1981 through about 1984, WOW was located at 330 East 11th Street, New York City, New York; since circa 1984, they have been located at 59-61 East 4th Street, New York City, New York. In 1980, Tim Miller co-founded Performance Space 122 (PS 122), a performance art space at 150 First Avenue, New York City, New York.

[53] As recently as 2010, Culture Wars over homosexuality and religion in art flared up in the responses to the exhibition *Hide/Seek: Difference and Desire in American Portraiture*, which was the first major museum exhibition to explore LGBTQ themes in portraiture. It was on view from October 30, 2010 to February 13, 2011 at the National Portrait Gallery in Washington, DC. The show engendered protests from conservative Christian organizations, who called for the removal of a video entitled "A Fire In My

Conclusion

It is necessary to understand that due to social stigma, for the majority of the twentieth century LGBTQ artists created art in a national climate of censorship. Especially after the gay liberation movement that followed the Stonewall Riots of 1969, there was a shift in LGBTQ identity in the United States. Many more artists came out as gay, bisexual, or lesbian and began to make art that reflected those experiences and for that reason the amount of LGBTQ art and artists, as well as institutions devoted to them, dramatically increased after 1970.[54] In many forms, then, the influence of LGBTQ individuals on American art has been constant, significant, and ubiquitous.

Within the art world, recent years have witnessed a variety of approaches to the topic of LGBTQ art: a dialogue between the affirmation of difference on the one hand and the disavowal of difference on the other. Many artists who have same-sex relationships do not identify as gay, lesbian, bisexual, or queer because social stigmas remain and they are wary that being out as LGBTQ might hinder their careers as artists. Others have created networks based on queer cultural alliances, leading to new collaborations and exhibitions. In fact, some have taken up "queer" as a label that is accommodating of gays, lesbians, transgender and bisexual artists *as well as* heterosexual ones who engage in sexually radical or perverse themes in their art. Whereas figurative art remains a clear method of queer representation, artists have embraced conceptual and abstract aesthetic strategies as well. For many artists, the politics of sexuality cannot be divorced from other identities including gender, race, and class. Today, there is no clear definition of LGBTQ art, yet the field of

---

Belly" by the gay artist David Wojnarowicz, featuring an eleven-second clip of ants crawling over a crucifix, on the grounds that it was inflammatory. The National Portrait Gallery is in the building formerly known as the Old Patent Office Building, listed on the NRHP on October 15, 1966 and designated an NHL on January 12, 1965.

[54] For example, while many of the artists active before the 1960s discussed in this essay were known to engage in same-sex relationships, few of them actually identified as LGBT or Q. In contrast, after the 1970s many artists felt emboldened to come out as LGBTQ as well as to make art about their sexuality and create institutions to support it.

artistic production and scholarship regarding LGBTQ themes continues to expand. Many artists from the history of LGBTQ art remain under-recognized and this study aims to contribute to the promotion and recognition of LGBTQ achievements in American art.

24

LGBTQ SPORT AND LEISURE

Katherine Schweighofer

The history and ongoing engagement of lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and queer (LGBTQ) Americans in sport and leisure cultures is varied and diverse, and often reflects the ebbs and flows of openness to gender and sexual diversity in mainstream culture.[1] Though interrelated and shaped by similar cultural forces, institutional sports (professional and semiprofessional leagues, school-based athletics, and community sports programs) and leisure have very different places in LGBTQ life. LGBTQ athletes and sport participants frequently sought a place in mainstream athletic cultures, and occasionally created their own. Particularly in professional and top-level sports, LGBTQ athletes have struggled with being publicly gay and/or transgender, and how that fit into mainstream sport culture. This has resulted in very minimal historical presence of out LGBTQ athletes, as the majority of examples happened since the late 1980s. Meanwhile in non-sport leisure cultures, LGBTQ individuals and communities often formed their own unique forms of leisure and entertainment outside the mainstream gaze. As such, these two histories will be addressed individually and through specific examples that highlight the ways in which LGBTQ identity shaped individual experiences and community cultures.

---

[1] In this essay, "queer" is primarily used to describe those who embrace a nonnormative relationship to gender. Some queer people understand their gender as fluid (shifting between masculine and feminine points), while others reject binary (masculine or feminine) understandings of gender.

Sports

1975: David Kopay, a recently-retired National Football League (NFL) running back notices his hands trembling as he picks up the phone to call a *Washington Star* newspaper reporter. The *Star* had run a column about whether gay men played professional sports that relied upon rumors and unofficial reports. With that phone call, Kopay became the first professional American athlete to publicly come out as gay. His autobiography, *The David Kopay Story: An Extraordinary Self-Revelation*, shared the story of his relationships with other players who remained closeted and had a major impact in helping Americans rework their stereotypes of gay men as weak, effeminate "sissies."[2] Though his story was compelling and was primarily well received by the American public, Kopay's openness did not change the highly homophobic culture of the NFL and football in general.

2006: A Nike ad campaign capitalized on the popularity of several Women's National Basketball Association (WNBA) stars, including six-time WNBA All-Star Sheryl Swoopes, who had recently come out as a lesbian. In one ad, Swoopes pushes her toddler in a playground swing when she is approached by three young girls.[3] Wearing boys' basketball attire, this swaggering little pack starts heckling Swoopes, declaring that her jump shot "needs work." Their aggression, trash talk, and masculine appearance invoke stereotypes of African American butch lesbian basketball players—ironic given that Swoopes, a publicly out lesbian, is portrayed as a rather feminine mother figure. The ad plays on stereotypes about lesbian athletes while softening Swoopes' image through her motherhood.[4]

---

[2] Perry Deane Young, *Lesbians and Gays and Sports* (New York: Chelsea House, 1995).

[3] "Nike WNBA Little Rascals 3," YouTube video, posted by tv commercials, September 7, 2006, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WAJfNO3aZGE.

2015: In a highly publicized interview with Diane Sawyer, 1976 Olympic gold medal decathlete formerly known as Bruce Jenner revealed her transgender identity, and later, her new name, Caitlyn. In her interview, Jenner explained her athletic success as resulting from her "total obsession" to prove her masculinity to herself and the world.[6] Sawyer and others in the media struggled to balance Jenner's years as the muscled warrior and the "world's greatest athlete" with her feminine appearance and identity. While there were detractors, Jenner's announcement was received by many as courageous and highlighted transgender issues in the United States. Sports talk shows, which often mock anything unusual, even

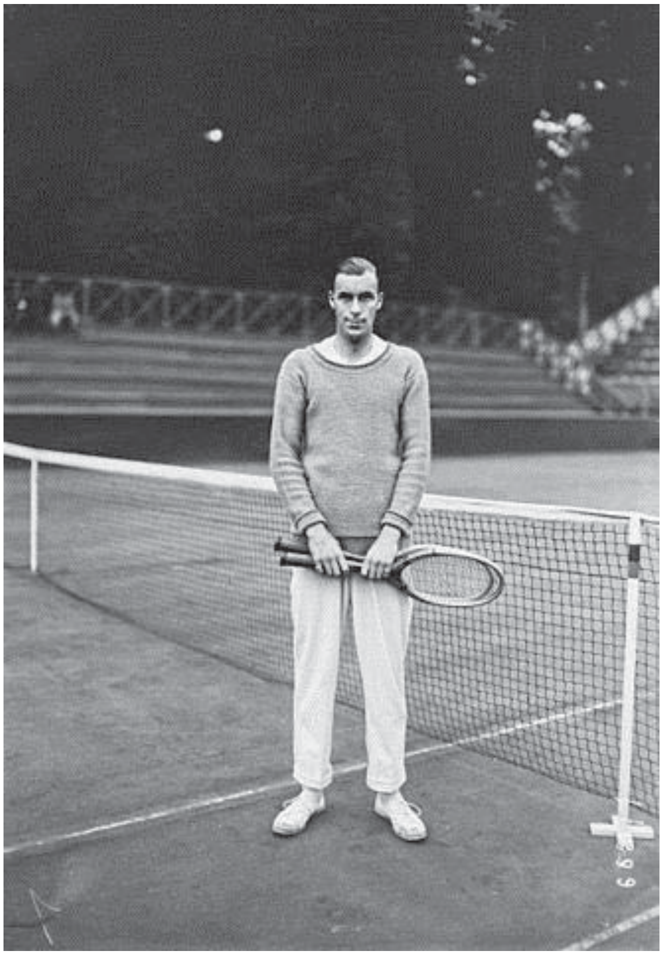


Figure 1: William "Bill" Tilden was a tennis phenomenon, holding the top world ranking from 1920-1925 before rumors of his homosexuality destroyed his career. Photo by Agence ROL, 1921; from the collections of the Bibliothèque nationale de France.[5]

---

[4] When Swoopes publicly came out in 2005 as a lesbian, she specifically stated she was not bisexual (she had previously been married), and after the ending of that 2005 relationship, has in recent years been engaged to a man. Publicly, Swoopes seems most content with a fluid understanding of her sexuality. See The Linster, "Sheryl Swoopes' comes out as NSGAA (not so gay after all)," *AfterEllen*, July 5, 2011, http://www.afterellen.com/people/89989-sheryl-swoopes-comes-out-as-nsgaa-not-so-gay-after-all.

[5] License: Public Domain. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Bill_Tilden_1921.jpg

[6] "Bruce Jenner – The Interview," *ABC News 20/20*, April 24, 2015.

brought on experts to explain concepts around being transgender and used Jenner's preferred name and pronouns.

These three snapshots from LGBTQ history reveal the complex and changing public response to gender, sex, and sexuality in sport cultures. Sports hold an important place in American culture, and are primarily shaped by our expectations of gender and ability. These dynamics are always altered by race, class, economics, and even the media and marketing of sports and athletes. For example, the WNBA has directly embraced its LGBTQ fans and is forthright about its lesbian and bisexual players in a league dominated by African American players and supported by a racially-diverse fan base looking for family-friendly events. This positive engagement with LGBTQ fans and players continues a long history of African American community support for women athletes despite their challenges to gender roles, and reveals a unique intersection of sports, gender, and race.[7] Meanwhile, tennis' white upper-class roots have made the sport extremely inhospitable for out gay men. The rumors of Bill Tilden's homosexuality in the 1940s cost him his career, and the expectations of a game still shaped by racialized and classed standards of decorum continues to make elite men's tennis unwelcoming for gay and bisexual athletes (Figure 1). Because of the homophobia and transphobia woven throughout sport, LGBTQ athletes, coaches, and fans have historically found shifting and uneven access to athletic cultures. While doors continue to open as mainstream US culture increasingly embraces gender and sexual diversity, some aspects of sporting culture remain hostile to LGBTQ participants. For example, nearly all of the top men's professional sports (football, basketball, baseball, and hockey) have seen players come out after retirement, but very few during their playing years. Meanwhile at the amateur level, a 2015 study of nearly ten thousand gay and straight people found 78 percent believed youth sports were not safe for gay people and over 80 percent of gay men and lesbians had experienced verbal slurs in sports settings.[8] LGBTQ presence in sports at all levels and in all roles continues to challenge such obstacles, and in some cases offers opportunities to reimagine the potential of sports in community and culture building.

---

[7] For more on this history, see Sarah K. Fields, "Title IX and African-American Female Athletes," *Sports and the Racial Divide*, ed. Michael E. Lomax (Jackson, MS: University of Mississippi Press, 2008), 126-145; for analysis of the gender disruption posed to white norms by African American female athletes, see L. Anima Adjepong and Ben Carrington, "Black Female Athletes as Space Invaders," in *Routledge Handbook of Sport, Gender and Sexuality*, eds. Jennifer Hargreaves and Eric Anderson (London: Routledge, 2014), 169-178.

Addressing the history of LGBTQ sports presents certain complications. First, mainstream sports history *is* LGBTQ sports history; people with same-sex sexual partners, those who challenge gender roles, and individuals who understand themselves as somehow different from the heterosexual mainstream have always existed and participated in all forms of American culture, including sports. Second, scholars have demonstrated that homosexual identity—understanding a lesbian or a gay man as a particular *type* of person instead of seeing homosexuality as a deviant sexual *act*—is a very recent concept stemming from the historically-specific confluence of medical sexological studies, the appearance of antisodomy and cross-dressing laws, and the rise of early queer subcultures in the first decades of the twentieth century. The solidification of bisexual and transgender identities happened even later. Therefore LGBTQ sport history can only begin with the origination of these concepts, addressing those individuals who understood themselves as having an LGBTQ identity. This eliminates the histories of athletes who participated in sexual activity that today would be read as gay, bisexual, or lesbian but did not identify that way. For example, historian George Chauncey explains that in the early 1900s, men who had sex with effeminate male "fairies" would not have understood themselves as gay or bisexual, given their dominant role in the sexual exchange.[9] Even after homosexual identity began to solidify, cultural norms around homosocial spaces, including single-sex locker rooms, sports facilities, camps, and branches of the military often permitted quiet sexual activity between men free from the stigma of homosexuality, ostensibly because of the absence of women.[10] This "boys will be boys" attitude muddies the line between histories of homosexuality and histories of sexual identity. Meanwhile, women often benefitted from the queer possibilities in same-sex environments such as military Women's Army Corps (WAC) units and boarding schools.[11] The permissiveness granted women's friendships allowed greater physical and emotional intimacy and simultaneously presumed impossible any sort of sexual activity between women, allowing many lesbian relationships to go unnoticed.[12]

---

[8] Erik Denison and Alistair Kitchen, *Out on the Fields: The First International Study on Homophobia in Sport* (2015), see study website at http://www.outonthefields.com.
[9] George Chauncey, *Gay New York: Gender, Urban Culture, and the Making of the Gay Male World, 1890-1940* (New York: Basic Books, 1994).

In light of legacies of homophobic persecution, many athletes who did understand themselves as lesbian, gay, or bisexual did not disclose this for their own protection. Further complicating these limitations, individuals who may have understood their own desires and identities as bisexual may have chosen to exclusively be seen in heterosexual relationships as a protection from homophobic stigma, leaving even fewer out bisexuals in the sporting record. A similar pattern exists with gender expression: athletes who might have been inclined to transgress gender norms for personal identity or sexual pleasure would not have done so publicly, to protect themselves from censure. Given these limitations, this essay focuses on the histories of notable athletes and sport cultures that directly and openly identified as LGBTQ, knowing that for each out athlete there are many others who were and are unable or unwilling to be so. As many of the stories below attest, the choice to be out about one's queer identity caused some athletes to lose their jobs, end up in jail, lose sponsorships and earnings, and endure shame, ridicule, and media harassment. More recently, other athletes have fared far better, and discovered post-playing careers in LGBTQ advocacy or connected with partners, communities, and social support systems as a result of announcing their sexual identity. Beyond the top caliber athletes, there have been millions of everyday LGBTQ athletes who did not rise to the top levels of sport and made individual decisions about whether or not to share their sexual identity with their teammates. They too, made choices about the pros and cons of disclosing their sexual and gender identities with teammates, friends, family, and communities, and may have had to weigh their love of sport against a desire to live openly.

---

[10] For examples, see Colin R. Johnson, "Camp Life: The Queer History of 'Manhood' in the Civilian Conservation Corps," in *Just Queer Folks: Gender and Sexuality in Rural America* (Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 2013); Allan Bérubé, *Coming Out Under Fire* (New York: Free Press, 1990); Mariah Burton Nelson, *The Stronger Women Get, the More Men Love Football* (New York: Harcourt, 1994); and Jane Ward, *Not Gay: Sex Between Straight White Men* (New York: NYU Press, 2015).

[11] For examples, see Leisa D. Meyer, *Creating G.I. Jane: Sexuality and Power in the Women's Army Corps During World War II* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1992) and Bérubé, *Coming Out Under Fire*.

[12] See Martha Vicinus, *Intimate Friends: Women Who Loved Women, 1778-1928* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004); Judith C. Brown, *Immodest Acts: The Life of a Lesbian Nun in Renaissance Italy* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986); and Lillian Faderman, *Surpassing the Love of Men: Romantic Friendship and Love Between Women from the Renaissance to the Present* (New York: HarperCollins, 1981).

The history of LGBTQ sport cannot be separated from the gendered norms in US culture, nor from the operation of gender in mainstream sport cultures. American gender norms presume people with male bodies develop large muscles and pursue activities centered on competition, aggression, power, and even violence. Meanwhile, those with female bodies are expected to remain quiet and docile, engaging in caring and nurturing activities. Sport cultures embrace the masculine attributes, valorizing aggressive, muscled, and powerful athletic men demonstrating strength, physical skill, and emotional stoicism. While our culture has made some space for female athletes, these women often walk a careful line between athletic prowess and the limits of feminine respectability. In earlier eras, the image of a “mannish lesbian athlete” haunted women athletes of all sexual identities and discouraged women from participation. Ironically that same conflagration of masculinity, lesbianism, and sports also meant possibilities for women who embraced that image.[13]

The masculinity of American sport cultures is enmeshed with sexually dominant forms of heterosexuality, meaning that “real” male athletes are attracted to women and are sexual aggressors. Linking athletic masculinity with a particular form of heterosexual practice results in homophobia, as those men who do not meet the gender or sexual standard are denigrated and harassed. This shaming and ostracism can be destructive for LGBTQ athletes even when the athlete isn't out to teammates. Bruce Hayes, a top-ranked University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA) swimmer in the 1980s, wondered if his self-destructive training regimen was a way to "compensate for his homosexuality through athletics, proving to himself and the world that he was a real man."[14] Some sporting cultures are not just homophobic, but characterized by a heightened paranoia about gender and sexuality called "homohysteria," which sports historian Eric Anderson defines as a "homosexually-panicked culture in which suspicion [of homosexuality] permeates."[15] Anderson argues that the 1980s and 1990s were a period of homohysteria in the United States, marked by purges of LGBTQ athletes and coaches, terminated careers, and emotional terror, all of which have shaped today's sport environments.[16] Furthermore, male and female athletic bodies are intensely sexualized, put on display and desired as ideal forms, investing further focus on bodies and desires. Given these elements, gender and sexuality are inseparable from US sport cultures and LGBTQ sport histories.

---

[13] Susan K. Cahn, “From the ‘Muscle Moll’ to the ‘Butch’ Ballplayer: Mannishness, Lesbianism, and Homophobia in U.S. Women’s Sport,” *Feminist Studies* 19, no. 2 (1993): 343-364.

Golf

A good place to start in LGBTQ sport history is with the legendary Babe Didrikson Zaharias, born in 1911 in Port Arthur, Texas. Her story reveals how gender and sexuality are heavily policed within sports, particularly for women. In the late 1920s and early 1930s, Babe was a track and field champion, winning two gold and a silver medal at the 1932 Olympics in Los Angeles. Simultaneously, she led her Amateur Athletic Union (AAU) basketball team to a 1931 National Championship and set AAU records in track and field at the 1932 national championships.[17] She took up golf and quickly became a top player, even competing in a men's Professional

---

[14] Young, *Lesbians and Gays*, 109.

[15] Eric Anderson, "The Rise and Fall of Western Homohysteria," *Journal of Feminist Scholarship* 1 (2011): 87.

[16] See the section below on Penn State University women's basketball under Coach Rene Portland, for a prime example of the destructive effects of homohysteria.

[17] Babe was a leader on the famous "Golden Cyclones" team of AAU athletes from Dallas, Texas, who dominated AAU competition in their era. See Robert W. Ikard, *Just for Fun: The Story of AAU Women's Basketball* (Fayetteville, AR: University of Arkansas Press, 2005).

Golfers' Association (PGA) tournament, the first woman to do so.[18] Zaharias dominated women's golf for the next twenty years, and became a founding member of the Ladies Professional Golf Association (LPGA).[19] Yet Babe was mocked in the press for her "mannish" features and "tomboyish" behavior until she married pro wrestler George Zaharias.[20] Though they remained a celebrity couple until her death from cancer in 1956, Babe's real relationship was with fellow golfer Betty Dodd, who lived with Babe and George.[21] Scholars agree the marriage was a cover for Babe's lesbianism, and posthumously Babe has been recognized for contributions to LGBTQ culture.[22] Since Babe's groundbreaking career, women's golf has somewhat embraced other openly lesbian players, including Sandra Haynie, Muffin Spencer-Devlin, Patty Sheehan, and Rosie Jones, even if these women generally kept their personal lives off the greens.[23] Lesbian fans helped turn the Dinah Shore LPGA tournament in Palm Springs into an annual lesbian party weekend, to the chagrin of LPGA officials who remain committed to portraying their athletes as normatively feminine, mothers, and above all, heterosexual.[24]

Baseball

Baseball has celebrated its players who made America's game more inclusive by breaking racial barriers. Less attention has been given to

---

[18] Babe competed in the Los Angeles Open in 1938, held at the Los Angeles Tennis Club, 5851 Clinton Street, Los Angeles, California.

[19] The LPGA is currently headquartered at 100 International Golf Drive in Daytona Beach, Florida.

[20] Cahn, "From the 'Muscle Moll' to the 'Butch' Ballplayer," 351.

[21] Babe died in Galveston, Texas.

[22] Susan E. Cayleff, *Babe: The Life and Legend of Babe Didrikson Zaharias* (Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 1996); Zaharias was memorialized on Chicago's LGBT Legacy walk in 2014, see Daniel Reynolds, "Photos: 7 LGBT Heroes Honored With Plaques in Chicago's Legacy Walk," *The Advocate*, October 11, 2014, http://www.advocate.com/pride/2014/10/11/photos-7-lgbt-heroes-honored-plaques-chicagos-legacy-walk?page=full. Babe has also been memorialized in Beaumont, Texas, her childhood home, through the Babe Didrikson Zaharias Museum, 1750 I-10 Frontage Road, Beaumont, Texas.

[23] Karman Kregloe, "Interview with Rosie Jones," *AfterEllen*, April 9, 2007, http://www.afterellen.com/people/9214-interview-with-rosie-jones.

[24] "Tee Party," *Guardian,* May 6, 2001, http://observer.theguardian.com/osm/story/0,,482447,00.html. It should be noted that the Dinah Shore tournament no longer holds that name, but is still colloquially referred to as the "Dinah Shore." The tournament is held at the Mission Hills Country Club, 34600 Mission Hills Drive, Rancho Mirage, California.

Glenn Burke, who was the first player to be out to his teammates (but not the public) during his career. An African American outfielder for the Los Angeles Dodgers and the original source of the high five hand slap, Burke was pressured by the Dodgers to get married and was traded when he refused—evidence of how team managers and officials felt about his sexual identity.[25] Though he struggled with drug use and eventually succumbed to AIDS, Burke was undeterred, saying, "My mission as a gay ballplayer was to break a stereotype... I think it worked."[26] Burke's legacy paved the way for Billy Bean, an outfielder who played from 1987-1995 to come out in 1999.[27] Though both Bean and Burke came out to the public after retirement, they made it possible for players like rising Minor League player David Denson to come out while still playing. In his role as MLB's "Ambassador for Inclusion," Bean was able to support Denson in his 2015 coming out to his team and the Milwaukee community.[28]

Major League Baseball (MLB) has few out gay umpires: longstanding National League umpire Dave Pallone was forced to resign in 1988 when rumors of his homosexuality surfaced; meanwhile umpire Dale Scott, who has worked in the American League since 1986, came out in 2014 and remains the only out umpire in the MLB.[29]

---

[25] Young, *Lesbians and Gays,* 63-65. The Dodgers play at Dodger Stadium, 1000 Elysian Park Avenue, Los Angeles, California.

[26] Dylan Vox, "A High Five to Baseball Great Glenn Burke," *This Week in Texas*, December 11, 2006, http://www.thisweekintexas.com/artman/publish/printer_Glenn_Burke.shtml. Burke's athletic career began at Berkeley High School, located at 1980 Allston Way, Berkeley, California. The Berkeley High School Campus Historic District was listed on the NRHP on January 7, 2008.

[27] Bean played for the Detroit Tigers, briefly for the LA Dodgers, and finished his career in San Diego with the Padres; in San Diego he felt so much pressure to remain in the closet he played a 1995 spring training exhibition game just hours after his partner died of AIDS. See Kevin Baxter, "David Denson, pro baseball's first openly gay player, has help on his journey," *Los Angeles Times,* August 22, 2015, http://www.latimes.com/sports/la-sp-denson-gay-baseball-20150822-story.html.

[28] See Baxter, "David Denson, pro baseball's first openly gay player, has help on his journey," Denson has moved between the Brewers and their lower-level farm teams, including the Timber Rattlers (Appleton, Wisconsin) and the Helena Brewers (Helena, Montana). The Milwaukee Brewers play at Miller Park, located at One Brewers Way, Milwaukee, Wisconsin.

[29] Pallone was born in Waltham, Massachusetts and currently lives in Colorado with his partner Keith; see Pallone's website at http://davepallone.com; Scott was born in Eugene, Oregon where he was inducted into the Sheldon High School Hall of Honor.

Softball

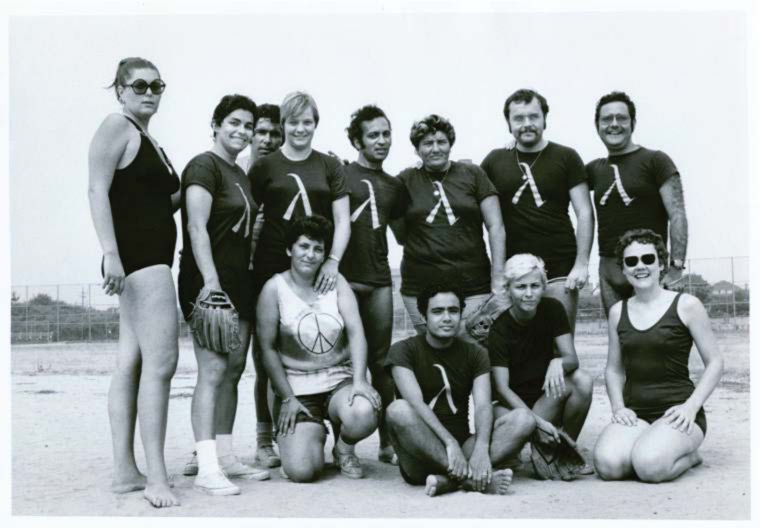


Figure 2: Gay Activists Alliance Softball Team. Photo by Kay Tobin, ca. 1969-1974, courtesy of the New York Public Library.

While baseball has generally not allowed for the openness of gay players, softball suffers from a split consciousness. On one hand, the top collegiate and national caliber women players struggle with an environment similar to elite women's basketball—there are a number of lesbian players, but heterosexual feminine appearances are the norm. At the same time, recreational softball is an important community-building tool for the lesbian community, a tradition that reaches back to the 1940s (Figure 2).[30] A women's softball game provided a guaranteed lesbian crowd in places where no gay bar or other public space was available, and proved vital to women trying to meet others.[31] Where there were gay bars available, they often sponsored teams as a way of expanding the community being built within their institutions. For many gay women, softball teams offered a safe, vibrant, and supportive community that provided a counterbalance and even resistance to the homophobic mainstream in which they lived and worked. Softball as a lesbian institution continues in today's LGBTQ softball leagues and built the Gay

---

[30] For more on lesbian softball cultures, see Yvonne Zipter, *Diamonds Are a Dyke's Best Friend* (Ithaca, NY: Firebrand Books, 1988), also Lillian Faderman *Odd Girls and Twilight Lovers: A History of Lesbian Life in Twentieth-Century America* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1991), 154, 161-62.
[31] Cahn, "From the 'Muscle Moll' to the 'Butch' Ballplayer," 358.

Softball World Series into the cornerstone of the North American Gay Amateur Athletic Alliance.[32]

Tennis

Tennis' openly LGBTQ history rests predominantly on the women's side, and is tied to a series of players in the 1970s and early 1980s. Three matches in American tennis history have been dubbed the "Battle of the Sexes," but the most famous was the exhibition match between Billie Jean King and Bobby Riggs in 1973 (Figure 3).[34] Riggs felt women's tennis was a joke and he boasted that he could beat the top players despite being fifty-five years old. Billie Jean King, who had been ranked Number 1 in the world in 1966 and had won ten Grand Slam titles since, took his sexist challenge and beat him in three straight sets, as a television audience of fifty million watched. King had been romantically involved with women for years but did not come out publicly until 1981, when a lawsuit from her ex-girlfriend hit the news.[35] King is considered the first professional female athlete to publicly

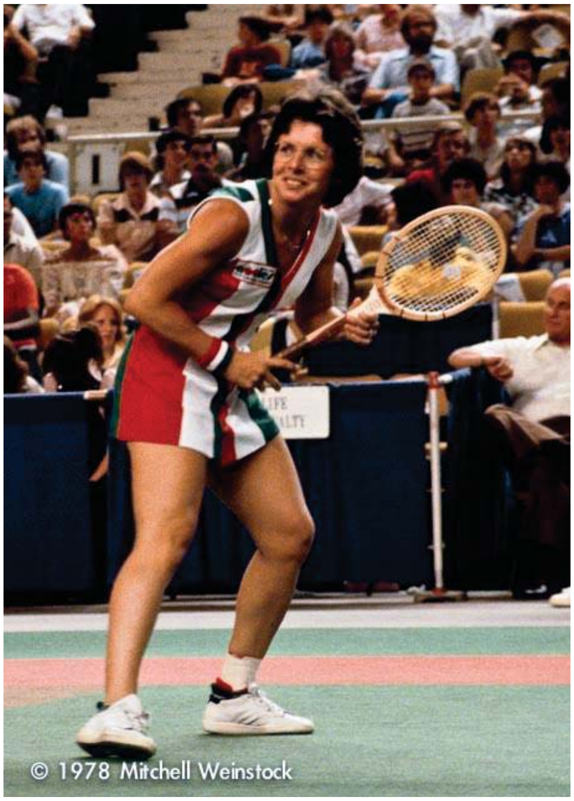


Figure 3: Tennis champion Billie Jean King playing in Phoenix, Arizona in 1978. In 1973, she beat male opponent Bobby Riggs in the famous "Battle of the Sexes" tennis match. Photo by Mitchell Weinstock.[33]

---

[32] See North American Gay Amateur Athletic Alliance website, https://www.nagaaasoftball.org/Legacy/Default.aspx (web page no longer online, see archived web page at https://web.archive.org/web/20150911085516/https://www.nagaaasoftball.org/Legacy/Default.aspx).

[33] License: CC BY-ND 2.0. https://www.flickr.com/photos/schlepper/5304275555

[34] The match was played at the Houston Astrodome, located at 8400 Kirby Drive, Houston, Texas. The Astrodome was added to the NRHP on January 15, 2014.

[35] King was sued by Marilyn Barnett in a 1981 "galimony" suit after their relationship ended. See Michelle Kort, "Billie Jean King – interview," *The Advocate,* August 18, 1988.

announce her lesbianism while still playing. Since then, she has worked for women's tennis and LGBTQ organizations.[36] King's current partner, South African-born Ilana Kloss, was also a top player in the 1970s, and is one of few Jewish women in professional tennis.[37]

Even before the Battle of the Sexes, Renée Richards used tennis to challenge America's understanding of sex and gender. Richards was a champion men's tennis player with a lethal backhand at Yale and in the Navy before she transitioned to living as a woman in 1975. Hoping to continue competing in the game she loved, she tried to enter the US Open in 1976, but was barred when she refused a chromosome test given to all women athletes.[38] She sued for her right to play, setting off a media frenzy, and in 1977 was granted entrance into the tournament held in Forest Hills, Queens, New York. During the next four years, Richards saw major successes, including winning the 1979 35-and-over singles title, despite media mockery and competitors cancelling.[39] In 1981, she retired and turned to coaching and medical practice in her hometown of New York City. In 2013, Richards was one of the inaugural inductees into the National Gay and Lesbian Sports Hall of Fame.[40]

---

[36] See her autobiography, *Pressure is a Privilege: Lessons I've Learned from Life and the Battle of the Sexes* (New York: LifeTime Media, 2008).

[37] *Portrait of a Pioneer: The Billie Jean King Documentary* (New York: HBO Sports, 2006).

[38] The 1976 US Open was held at the Highlands Course of the Atlanta Athletic Club in Duluth, Georgia at 1930 Bobby Jones Drive, Johns Creek, Georgia; Renée Richards, *No Way Renée: The Second Half of My Notorious Life* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2007).

[39] Since 1978, the US Open has been held at the USTA Billie Jean King National Tennis Center in Flushing Meadow-Corona Park, Flushing, New York. The Arthur Ashe Stadium, opened in 1997, is located within the USTA Billie Jean King National Tennis Center. It was named after Arthur Ashe, a world-ranked tennis player who was the first African American selected for the US Davis Cup team and the only black man to win singles titles at Wimbledon, the US Open, or the Australian Open. Ashe contracted HIV in the early 1980s, likely from a blood transfusion (in the years before blood banks began screening blood donations for HIV). He announced his illness in 1992 and founded the Arthur Ashe Foundation for the Defeat of AIDS, an educational non-profit to educate others about AIDS and HIV. As one of only a few straight athletes to come out publicly about his HIV status, he helped challenge stereotypes of AIDS as exclusively a "gay disease." He died from AIDS-related pneumonia on February 6, 1993.

[40] Matthew Breen, "National Gay and Lesbian Sports Hall of Fame's Inaugural Class Announced," *Out Magazine.* June 18, 2013, http://www.out.com/entertainment/popnography/2013/06/18/national-gay-lesbian-sports-hall-fame-chicago. The NGLS Hall of Fame is based out of Chicago but does not have a location open to the public, instead it operates at http://gayandlesbiansports.com.

Another famous out LGBTQ player from this era is Czech American Martina Navratilova, who held record-length top rankings in singles and doubles, the most singles and doubles titles in the open era, and is considered one of the top women players of all time. Her long rivalry with Chris Evert produced years of exceptional play.[41] Yet like other LGBTQ tennis champions, Navratilova faced public scrutiny and painful gossip when her personal life spilled into the tabloids and onto the courts.[42] Today she is an advocate for LGBTQ rights. Other lesbian players have also dominated the tennis elite. Helen Jacobs, who won multiple singles championships in the 1930s, had several women partners and broke tradition by wearing men's tennis shorts on the court. Included in her victories were a string of US Open singles titles from 1932-1935, all won at the West Side Tennis Club.[43] Puerto Rican-born Gigi Fernandez was a top player in the 1980s and 1990s and now has children with Jane Geddes, a former LPGA champion.[44] Between 1996 and 2012, Lisa Raymond earned a number one ranking in women's doubles (2000) and eleven Grand Slam titles, during which she was open about her relationship with her doubles partner, Australian Rennae Stubbs.[45]

---

[41] The "open era" refers to the 1968 decision allowing professional players to compete with amateurs at major tennis tournaments like the Grand Slam. Navratilova and Evert traded victories in several tournaments at the Amelia Island Plantation (Beachwood Road, Fernandina Beach, Florida) but it was their 1985 French Open Final that is considered one of the best women's tennis matches of all time, which Navratilova lost. Navratilova ended up topping Evert in the career titles and in their head-to-head matches. Navratilova now lives in Sarasota, Florida.

[42] Navratilova initially came out as bisexual in a 1981 interview, but has since identified herself as lesbian. See Johnette Howard, *The Rivals: Chris Evert vs. Martina Navratilova Their Epic Duels and Extraordinary Friendship* (New York: Crown Archetype, 2005), 181.

[43] Jacob's partners include her lifelong companion Virginia Gurnee, and an earlier relationship with Henrietta Bingham, daughter of US Ambassador to England Robert Bingham. See her obituary, Susan B. Adams, "Helen Jacobs, Tennis Champion in the 1930's, Dies at 88," *New York Times,* June 4, 1997; and also Bingham's biography; Emily Bingham, *Irrepressible: The Jazz Age Life of Henrietta Bingham* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2015), 223-266. The West Side Tennis Club is a longstanding US Open venue, located at One Tennis Place Forest Hills, Queens, New York.

[44] Karen Crouse, "A Dream Deferred, Almost Too Long," *New York Times*, August 29, 2010. Fernandez now lives in Connecticut and coaches at Chelsea Piers Connecticut (1 Blachley Road, Stamford, Connecticut) and The Long Ridge Tennis Club (Long Ridge Road, Stamford, Connecticut).

[45] See Lisa Raymond website at http://www.lraymondweb.com, for Raymond's professional history. For personal history, see Linda Pearce, "Rennae out of closet, in your face," *Sydney Morning Herald,* January 7, 2006. Since their success on and off the court in the early 2000s, Stubbs and Raymond have ended their personal and professional relationships. Raymond was born in Norristown, Pennsylvania and played for the University of Florida's Gators tennis team at Linder Stadium (Gainesville, Florida) where she helped her team win its first NCAA championship.

Few professional tennis players on the men's circuit have been out about their homosexuality. Perhaps the most famous is William Tilden. A native Philadelphian and alumnus of Germantown Academy prep school, located in the Philadelphia suburb of Fort Washington, and Peirce College, "Big Bill" Tilden is often considered one of the greatest men's players of all time, winning seven US Championships (1920-1925, 1929) and holding the number one world ranking from 1920-1925.[46] Tilden's tennis dominance did not protect him from antisodomy laws and homophobic culture, however; the end of his playing career was hastened as Tilden was plagued by rumors, arrests for soliciting minors, and jail. These charges left Tilden broke, unable to teach lessons, and shunned from his home club, Philadelphia's Germantown Cricket Club.[47] Tilden's athletic dominance posed a direct challenge to expectations tying masculine athleticism with heterosexuality, and ultimately resulted in the destruction of his athletic career and life.

Football

Despite baseball's title as "America's pastime," it is American football that is the juggernaut of sport dollars, viewership, and collegiate athletics in the United States. As a result, definitions of masculinity are closely woven in and around the gridiron game. Despite the huge number of collegiate and pro players, there are very few who have ever come out as gay, and even fewer who have done so while playing. As sports scholar Mariah Burton Nelson argues, football offers a homosocial environment in which men can express emotion, touch one another, and enjoy male bodies on display, but does so by perpetuating an understanding of sex that is violent, misogynist, and unrelentingly homophobic.[48] Although pioneer David Kopay came out in 1975 after finishing his NFL career in Green Bay a few years earlier, his contemporaries who were widely known to be gay, did not.[49] The few who did often experienced years of misery beforehand trying to come to terms with their homosexuality or bisexuality. Roy Simmons, a guard for the New York Giants (1979-1982) and Washington Redskins (1983-1985), contracted HIV and struggled with drug addiction and homelessness after his career fell apart.[50] Ed Gallagher, a University of Pittsburgh offensive tackle, was so distraught by his homosexuality he attempted suicide in 1985 and was left a paraplegic. After the suicide attempt, Gallagher devoted the rest of his life to advocating for disabled and gay rights.[51]

---

[46] Tilden lived luxuriously for a while from his victories, even keeping a suite at the famous Algonquin Hotel at 59 West 44th Street, New York City, New York.

[47] Richard Schickel, *The World of Tennis* (New York: Random House, 1975). For more on Tilden, see Frank Deford's biography, *Big Bill Tilden: The Triumphs and the Tragedy* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1976). The Germantown (Manheim) Cricket Club is located at 5140 Morris Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. It was listed on the NRHP and designated an NHL on February 27 1987. In 1953, Tilden died at the age of sixty, in his home in the Hollywood Hills neighborhood of Los Angeles, California.

[48] Mariah Burton Nelson, "Men in Tight Pants Embracing," in *The Stronger Women Get, the More Men Love Football: Sexism and the American Culture of Sports* (New York: Harcourt Brace, 1994), 103-126.

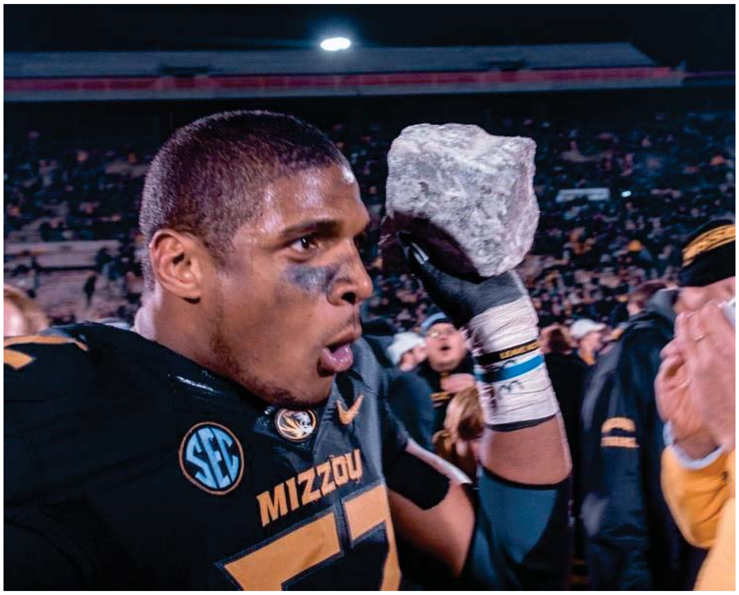


Figure 4: Michael Sam celebrates a win at his last game for the University of Missouri. Sam played defensive end for the University of Missouri, and then became the first openly gay player to be successfully drafted in the NFL draft when he signed with the St. Louis Rams in 2014. Photo by Marcus Quertyus, 2013.[52]

Football players who have come out as gay recently include Esera Tuaolo (NFL rostered 1991-1999, primarily Minnesota Vikings 1992-1996), Wade Davis (NFL practice squad member 2000-2003, ending with the Washington Redskins), Kwame Harris (NFL 2003-2010, primarily with the San Francisco 49ers, 2003-2007), but these professional players each waited until after retirement. Meanwhile college players Brian Sims (Bloomsburg University, 1997-2001), Alan Gendreau (Middle Tennessee State University, 2008-2011), and Conner Mertens (Willamette University, 2013-present) felt comfortable coming out as gay or bisexual while still playing, evidence of the divide between the NFL and NCAA sports cultures, and possibly a generational shift.[53] Michael Sam was drafted by the St. Louis Rams after being a collegiate All-American, and is considered the first openly gay player to be successfully drafted into the NFL (Figure 4).[54] Sam was later cut from the Rams and now plays in the Canadian Football League; some have argued that Sam's experience and those of other openly gay players send a clear message about the NFL's inability to change its underlying homophobic culture.[55]

---

[49] Players like Jerry Smith (Redskins tight end), Ray McDonald (Redskins running back), and Jackie Walker (49ers linebacker) are widely believed to have been gay, but never publicly confirmed their sexuality. See '*A Football Life': Jerry Smith – Living a Double Life* (NFL Films, 2014); and Betty Bean, "The Jackie Walker Story," *Metro Pulse,* November 22, 2007. David Kopay played for several teams during his career, but his gay history is grounded in his time with the Washington Redskins when he was in a relationship with teammate Jerry Smith. During this time, the Redskins played at RFK Memorial Stadium, located at 2400 East Capitol Street SE, Washington, DC.

[50] For Simmons, see his memoir *Out of Bounds: Coming out of Sexual Abuse, Addiction, and My Life of Lies in the N.F.L. Closet* (Boston: Da Capo Press, 2006). Simmons was born in Savannah, Georgia, played for Georgia Tech, and died at the age of fifty-seven at his home in the Bronx, New York.

[51] For Gallagher, see Cyd Zeigler, "Greatest Sports Moment #68: Ed Gallagher survives suicide attempt," *Outsports,* July 29, 2011. Gallagher attempted suicide off the Kensico Dam, located at 1 Bronx River Parkway, Valhalla, New York, and marks his survival as a turning point in his life.

[52] License: CC BY-SA 3.0. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Michael_Sam_final_Mizzou_home_game.jpg

---

[53] Tuaolo came out during a 2002 interview on HBO's "Real Sports", see "Former NFL Player Speaks Out on Being Gay," *ABC News,* http://abcnews.go.com/GMA/story?id=125632&page=1. Davis came out in 2012 in an interview with *Outsports*, see Associated Press, "Ex-Titans CB Wade Davis Comes Out," *ESPN,* June 7, 2012, http://espn.go.com/nfl/story/_/id/8022419/former-nfl-cornerback-wade-davis-comes-gay. Kwame Harris talked openly of being gay on CNN in March 2013, see Mike Foss, "Former 49ers player Kwame Harris talks about being gay," *USA Today,* March 29, 2013, http://www.usatoday.com/story/gameon/2013/03/29/san-francisco-49ers-kwame-harris-gay/2034509. Brian Sims was open with his college teammates and later worked publicly to advance LGBTQ rights, currently serving in the Pennsylvania House of Representatives, see Cyd Zeigler, "Former College Football Captain Was Openly Gay," *Outsports,* April 27, 2009. Alan Gendreau was an openly gay kicker aiming for the NFL in 2013, see Cyd Zeigler, "Coming Out Kicking," *Outsports*, April 23, 2013. College kicker Conner Mertens came out as bisexual publicly in 2014, see Cyd Zeigler, "Conner Mertens came out to his college football team. Now he comes out publicly," *Outsports,* January 28, 2014, http://www.outsports.com/2014/1/28/5348936/conner-mertens-willamette-football-kicker.

[54] Sam came out during an interview on ESPN's "Outside the Lines" on February 9, 2014, see Chris Connelly, "Mizzou's Michael Sam says he's gay," *ESPN*, February 10, 2014, http://espn.go.com/espn/otl/story/_/id/10429030/michael-sam-missouri-tigers-says-gay. The 2014 NFL draft, in which he was the first openly gay player to be drafted, was held at Radio City Music Hall at 1260 Sixth Avenue, New York City, New York. Radio City Music Hall was added to the NRHP on May 8, 1978.

[55] For example, see Michelangelo Signorile, "What's the Probability That Michael Sam Was Cut Because He's Gay, Really?" *Huffington Post*, October 24, 2014, http://www.huffingtonpost.com/michelangelo-signorile/whats-the-probability-that-michael-sam-was-cut-because-hes-gay-really_b_6041468.html.

Rugby

Rugby's British roots and similarity to American football create a unique position in US sports culture. The intense physicality of the game has meant an opportunity for women, traditionally excluded from football, to play a contact sport. For men, rugby has offered a contact sport for those disinterested in or marginalized from American football, including gay and bisexual men. The game has for decades drawn women already interested in pushing past gender norms, and cultivated a deep history among lesbian and bisexual women. In 1987, the US Women's National Team (the Eagles) was formed, and in 1991 won the inaugural Women's World Cup.[56] Beginning in the 1990s, gay men's rugby teams began to form, eventually uniting as the International Gay Rugby league. One of the most famous gay rugby players (ruggers) is Mark Bingham who was one of the passengers on United Airlines Flight 93 that was hijacked by terrorists on September 11, 2001.[57] Bingham led several fellow passengers in an uprising against their hijackers, preventing the plane from being used to attack US cities. Media coverage of Bingham's personal sacrifice often mentioned his leadership in founding a gay rugby team, the San Francisco Fog. This attention reveals America's unfamiliarity with the game of rugby, as well as the existence of gay rugby teams, but also points to the homophobic assumption that gay men couldn't embody the strength, courage, and selflessness that Bingham modeled. His legacy is memorialized in the gay rugby league's world cup tournament, as well as a memorial at the University of California at Berkeley, his alma mater.[58]

---

[56] See "About USA Rugby," USA Rugby website, http://www.usarugby.org/about-usa-rugby/history. USA Rugby is based in Colorado at 2655 Crescent Drive, Lafayette, Colorado.

[57] Flight 93 was forced down in a field just off Lincoln Highway, Stoystown, Somerset County, Pennsylvania. The Flight 93 National Memorial is a unit of the NPS, established on September 24, 2002.

[58] John Morrison and John Donegan, "Mark Bingham: The 9/11 hero behind rugby's gay World Cup," *ABC Sydney*, August 21, 2014, http://www.abc.net.au/news/2014-08-21/the-hero-behind-the-bingham-cup/5685996. The SF Fog are based at 2370 Market Street #232, San Francisco, California. Cal rugby plays at Witter Field, 210 Stadium Rim Way, Piedmont, California.

Hockey

Hockey's rough and tough image presents a similar challenge for its gay athletes, at least on the men's side. Brendan Burke, son of the former general manager of the Toronto Maple Leafs and the US Olympic hockey team, was a student manager for the Miami University RedHawks men's ice hockey team when he came out in order to combat homophobia in hockey.[59] When Burke was killed in an accident several months later, his family began the You Can Play Project, a campaign dedicated to ending homophobia in sports.[60]

Caitlin Cahow played on two US women's Olympic hockey teams (2010 Vancouver and 2006 Turin) and in the Canadian Women's Hockey League (CWHL), and now works in CWHL administration.[61] She is one of a handful of women's hockey players to publicly discuss her lesbian identity.[62] In 2014 she was chosen by President Obama to represent the United States as part of the official Sochi Winter Olympics delegation. The selection of Cahow and Billie Jean King was considered a challenge to Russia's antigay policies, specifically a 2013 prohibition on gay "propaganda" available to minors and increasingly homophobic cultural norms promoted by President Putin.[63]

---

[59] Sarah Boesveld and James Mirtle, "Brian Burke's Son Killed in Auto Accident," *Globe and Mail,* February 5, 2010, http://www.theglobeandmail.com/sports/brian-burkes-son-killed-in-auto-accident/article4305035; also
Chris Peters, "Remembering Brendan Burke," *The United States of Hockey* (blog), February 5, 2013, http://unitedstatesofhockey.com/2013/02/05/remembering-brendan-burke. The Miami RedHawks play at the Goggin Ice Center, 610 South Oak Street, Oxford, Ohio.

[60] See "Welcome from the Founders," You Can Play Project website, http://youcanplayproject.org/pages/welcome.

[61] "CWHL Board Approves League Expansion," Canadian Women's Hockey League press release, June 19, 2015, http://www.cwhl.ca/view/cwhl/news-644/news_306062. The CWHL administration is based in Ontario at 734 Srigley Street, Newmarket, Ontario, Canada.

[62] Lucy Hallowell, "Two-time Olympian Caitlin Cahow Comes Out," *AfterEllen*, November 14, 2013, http://www.afterellen.com/people/202810-two-time-olympian-caitlin-cahow-come-out.

[63] Eddie Pells, "Obama Selects Gay Athletes for Sochi Delegation," *Associated Press*, December 18, 2013, http://sports.yahoo.com/news/white-house-unveils-us-delegation-224216706--spt.html.

Basketball

Like other popular sports in America, basketball's LGBTQ history was for a long time about closeted secrecy. The sport may recently have entered a period of change, with athletes coming out as gay, lesbian, and transgender to relatively positive reception. Still, the complex dynamics of sexuality, race, and class within basketball culture create a challenge for those players wishing to be open and honest about their sexual identities.[64]

Women's basketball history includes decades of semipro leagues, a well-organized physical education system in schools and universities, and the Amateur Athletic Union.[65] Each of these offered safe spaces for straight, bisexual, and lesbian female athletes to participate in highly competitive athletics, despite varying gendered expectations for women throughout the first half of the twentieth century. Since the 1970s, however, women's collegiate basketball created a more difficult environment for lesbian and queer women players, despite rumors of many players and coaches themselves being lesbian. In the 1980s and 1990s, the pressures of cultural gender norms were heightened by the media spotlight on the new pro league (founded 1996), the Women's National Basketball Association (WNBA). This produced an extreme level of homophobic gender policing in which female athletes' behavior, dress, and mannerisms were carefully groomed to not appear overly masculine.[66] Emblematic of this was Penn State women's head coach, Rene Portland, whose twenty-seven-year career was overshadowed by her ban on lesbian players and the hostile environment she fostered, prompting nearly half of her players to transfer or quit.[67]

---

[64] See, for example, Cheryl Cooky et al., "It's Not About the Game: Don Imus, Race, Class, Gender and Sexuality in Contemporary Media," *Sociology of Sport Journal* 27, no. 2 (2010): 139-159; and Jane Duvall Downing, "Welcome to the Ball, Cinderella: Investigating Gender, Sexuality, Race, and Class Through a Study of the Lived Experience of Women Athletes," PhD Diss., University of Missouri-Columbia, 1999.

[65] See Adolph H. Grundman, *The Golden Age of Amateur Basketball: The AAU Tournament, 1921–1968* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2004).

[66] Sarah Banet-Weiser, "We Got Next: Negotiating Race and Gender in Professional Basketball," in *Paradoxes of Youth and Sport,* SUNY Series on Sport, Culture, and Social Relations, eds. Margaret Gatz, Sandra J. Ball-Rokeach, and Michael A. Messner (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2002), 93-102.

Despite this uneven history of acceptance, the archives of women's basketball still boasts many women who have openly been in, or are in, relationships with other women. Early players include Sue Wicks (Rutgers University 1984-1988, New York Liberty 1997-2002), Sheryl Swoopes (Texas Tech University 1993, Houston Comets 1997-2007, six-time WNBA All-Star and four-time WNBA Champion 1997-2000), Michele Van Gorp (Duke University 1997-1999, Minnesota Lynx 2001-2004), and Sharnee Zoll-Norman (University of Virginia 2004-2008, European leagues, Chicago Sky 2013).[68] More recently, younger players like Glory Johnson (University of Tennessee 2008-2012, Tulsa Shock/Dallas Wings 2012-present) and superstar Brittney Griner (Baylor University 2009-2013, Phoenix Mercury 2013-present) have also been upfront about their lesbian identity, even when their dramatic relationships became tabloid fodder.[69] The 6'8" Griner linked her size and lesbianism in recalling childhood experiences of ostracism: "It was hard. Just being picked on for being different. Just being

---

[67] *Training Rules: No Drinking, No Drugs, No Lesbians*, directed by Dee Mosbacher and Fawn Yacker (San Francisco, CA: Woman Vision Films, 2009). Penn State Lady Lions basketball is played in the Bryce Jordan Center at 127 Bryce Jordan Center, University Park, Pennsylvania.

[68] Sue Wicks came out as a lesbian in 2002, see Lena Williams, "Wicks's Statement Stirs Little Reaction," *New York Times,* July 7, 2002. Sheryl Swoopes came out as a lesbian in 2005, but is now married to a man and hasn't chosen to publicly label her sexuality, see Cyd Ziegler, "Sheryl Swoopes is not a lesbian, now engaged to marry a man" *Outsports,* July 14, 2011. Michele Van Gorp said she'd "never been in the closet" but still caused a stir when she was interviewed by a gay and lesbian magazine in 2004, see Jim Buzinski, "Van Gorp Out and Proud," *Outsports,* July 13, 2004. Sharnee Zoll-Norman was open with teammates about being married to a woman, but hadn't seen her lesbian identity as relevant to her as a basketball player until she shared her sexual identity with the media in 2013, see Ross Forman, "Lesbian Chicago Sky player set to attend her first Pride Parade," *Windy City Times*, June 27, 2013. The Phoenix Mercury play at the Talking Stick Resort Arena (201 East Jefferson Street, Phoenix, Arizona); the New York Liberty play at Madison Square Garden (New York, New York), with a brief stint (2011-2013) at the Prudential Center in Newark, New Jersey; the Houston Comets played for most of Swoopes' reign at the Summit, renamed the Compaq Center, and now comprises the Lakewood Church Central Campus, an evangelical church (3700 Southwest Freeway, Houston, Texas); the Minnesota Lynx play at the Target Center (600 First Avenue North, Minneapolis, Minnesota); the Chicago Sky play at the Allstate Arena (6920 Mannheim Road, Rosemont, Illinois); the Tulsa Shock played in the Bank of Oklahoma (BOK) Center (200 South Denver, Tulsa, Oklahoma) but relocated to become the Dallas Wings in 2016, playing in the College Park Center (601 South Pecan Street, Arlington, Texas).

[69] For an example of the widespread gossip on Griner and Johnson, see Bossip Staff, "Sweet Black Love: Brittney Griner Shows Off Her Girlfriend Lola Just Weeks After Glory Johnson Marriage Annulment," *Bossip*, July 29, 2015, http://bossip.com/1197080/sweet-black-love-brittney-griner-shows-off-her-girlfriend-lola-just-weeks-after-glory-johnson-marriage-annulment.

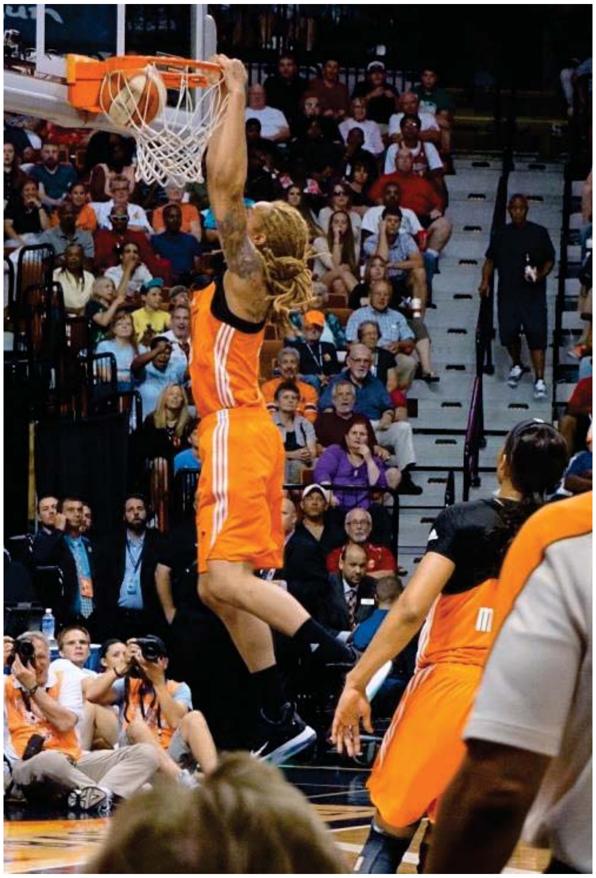


Figure 5: Out lesbian Brittney Griner dunks the ball at the 2015 WNBA All-Star Game at Mohegan Sun in Uncasville, Connecticut. Photo by Danny Karwoski.[72]

bigger, my sexuality, everything."[70] Griner continues to challenge expectations of what a female athlete can accomplish, being one of only three WNBA players to dunk and holding a National Collegiate Athletics Association (NCAA) career block record for all players, male and female (Figure 5). In 2013, she was even asked to try out for the National Basketball Association's (NBA's) Dallas Mavericks.[71]

In the last decade, elite men's basketball has begun to follow in the steps of the women's game with several players openly affirming their gay and bisexual identities, even if mostly after their playing careers. They included Will Sheridan (Villanova University 2003-2007, Italian leagues), who came out to teammates as gay while playing and publicly after retiring in 2011; and Travon Free (Long Beach State University 2008-2011) who shared his bisexuality in 2011.[73] Most visible was Jason Collins, a collegiate All-American who played for thirteen seasons in the NBA, including the 2014 season, after he had publicly come out as gay and became a free agent.[74] Collins is the first publicly gay athlete to play in any of the "Big Four" major North American pro sports leagues (NBA, NFL, National Hockey League [NHL], and MLB). Collins has already inspired other athletes, including Derrick Gordon (University of Massachusetts, Seton Hall University) to come out.[75] Collins chose to wear number 98 with the Brooklyn Nets in honor of Matthew Shepard, a gay teen killed in 1998 in Wyoming.[76]

---

[70] Doug Feinberg, Associated Press, "Griner, Delle Donne and Diggins dealt with bullies," *Washington Times,* April 18, 2013, http://www.washingtontimes.com/news/2013/apr/18/griner-delle-donne-and-diggins-dealt-with-bullies/?page=all.
[71] The Mavericks play at the American Airlines Center, 2500 Victory Avenue, Dallas, Texas.
[72] License: CC BY-SA 3.0. https://www.flickr.com/photos/andymiah/12515038085
[73] Cyd Ziegler, "Will Sheridan, former Villanova basketball player, comes out as gay," *Outsports,* May 16, 2011; Aymar Jean Christian, "Travon Free Comes Out as Bisexual," *NewNowNext*, January 12, 2011, http://www.newnownext.com/travon-free-comes-out-as-bisexual/01/2011.
[74] Jason Collins, "Parting Shot: Jason Collins announces NBA Retirement in his own words," *Sports Illustrated,* November 24, 2014. Collins' coming out was the cover story on the May 6, 2013 issue of

Further challenging gender and sexual norms in basketball, George Washington University women's basketball player Kye Allums broke new ground when he came out as transgender in 2010 first to his team, and then publicly.[77] Allums received notable support from his team and coach, and despite personal struggles now educates audiences on transgender identities and sports.[78]

Soccer

American soccer's LGBTQ presence has also recently seen a positive shift toward more lesbian and gender-alternative-friendly publicity, greatly aided by the 2015 World Cup victory of the US Women's National Team in Canada, led by publicly out lesbian players Megan Rapinoe and Abby Wambach.[79] Rapinoe's precision on the field earned her a Goal Olimpico at the 2012 Summer Olympic Games in London, the only player in the world, male or female, to have done so that year.[80] Wambach holds the

---

Sports Illustrated. The game after his announcement was the Nets against the LA Lakers, played at the Staples Center at 1111 South Figueroa Street, Los Angeles, California.

[75] Pablo S. Torre, "Why did Derrick Gordon make history and then suddenly shun the spotlight?" *ESPN,* October 27, 2014, http://espn.go.com/mens-college-basketball/story/_/id/13950235/openly-gay-basketball-player-derrick-gordon-transfers-seton-hall-shuns-spotlight.

[76] Driadonna Roland, "NBA Will Donate Sales of Jason Collins' Jersey to LGBT Groups," *BuzzFeed*, February 28, 2014, https://www.buzzfeed.com/driadonnaroland/nba-will-donate-sales-of-jason-collins-jersey-to-lgbt-groups?utm_term=.eiWZ8QYLE#.djXAnWmPy.

[77] Erik Brady, "Transgender male Kye Allums on the women's team at GW," *USA Today,* November 4, 2010, http://usatoday30.usatoday.com/sports/college/womensbasketball/atlantic10/2010-11-03-kye-allums-george-washington-transgender_N.htm.George Washington University basketball is played at the Charles E. Smith Center located at 600 Twenty-Second Street NW, Washington, DC.

[78] Elliott Moore, "Kye Allums Discusses his Personal History as a Transgender Athlete," GLAAD website, February 19, 2013, http://www.glaad.org/blog/kye-allums-discusses-his-personal-history-transgender-athlete.

[79] Jim Buzinski, "For Abby Wambach, passion for soccer changed after she married Sarah Huffman," *Outsports*, May 26, 2015.

[80] A Goal Olimpico is a goal scored off a corner kick untouched by any other player.

world record for international goals scored for both men and women, two Olympic gold medals (Greece 2004, London 2012), and shared captain duties for the 2015 World Cup winning American team.[81] These two are part of a longer tradition of lesbian and bisexual women's soccer players: Joanna Lohman has played professionally since 2001 and has developed opportunities for girls to play soccer in India.[82] She is open about her marriage to National Women's Soccer League (NWSL) teammate Lianne Sanderson.[83] Several other out lesbians play at soccer's highest levels: Lori Lindsey has made the national team pool since 2005 and came out in 2012; Natasha Kai is a national team player who also played for the national women's rugby union sevens team; and Keelin Winters plays professionally in the United States and Australia.[84]

On the men's side, fewer players have been open about their homosexuality or bisexuality, particularly while still actively playing, testament to the power of heteronormative masculinity in soccer. Yet a few gay men have chosen to challenge this norm. David Testo came out in 2011 after ending an eight-year professional career with the Montreal Impact, and Robbie Rogers came out as gay during a retirement in 2013 from playing in Britain but then returned to the United States to play for the Los Angeles Galaxy.[85]

---

[81] See Abby Wambach, player profile, U.S. Soccer website, accessed August 12, 2015, http://www.ussoccer.com/players/2014/03/15/05/05/abby-wambach#tab-4.

[82] Val Henderson, "Soccer players change lives of girls through sport," *ESPNW,* December 19, 2011. http://espn.go.com/espnw/news-commentary/article/7360694/pro-soccer-players-joanna-lohman-lianne-sanderson-want-change-lives-girls-sport.

[83] Shira Springer, "Breakers have only gay couple in pro sports," *Boston Globe*, June 1, 2014. The Boston Breakers play at Jordan Field at 65 North Harvard Avenue, Boston, Massachusetts.

[84] Greg Hernandez, "US soccer star Lori Lindsey comes out as lesbian," *Gay Star News*, September 6, 2012, http://www.gaystarnews.com/article/us-soccer-star-lori-lindsey-comes-out-lesbian060912; Lindsey is from Indianapolis, Indiana and played college soccer for the University of Virginia Cavaliers (Charlottesville, Virginia). Kai was born in Kahuku, Hawaii and played soccer for the University of Hawaii's Rainbow Wahine (Honolulu, Hawaii); Sarah Warn, "The New York Times blogs about out soccer player Natasha Kai," *AfterEllen*, June 5, 2009, http://www.afterellen.com/people/52059-the-new-york-times-blogs-about-out-soccer-player-natasha-kai; "Soccer star joins US 7s squad," *ScrumQueens*, November 2011, http://www.scrumqueens.com/news/soccer-star-joins-us-7s-squad. For Keelin Winters, see player interview in *Let it Reign* (Seattle, WA: LEVYfilms, 2013); Winters was born in Cleveland, Ohio and played collegiate soccer for the University of Portland Pilots (Portland, Oregon).

[85] For the costs David Testo paid coming out, see Leander Schaerlaeckens, "Out of Bounds," *SB Nation*, September 28, 2012, http://www.sbnation.com/soccer/2012/9/28/3419354/david-testo-

Bodybuilding and Boxing

The sport of bodybuilding has a complex relationship with gay male culture. The physique magazines popular in the 1940s and 1950s displayed bodybuilders in nude and seminude poses, offering a culturally acceptable way for men to admire male bodies. The magazines also became a coded way for gay men to make connections, whether in person or through pen pal and hobby directories.[86] Yet because of gendered expectations, bodybuilding remains a sport misunderstood as exclusively heterosexual, despite the visible presence of lesbian, gay, and bisexual bodybuilders.

Bob Paris came out in 1989 as gay while still competing as a bodybuilder, one of the first professional athletes in any sport to do so.[87] The result was a major hit to his career, including death threats and lost bookings and endorsements.[88] Jim Morris competed as an openly gay African American champion bodybuilder (1973 Mr. America) from the 1970s through the 1990s (1996 Mr. Olympia Masters Over 60). Morris took to the Internet in 2011 as a seventy-six-year-old to challenge stereotypes of the elderly and encourage others to increase their fitness.[89]

---

gay-soccer-player. Testo was born in Winston-Salem, North Carolina and played for the Montreal Impact (Saputo Stadium, 4750 Sherbrooke Street, Montreal, Quebec, Canada) from 2007-2011. Robbie Rogers, born in Rancho Palos Verdes, California, also struggled with his gay identity, "Gay soccer star Robbie Rogers: Living in closet 'creates this monster inside you,'" *NBC Today Show*, November 25, 2014, http://www.today.com/popculture/soccer-star-robbie-rogers-reveals-why-he-came-out-gay-1D80314694. The LA Galaxy play at the StubHub Center at 18400 Avalon Boulevard, Carson, California.

[86] See Martin Meeker, *Contacts Desired: Gay and Lesbian Communications and Community, 1940s-1970s* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006); later, homophile magazines like *DRUM* would incorporate physique photography as part of their appeal to gay male readers, see Marc Stein, "Birthplace of the Nation: Imagining Lesbian and Gay Communities in Philadelphia, 1969-1970," in *Creating a Place for Ourselves: Lesbian, Gay, and Bisexual Community Histories,* ed. Brett Beemyn (New York: Routledge, 1997), 253-288. See also Johnson (this volume).

[87] "Bob Paris, Former Mr. Universe, Talks About Coming Out: 'My Life was Threatened,'" *Huffington Post*, February 25, 2014, http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2014/02/25/bob-paris-mr-universe-gay-oprah_n_4849671.html.

[88] Terri-Lynne Waldron, "Former Mr. Universe Bob Paris on Oprah, coming out, marriage," *Windy City Times*, April 1, 2014, http://www.windycitymediagroup.com/lgbt/Former-Mr-Universe-Bob-Paris-on-Oprah-coming-out-marriage/46835.html.

[89] Carla Hall, "Mr. America has bulk -- three decades after winning the title," *Los Angeles Times*, September 4, 2007, http://articles.latimes.com/2007/sep/04/local/me-morris4. For Morris' video, see "The Story of a 78-year-old Vegan Bodybuilder-Jim Morris: Lifelong Fitness-Short Film," YouTube video, posted by Lifelong Fitness, March 11, 2014, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=tUtv4slpm-U.

Other notable gay male bodybuilders include Chris Dickerson, the first openly gay Mr. Olympia title holder (1982) and the first African American Mr. America (1970). He competed from the mid-1960s until the 1990s, came out as gay in the late 1970s, and now spends his retirement coaching in Florida.[90] Morris and Dickerson received different responses to being gay bodybuilders than Paris, perhaps shaped by the timing and manner of their outing (Paris on Oprah in the late 1980's versus Dickerson and Morris quietly in the 1970s) or Paris' public advocacy for gay marriage. Their experiences would also have been shaped by race, as Dickerson and Morris struggled against the racism that kept African Americans out of the championship circles until their arrival in the 1970s. In women's bodybuilding, Shelley Beattie was an openly bisexual woman who also was deaf, and after her professional bodybuilding career (early 1990s), she sailed on the all-women's America's Cup sailing team (1994-1995) and competed on the American Gladiators television show (1992-1996), though her bisexuality was not discussed in those contexts.[91]

Women's boxing joined the Olympic offerings in 2012, evidence of the growing popularity of women's fighting. American boxer Pat Manuel won multiple women's national championships until a 2012 shoulder injury gave him time to officially move to the men's division as part of his gender transition. Based out of Los Angeles, Manuel now uses his sport as a platform for advocating LGBTQ and women's equality while working on his own career in the men's USA Boxing amateur circuit.[92] The rise of Mixed Martial Arts (MMA) style fighting, including the 2013 start of Ultimate Fighting Championship (UFC) matches for women, have given athletes like lesbian UFC fighter Liz Carmouche a chance to shape their own emerging sport cultures.[93] Carmouche faced off against fellow lesbian fighter Jessica Andrade in July 2013 at the KeyArena in Seattle, Washington for the first lesbian-lesbian UFC fight.[94]

---

[90] Walker Tisdale III, "Exclusive Conversation with Chris Dickerson," *Healthy Black Men*, March 20, 2011, http://healthyblackmen.org/2011/03/20/talking-truth-with-chris-dickerson. Dickerson's Mr. Olympia title was won at the Wembley Conference Centre, London, England.

[91] Jerry Casey, "Life Story: Shelley Beattie," *Oregonian*, April 19, 2008.

[92] Kylie Krabbe, "A Transgender Boxing Champ Plans His Return to the Ring," *LA Weekly*, September 11, 2015. Manuel has also opened an online gym for "oppression-free fitness" for queer clientele at www.buffbutch.com. See also Spectra Speaks, "Queer Female Boxer Pat Manuel Launches BUFF BUTCH: Masculine of Center Fitness Resource," April 2013, http://www.qwoc.org/2013/04/female-boxing-champion-pat-manuel-launches-buff-butch-an-online-fitness-resource-for-masculine-of-center, and Kylie Krabbe, "Pat Manuel poised to blaze trail as transgender amateur, then pro," *The Ring*, December 3, 2015, http://ringtv.craveonline.com/news/405687-pat-manuel-poised-to-blaze-trail-as-transgender-amateur-then-pro.

Rodeo

In 1975, Phil Ragsdale, a Reno, Nevada businessman, suggested a gay rodeo as a community fundraiser. Initially struggling to secure a site and animals, the rodeo finally took place at Reno's Washoe County Fairgrounds in October 1976.[95] The event was a hit, and by the early 1980s had grown into a multiday event raising thousands of dollars for charity. The idea spread and by 1985, the International Gay Rodeo Association (IGRA) was founded to unite local Gay Rodeo Associations.[96] IGRA events include traditional rodeo competitions, like bull riding and calf roping, as well as special gay rodeo events, including the Wild Drag Race (cowboys help a person in drag mount a wild steer) and Goat Dressing (put underpants on a goat). Events are open to all participants regardless of gender, unlike other rodeo associations, which are often marked by hostile cultures toward homosexuality and gender deviance.

Gay bars in the West and Midwest are an important part of IGRA advertising and Charlie's Bar in Denver provided notable support for the Colorado Gay Rodeo Association and the IGRA. [97] Major figures in gay rodeo include cowboy Greg Olson, a seven-time IGRA All-Around

---

[93] Kaitlyn, "A Talk With The Fighters From The First UFC Match Between Two Lesbians," *Autostraddle,* July 25, 2013, http://www.autostraddle.com/a-talk-with-the-fighters-from-the-first-ufc-match-between-two-lesbians-187123.

[94] The full fight report is available at Shaun Al-Shatti, "Liz Carmouche vs. Jessica Andrade full fight video highlights," *SB Nation*, July 28, 2013, http://www.mmafighting.com/2013/7/28/4564518/liz-carmouche-vs-jessica-andrade-full-fight-video-highlights-ufc-on-fox-8. The KeyArena is located at 305 Harrison Street, Seattle, Washington.

[95] The Washoe County Fairgrounds are located at 1001 Wells Avenue in Reno, Nevada. For more information about the Gay Rodeo, see Auer (this volume).

[96] See IGRA's website at http://www.igra.com.

[97] Rebecca Scofield, "Too Legit to Quit: Gay Rodeo, Camp, and the Performance of Gender in Reagan's America," in *Riding Bareback: Imagining American Gender, Sexuality, and Race through Rodeo*, PhD diss. in American Studies, Harvard University, November 2015. Charlie's also provided support to other LGBTQ recreation groups, including social dancing groups like the Denver Country Cloggers and the Mile High Squares. Charlie's is located at 900 East Colfax Avenue, Denver, Colorado.

Champion,[98] IGRA's historian Cowboy Frank Harrell, and gay rodeo producers Wayne Jakino (Colorado), John King (Colorado), Linn Copeland (Kansas), Al Bell (California), and Terry Clark (Texas).[99]

Diving

Figure 6: Diver Greg Louganis won four gold medals between the 1984 Los Angeles and 1988 Seoul Olympics before coming out about his gay identity and his HIV-positive status. Here he speaks at the University of Southern California Annenberg School for Communication and Journalism about his role representing both the United States and the LGBTQ athlete community, 2011. Photo by Brett Van Ort.[100]

Occasionally the disclosure of an athlete's sexuality invoked other fears. Greg Louganis was America's top diver for most of the 1980s, and was widely considered the best ever in his events (Figure 6). After having won two gold medals, five world championships, and many other international events, Louganis found himself at the Seoul Summer

---

[98] Olson was born in Erickson, Nebraska, and was a bartender and regular at Charlie's in Phoenix, Arizona where he lived most of his adult life. Charlie's is located at 727 West Camelback Road, Phoenix, Arizona. See "IGRA Hall of Fame: Greg Olson," IGRA website, http://gayrodeohistory.org/HallOfFame/OlsonGreg.htm.

[99] Jakino was born in Durango, Colorado but spent most of his adult life in Denver, Colorado, where he owned Charlie's bar, helped raise thousands for local AIDS charities, and served as a consultant to the local police department, see "IGRA Hall of Fame: Wayne Jakino," IGRA website, http://gayrodeohistory.org/HallOfFame/JakinoWayne.htm. King grew up on a farm in Iowa, was involved in starting Charlie's bars as well as gay rodeo in Denver, Phoenix, and Chicago, see "IGRA Hall of Fame: John King," IGRA website, http://gayrodeohistory.org/HallOfFame/KingJohn.htm. Copeland owned Our Fantasy Club (3201 South Hillside Street, Wichita, Kansas), Wichita's oldest gay and lesbian bar, which closed in 2015, and was a founding member of the Kansas Gay Rodeo Association, see "IGRA Hall of Fame: Linn Copeland," IGRA website, http://gayrodeohistory.org/HallOfFame/CopelandLinn.htm. Bell founded Floyd's, a Long Beach, California gay country western bar with his partner, which served as the home for the Golden State Gay Rodeo Association, see "IGRA Hall of Fame: Al Bell," IGRA website, http://gayrodeohistory.org/HallOfFame/BellAl.htm. Patricia Nell Warren, *The Lavender Locker Room* (Beverly Hills, CA: Wildcat Press, 2006), 276. Simonton, Texas was host of the first Texas gay rodeo event organized by Terry Clark, in November of 1984, see "Texas Star Page A1, November 9, 1984," IGRA website, http://gayrodeohistory.org/1984/1984-11-09-TexasStar-A1.htm.

[100] License: CC BY-ND 2.0. https://www.flickr.com/photos/public_diplomacy/16572760405

Olympics in 1988, looking to repeat his previous double gold victory. During a preliminary round Louganis hit his head on the springboard, and with the spectators and television viewers aghast, got out of the pool clutching his head. Fortunately, he only needed a few stitches, and returned to win his third and fourth gold medals. Louganis retired after Seoul, and then revealed that he was gay and HIV positive. His announcement touched off a wave of panic given the bleeding head injury. When questioned about not disclosing earlier, he explained the terror he faced despite the minimal risk he posed to others. "At the time, if people in Seoul knew I was HIV-positive, I would never have been allowed into the country," Louganis said, "I was paralyzed by fear."[101]

Other divers were inspired by Louganis. Patrick Jeffrey competed for the United States in the 1996 Atlanta Olympics as openly gay, as did diver David Pichler who went on to become the US Diving Team Captain for the 2000 Sydney Olympics.[102] Both Pichler and Jeffrey attended Ohio State University and competed for the Buckeyes dive team.[103]

Figure Skating

In sports like figure skating, the gendered expectations are already far from dominant understandings of masculinity. Despite these athletes' incredible physical abilities, male figure skaters are derided for participating in a sport that demands grace, artistic sensibility, and

---

[101] Bill Plaschke, "Greg Louganis remembers the Olympic dive that made history," *Los Angeles Times*, September 12, 2013, http://articles.latimes.com/2013/sep/12/sports/la-sp-plaschke-louganis-20130913.

[102] "David Pichler," Gay Swimmers website, May 2008, http://www.gayswim.co.uk/pages/david_pichler.htm; Jim Buzinski, "Moment #93: David Pichler, Patrick Jeffrey compete as openly gay in Olympics," *Outsports*, July 11, 2011. Jeffrey currently coaches at Stanford University and owns the Stanford Diving Club, operating out of the Avery Aquatic Center at 235 Sam McDonald Mall, Stanford, California. The Atlanta Olympics held their diving events at the Georgia Tech Aquatic Center, 750 Ferst Drive NW, Atlanta, Georgia. A pipe bomb explosion at the 1996 Atlanta Olympics resulted in two deaths and over one hundred injuries. The same man responsible for that bomb also detonated bombs at the Otherside Lounge, a lesbian bar at 1924 Piedmont Road, Atlanta, Georgia in 1997 and at two abortion clinics in 1997 and 1998 before his capture.

[103] The Buckeyes dive at McCorkle Aquatic Pavilion, 1847 Neil Avenue, Columbus, Ohio.

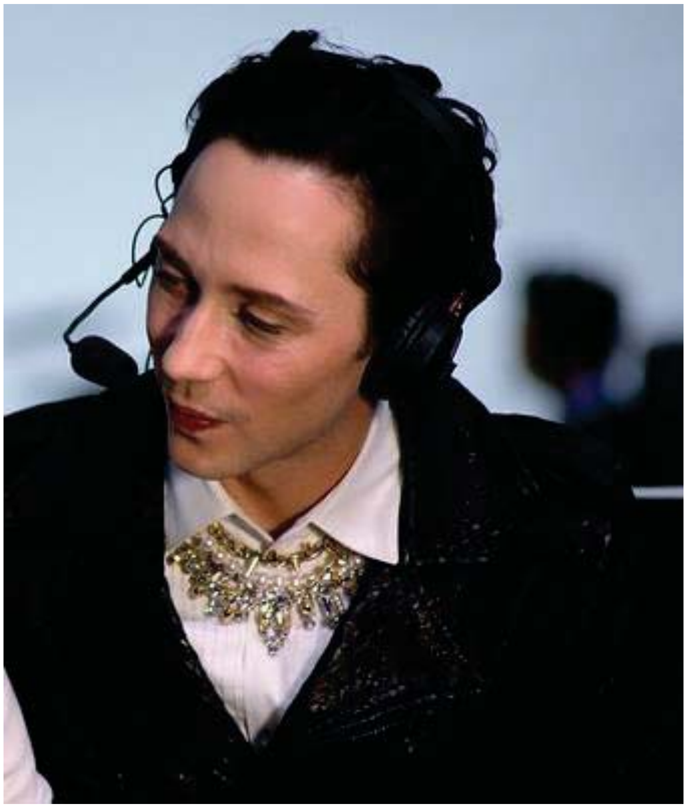


Figure 7: Figure skater Johnny Weir reporting at the Sochi 2014 Olympic Winter Games. A 2004-2006 US National Skating Champion, Johnny Weir's flamboyance challenged figure skating's gendered norms. Photo by Andi Miah.[104]

costumes. In response to these pressures, figure skating's history includes written and unwritten gender rules covering everything from performance wear to particular moves, including particular spins and difficult jumps; for example, male skaters often find not just their skating but their manhood questioned if they don't perform a quadruple jump, and women skaters are expected to display emotion, not power, in their performances.[105] In line with this gender policing, figure skating has not been hospitable to its LGBTQ skaters, and those who flaunt these rules have paid deep personal costs. Ronald "Ronnie" Robertson left his mark on skating in the 1950s through his spinning techniques, but was often passed over for gold medals and was posthumously outed by a vindictive coach.[106] Rudy Galindo was a Mexican American skater in the mid-1990s who came out as gay while still skating, and struggled with the death of his brother and coach from HIV. Galindo revealed his own HIV-positive status not long before he won the men's title at the 1996 US Championships at the San Jose Arena in legendary late career performance in front of his elderly mother.[107] Brian Boitano, who won gold at the 1988 Calgary Olympics and several world championship medals, came out in 2014 when angered by Russia's homophobic policies brought to light by the Sochi Olympics.[108] The recent rise of young Johnny Weir and his wildly flamboyant, genderqueer performances in the 2010 Vancouver Olympics forced skating to reconsider its gendered assumptions. As homophobic media and skating world comments were countered by a younger generation of skating fans through social media, Weir continued to declare that his sexuality was unrelated to skating and called for a change of sexist and homophobic attitudes. Weir officially came out as gay in his 2011 memoir and, after retiring in 2013, joined skating broadcasting with NBC's Olympic coverage (Figure 7).[109]

---

[104] License: Public Domain. https://www.flickr.com/photos/andymiah/12515038085

[105] Chloe Angyal and Daniel Eison, "Policing Gender in Figure Skating," *Sociological Images*, March 31, 2010. http://thesocietypages.org/socimages/2010/03/31/guest-post-policing-gender-in-figure-skating.

[106] Newsweek Staff, "LGBT Moments in Figure-Skating History," *Newsweek*, January 31, 2014, http://www.newsweek.com/lgbt-moments-figure-skating-history-227576. Robertson was born in Brackenridge, Pennsylvania and silvered in the 1956 Olympics in Cortina d'Ampezzo, Italy.

Other Sports

Other sports have seen one or two athletes come out of the closet in the past decades. Professional lacrosse goalie Andrew Goldstein came out while attending Dartmouth College and was out during his professional career playing for the Long Island Lizards in the mid-2000s, and now works to undo homophobia in his beloved game.[110] Even the conservative world of stock car racing saw its first out gay driver in 2003, as Stephen Rhodes joined the national touring circuit.[111]

Even new sports continue to move uncertainly into an era of LGBTQ acceptance. The newly-developed sport of CrossFit merges aerobic endurance, weightlifting, and gymnastics. Based primarily in local gyms, CrossFit includes an international competition in which men and women compete in multipart events over several days. Though some of its early CrossFit Games champions in the women's division were out about their lesbianism, the organization's media coverage carefully avoids discussion of athlete sexuality and continues to promote highly gendered workout apparel and heterosexist culture.[112] Yet cities like New York, San Francisco, and Los Angeles now boast LGBTQ-friendly CrossFit gyms and organizations like OUTWOD, which bring LGBTQ CrossFitters together in a merging of community building, gay male cruising cultures, and this new model of fitness.[113] The erasure of LGBTQ participants at the national level while LGBTQ connections flourish at the local level suggests the moment of transition that CrossFit and many other sports drawing a younger audience are currently experiencing.

---

[107] Ibid. Galindo was born in San Jose, California where he lives today. The San Jose Arena (now renamed the SAP Center) is located at 525 West Santa Clara Street, San Jose, California.
[108] Ibid.
[109] Johnny Weir, *Welcome to My World* (New York: Gallery Books, 2011). Weir was born in Coatesville, Pennsylvania.
[110] Cyd Ziegler, "Why I'm increasingly frustrated with closeted pro athletes," *Outsports,* September 1, 2015. The Long Island Lizards of Major League Lacrosse play at the James M. Shuart Stadium on Hofstra University's campus at 900 Fulton Avenue, Hempstead, New York.
[111] Joseph Ehrman-Dupre, "Stephen Rhodes Hopes to be NASCAR's First Openly Gay Success Story, Seeks LGBTQ Sponsorship," *Towleroad,* September 10, 2014, http://www.towleroad.com/2014/09/stephen-rhodes-hopes-to-be-nascars-first-openly-gay-success-story-seeks-lgbtq-sponsorship-video. Rhodes was born in Goldsboro, North Carolina.

Gay Games

In response to the extreme homophobia and closeting that elite sports and particularly the Olympic Games seemed to foster, one man dreamed of a different athletic culture. Tom Waddell knew he was gay at an early age, and found friends through sports while growing up in the 1940s and 1950s.[114] A tireless decathlete, he finally made the US Olympic team in 1968. There, Waddell, who is white, worked in solidarity with the African American athletes who made Black Power statements, earning the ire of the US Olympic Committee.[115] After the games, Waddell was inspired to organize a Gay Olympics festival. Despite the US Olympic Committee's lawsuit over the name "Olympics," the first event held in San Francisco in

---

[112] Samantha Briggs, a British competitor who won the 2013 games, spoke openly of her partner, Jo Cartwright. See "The Woman Behind Sam Briggs: Jo Cartwright," Reebok CrossFit Games website, March 23, 2011, http://games.crossfit.com/video/woman-behind-sam-briggs-jo-cartwright.

[113] For example, see Chadwick Moore, "My Month of Hell: Thirty Days in a Gay CrossFit Cult," *Out Magazine,* July 9, 2015, http://www.out.com/lifestyle/2015/7/09/my-month-hell-gay-crossfit-cult. For more on OUTWOD, see http://www.outwod.com.

[114] Tom Waddell lived in a home in the Mission District of San Francisco, California from 1975 until his death in 1987.

[115] Young, *Lesbians and Gays*.

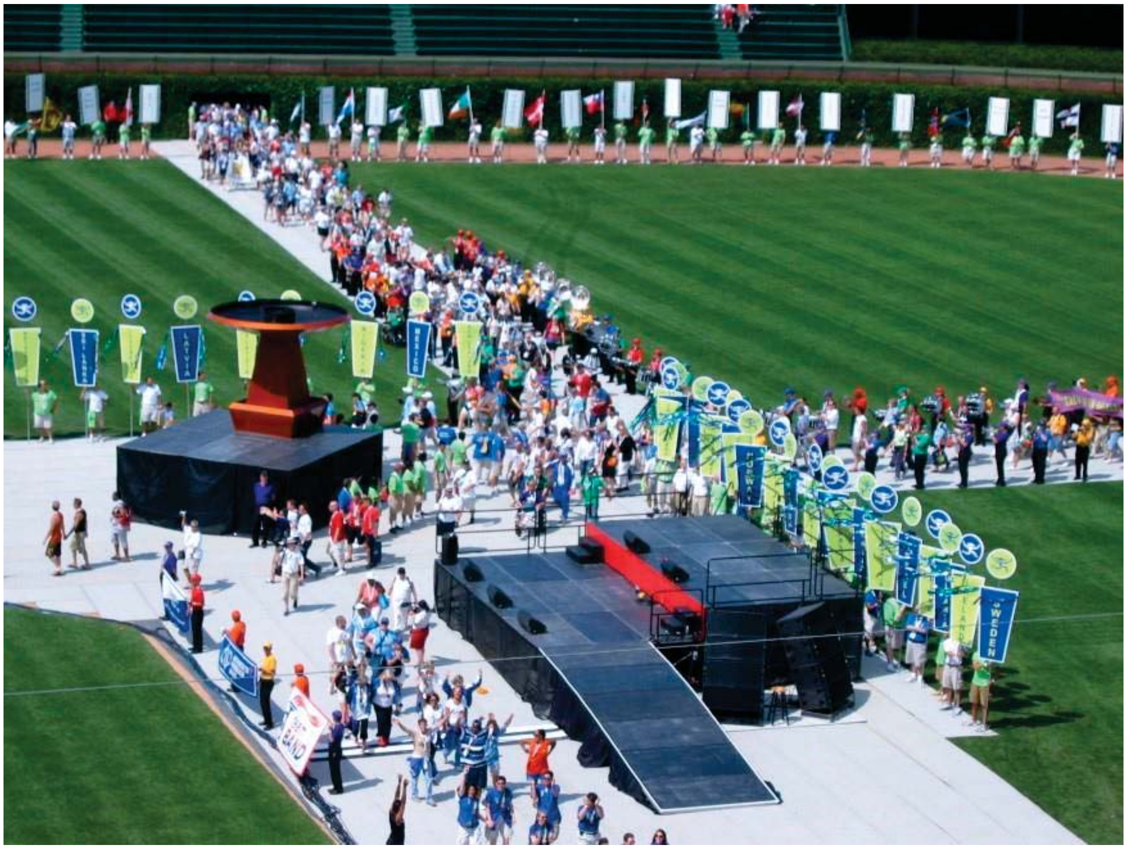


Figure 8: The Closing Ceremonies of the 2006 Chicago Gay Games held at Wrigley Field. Photo by Rick Aiello.[116]

1982 was a huge success.[117] The Gay Games, as it is now called, emphasizes sportsmanship, personal achievement, and inclusiveness over competitiveness or nationality (Figure 8).[118] Events were open to anyone interested, and alongside traditional Olympic sports the Gay

---

[116] License: CC BY-SA 2.0. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Gay_Games_2006_End-Ceremonie_01.jpg. Wrigley Field is located at 1060 West Addison Street, Chicago, Illinois.

[117] The Gay Games have been held in the following locations: 1982 San Francisco, California; 1986 San Francisco, California; 1990 Vancouver, Canada; 1994 New York City, New York; 1998 Amsterdam, Netherlands; 2002 Sydney, Australia; 2006 Chicago, Illinois; 2010 Cologne, Germany; 2014 Cleveland and Akron, Ohio; and are scheduled for 2018 in Paris, France. The Gay Games are an important part of San Francisco LGBTQ History. For more, see the Citywide Historic Context Statement for LGBTQ History in San Francisco, available at the City and County of San Francisco Planning Department website, http://sf-planning.org/lgbt-historic-context-statement.

[118] Caroline Symons, "The Gay Games: A Beacon of Inclusion in Sport?" in Hargreaves and Anderson, eds., *Routledge Handbook*, 318-327.

Games currently offers darts, cheer, and scheduled for future games, wheelchair rugby and roller derby.[119]

Beyond a basic operating model that removes the hostility and aggressive competition that underlies mainstream sports, the Gay Games also celebrate LGBTQ culture through physical movement. Beginning in 1990, the Pink Flamingo has been an "aquatic spectacle" involving teams of swimmers competing via a costumed, choreographed skit and synchronized swimming routine. Wildly popular among spectators and participants alike, the Pink Flamingo mixes histories of drag and camp into sports, essentially upsetting what "sports" can be. [120] By doing so, this particular Gay Games tradition continues to directly challenge mainstream heteronormative and gender-normative sport cultures.[121]

LGBTQ sports and recreation organizations have continued to expand as more and more individuals are comfortable with their gender and sexuality and seek others who also enjoy physical and outdoor activity. The North American Gay Amateur Athletic Alliance oversees a range of LGBTQ recreational sport leagues. Across the United States, LGBTQ sports and leisure groups formed between 1970 and 2015 include running clubs, volleyball teams, hockey leagues, equestrian groups, wrestling teams, and gyms. The New York Sundance Outdoor Adventure Society is a gay hot air ballooning group; the Tarheel Outdoor Sports Fellowship offers gay and lesbian canoeing camaraderie; Unusual Attitudes Flying Club is a Southern California LGBT pilots association; OutRiders is a Boston-based LGBT bicycling club; the Houston Outdoors Group organizes LGBTQ hiking and camping trips; and the Ruby Red Flippers, the Village Dive Club, and the Sea Squirts are all LGBT dive clubs.[122]

---

[119] Jim Buzinski, "Gay Games Oks New Sports – including roller derby – for 2018 Event," *SB Nation Outsports,* December 20, 2012, http://www.outsports.com/2012/12/20/4054112/gay-games-oks-new-sports-including-roller-derby-for-2018-event.

[120] See Terry Allison, "The Pink Flamingo: A Gay Aquatic Spectacle," in Hargreaves and Anderson, eds., *Routledge Handbook*, 328-336.

[121] See Scarlett Drury, "Gay Sports Spaces: Transgressing Hetero(/Homo)normativity and transforming sport?" in Hargreaves and Anderson, eds., *Routledge Handbook*, 309-317.

Various LGBTQ dance groups arose when straight dance clubs would not permit dancing in same-sex pairs. This was the motivation for the formation of the International Association of Gay Square Dance Clubs (IAGSDC) in 1983.[123] The Boston Gay and Lesbian Folk Dancers operated from 1977 through 1985. The Lavender Country and Folk Dancers began as the South East Gay and Lesbian Country Dancers in 1987, changing their name to the LCFD in 1992. The LCFD has hosted dances at the First Church in Jamaica Plain, Massachusetts since 1988.[124] Founded in 1980, Greg's bar in Indianapolis, Indiana hosted regular gay line dancing lessons and events from the late 1990s until recently.[125] These groups and others like them allowed, and continue to allow, safe and fun ways to meet partners, socialize, and learn new skills for everyday LGBTQ people.

The highly competitive world of sports writing and journalism has not been an easy place for LGBTQ journalists. Yet sports writers LZ Granderson and Christina Kahrl have come out as gay and transgender, respectively, and been able to have successful careers (Figure 9). Kahrl is best known for her work on the MLB and BaseballProspectus.com, and currently lives in Chicago. Granderson is a native Detroiter and has worked for both ESPN and CNN. These individuals and even Chicago Cubs superfan Jerry Pritikin, who is open about his homosexuality, help

---

[122] Sundance Outdoor Adventure Society headquarters, 208 West 13th Street, New York City, New York; Unusual Attitudes is based out of Signal Hill, California and can be found at http://www.unusualattitudes.org; OutRiders website http://www.outriders.org/contact.html; Houston Outdoor Group website http://www.houstonoutdoorgroup.org/contact.html; Flippers are based in Portland, Oregon, http://www.rubyredflippers.org/RubyRedFlippers/Home.html; The Village Dive Club is in New York City, New York, see website at http://www.villagediveclub.org; The Sea Squirts are headquartered in Greensboro, North Carolina, see website at http://www.sea-squirts.net.

[123] See the IAGSDC website at https://iagsdc.org.

[124] See "Chris Ricciotti's History of the JP Contra Dance," Lavender Country and Folk Dancers website, December 2013, http://lcfd.org/jp/JPContraDanceHistory.html. The First Church of Jamaica Plain is located at 6 Eliot Street, Jamaica Plain, Massachusetts. It was added to the NRHP on July 15, 1988 and is a contributing property to the Monument Square Historic District, added to the NRHP on October 11, 1990.

[125] Greg's/Our Place is located at 231 East Sixteenth Street, Indianapolis, Indiana.

Figure 9: Sportswriter Christina Kahrl came out as transgender in 2003 and continues to be an important voice in baseball and other sports coverage on ESPN. Photo by The SABR Office, 2009.[127]

normalize the vocal presence of LGBTQ fans and press.[126] LGBTQ sports and activity organizations expand the world of physical recreation and sports to include a diversity of sexualities and genders while remaining separate from the dominant sports culture, both for protection and for community building. As such, these spaces held fewer social costs and greater rewards for their participants. They also reflect the ethos of many LGBTQ leisure spaces—separate and specifically created to celebrate LGBTQ cultures—explored in the next section.

Leisure

While America's top LGBTQ athletes struggled against gender and sexual norms that dominated mainstream sport cultures, leisure activities and cultures produced a different history. Rejected by so many mainstream leisure communities and cultures, LGBTQ individuals and communities formed their own places and forms of leisure and entertainment. LGBTQ contributions to mainstream and alternative literary, art, music, and performance cultures in particular are too numerous to be addressed here.[128] Instead this section addresses the uniquely LGBTQ leisure histories of drag and ballroom cultures, resort communities, and women's music festivals.

---

[126] LZ Granderson, "No contradiction: I'm black and gay," *CNN*, June 8, 2012, http://www.cnn.com/2012/05/22/opinion/granderson-black-and-gay; Kristie Chong Adler, "ESPN writers LZ Granderson, Christina Kahrl inducted into National Gay & Lesbian Sports HOF," *ESPN Front Row*, August 2, 2014, http://www.espnfrontrow.com/2013/08/espn-writers-lz-granderson-christina-kahrl-inducted-into-national-gay-lesbian-sports-hof; David Murray, "Nothing to Cheer About," *Chicago Reader,* August 22, 2002, http://www.chicagoreader.com/chicago/nothing-to-cheer-about/Content?oid=909480.

[127] License: CC BY-SA 2.0. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Christina_Kahrl_2009.jpg

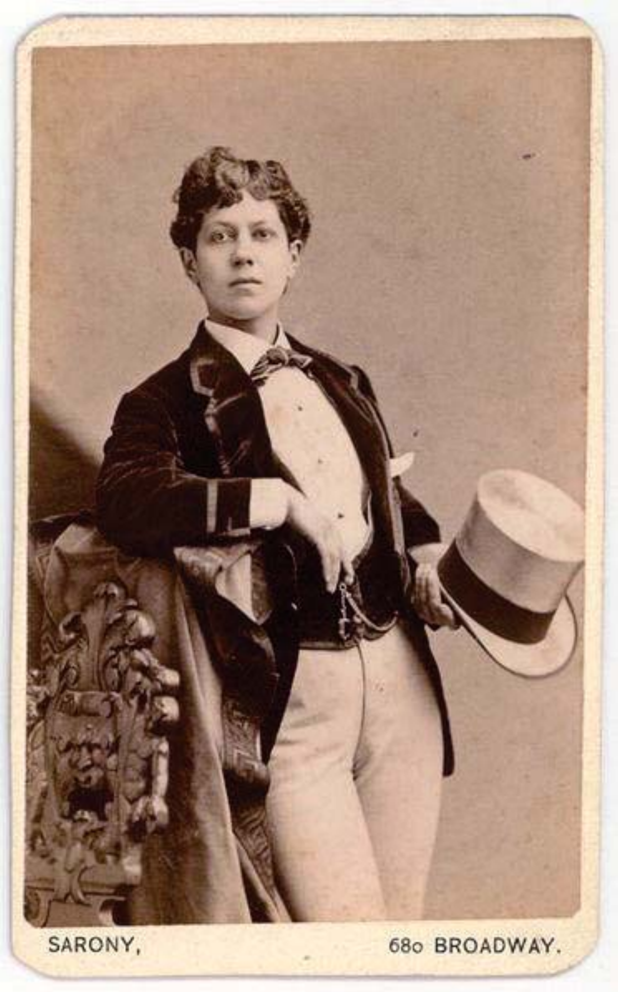

SARONY, 680 BROADWAY.

Figure 10: Male impersonator Ella Wesner gained fame in New York City's vaudeville and music-show circuits in the 1860s and 1870s where she appeared in male and female roles. Scandal erupted when she eloped to France with Josie Mansfield, a famous mistress of several wealthy New York business barons. Photo by Napoleon Sarony, ca. 1873, from the Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division.[129]

Drag

Woven throughout urban-based LGBTQ leisure cultures, in particular bar and club scenes, is a rich history of performance including cabaret, burlesque, and drag. Within the contemporary LGBTQ context, drag often refers to male-bodied performers in highly feminized clothing and makeup, often performing in bars or cabaret settings. Yet drag and cross-dressing entertainment histories reach back into the late 1800s, and have often been associated with gender and sexual deviance.[130] In particular, a popular trend in mainstream music houses and variety shows of the 1920s was the male impersonator, a female-bodied performer who dressed as a man and often sang songs and performed short skits. The pleasure of these acts was in heterosexual and non-gender transgressing audiences' confusion over whether they were "real" men. Annie Hindle (1868-1886, New York City), Ella Wesner (1860-1880s, traveling vaudeville), Gladys Bentley (1920-1930s, Harlem, New York), and Stormé DeLarverie (1950-1960s, New York City and touring) were all successful performers from the late nineteenth through mid-twentieth century who wore male attire in their acts (Figure 10).[131] Early male-bodied female impersonators include Julian Eltinge (1904-late 1920s, vaudeville and Hollywood), whose sexual identity was unclear.[132] Yet these forms of gender-transgression and gender play have particular meaning within LGBTQ communities. Throughout the 1950s and 1960s, gay clubs began more regularly including female impersonators, some of whom preferred the newer term "drag queen." Performers might lip-synch, sing, dance, or otherwise entertain a crowd in glamourous or sexy dresses and makeup.[133] Though there has been some conflict between drag and transgender communities over whether drag's gender play is positive or negative for transgender representation, there is also crossover between

---

[128] See Burk (this volume).

[129] License: Public Domain. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Ella_Wesner,_Gilded_Age_male_impersonator,_photographed_by_Sarony.jpg

[130] Drag histories draw on, but are separate from the even earlier theater traditions of cross-gender performance. Cross-dressing history is complex and culturally-specific. For some examples in the

---

American context that include but are not exclusively linked with queer and LGBTQ people, see Peter Boag, *Re-Dressing America's Frontier Past* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012); Claire Sears, *Arresting Dress: Cross-Dressing, Law, and Fascination in Nineteenth-Century San Francisco* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2014); and Martin Manalansan, "Diasporic Deviants/Divas: How Filipino Gay Transmigrants 'Play with the World,'" in *Queer Diasporas*, eds. Cindy Patton and Benigno Sánchez-Eppler (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2000), 183-203.

[131] Hindle had previously married a man who was also a performer, but divorced, and later married her dresser Annie Ryan in Grand Rapids, Michigan. Wesner scandalously eloped to Europe in the early 1880s with Josie Mansfield, mistress of multiple wealthy New York men. Bentley was open about her lesbianism until she met and married Charles Roberts at age twenty-eight. Bentley rose to stardom at the famous Harry Hansberry's Clam House at 133rd Street between Lenox and Seventh Avenue, New York City, New York. DeLarverie was MC of the Jewel Box Revue, North America's first racially-integrated drag revue, which regularly played the Apollo Theater in Harlem, New York, and lived much of her adult life immersed in New York City's butch lesbian and LGBTQ communities, including taking part in the Stonewall Riots in 1969 at the Stonewall Inn. The Apollo Theater, 253 West 125th Street, New York City, New York was added to the NRHP on November 17. 1983. Stonewall, 51-53 Christopher Street, New York City, New York was added to the NRHP on June 28, 1999 and designated an NHL on February 16, 2000.

[132] Julian Eltinge lived in the Silver Lake neighborhood of Los Angeles, California in the 1920s. Elmer Grey, "Architectural Rambling: Julian Eltinge Home – 1921," *Architectural Record* February 1921.

[133] For more on 1960s and early 1970s drag cultures, see Esther Newton, *Mother Camp: Female Impersonators in America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1979).

the two—some drag queens identify as transgender women, though they are not necessarily the same.[134] In 1979, the Pyramid Club opened in New York City.[135] This club played a key role in nurturing a new style of drag performance that was politically and socially conscious, including performers Lady Bunny, Lypsinka, and RuPaul, whose first New York City show was at the Pyramid Club in 1982. RuPaul brought drag culture to mainstream television in 2009 with a competition show, RuPaul's Drag Race. Other famous drag queens include José Sarria, Vaginal Davis, Chi Chi LaRue, Divine, Shangela, Miss CoCo Peru, Hedda Lettuce, The Lady Chablis, and Harvey Fierstein. Famous drag clubs of the past few decades include Lucky Cheng's (New York City), Hamburger Mary's (Los Angeles), and the Stud Bar (San Francisco)[136] among many, many others.

Parallel to these primarily white performers and audiences arose a similar form of entertainment and community building rooted in African American and Latino LGBTQ communities known as ballroom culture or ball culture, for short. Contemporary ball culture also traces its roots back to the late-1800s music hall performances, and particularly to the Balls of the Harlem Renaissance, but reworks some of this gender play with a contemporary twist.[137] Ball performances may involve cross-gender clothing, or dressing in a manner that mocks the heteronormativity of gender roles. Influenced by 1970s and 1980s music, fashion, and cultures of resistance, performers "vogue" or strike poses as a fashion model on a catwalk. Ballroom culture extends beyond performances to include Houses, organizations led by an accomplished performer that serve as a family, and may include shared living spaces. Famous early houses in Harlem, New York include the House of LaBeija (founded 1970), the House of Pendavis, and the House of Xtravaganza (founded 1982), though the tradition extends back into the early 1960s.[138] Houses extend balls from entertainment into a family and community structure that supports poor and homeless LGBTQ youth of color. The excitement and energy of ball culture was captured in the award-winning 1990 documentary *Paris Is Burning*.[139]

---

[134] For example, see Zack Ford, "The Quiet Clash Between Transgender Women and Drag Queens," *ThinkProgress*, June 25, 2014, http://thinkprogress.org/lgbt/2014/06/25/3449462/drag-queens-trans-women.

[135] In 1979, the Pyramid Club opened at 101 Avenue A, New York City, New York. This club has played a key role in nurturing a new style of drag performance that was politically and socially conscious, including those of Lady Bunny, Lypsinka, and RuPaul, whose first New York City show was at the Pyramid Club in 1982.

[136] Lucky Cheng's was at 24 First Avenue, New York City, New York. Hamburger Mary's was located at 8288 Santa Monica Boulevard, West Hollywood, California. The Stud Bar is located at 399 Ninth Street, San Francisco, California and hosted the Trannyshack regular drag show in the early 2000s.

[137] Early twentieth century drag balls were held at venues like the Webster Hall and Annex, 119-125 East 11th Street, New York City, NY and Rockland Palace, 280 West 155th Street, New York City, New York (now demolished).

Post-Stonewall, drag's gender play helped build lesbian and feminist communities. Drag kings are women who dress and perform as males, often to skewer heteronormativity and patriarchal definitions of masculinity. The International Drag King Community Extravaganza (IDKE) is an annual gathering of troupes and individuals for workshops, performances, and networking, and the San Francisco Drag King Contest, first organized in 1994 by Nancy Kravitz and Katherine Murty, claims itself the oldest drag king contest in the world.[140] Though many of the longest-running drag contests and organizations are in coastal cities with large LGBTQ populations, drag exists from coast to coast. Recent work has uncovered the histories of equally thriving drag cultures in the 1990s and 2000s in the South, Midwest, and rural America.[141]

---

[138] See Michael Cunningham, "The Slap of Love," *Open City Magazine*, vol. 6, http://opencity.org/archive/issue-6/the-slap-of-love; also Douglas Martin, "Pepper LaBeija, Queen of Harlem Drag Balls, is Dead at 53," *New York Times*, May 26, 2003, http://www.nytimes.com/2003/05/26/arts/pepper-labeija-queen-of-harlem-drag-balls-is-dead-at-53.html.

[139] *Paris Is Burning*, directed by Jennie Livingston (Burbank, CA: Miramax Home Entertainment, 1990). For more on ballroom culture, see Marlon M. Bailey, *Butch Queens Up in Pumps: Gender, Performance, and Ballroom Culture in Detroit* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2013); David Valentine, *Imagining Transgender* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2007); Frank Leon Roberts, "There's No Place Like Home: A History of House Ball Culture," *WireTap Magazine*, reprinted at TransGriot website, June 6, 2007, http://transgriot.blogspot.com/2008/02/theres-no-place-like-home-history-of.html.

[140] For more on drag king histories, see Judith Jack Halberstam and Del Lagrace Volcano, *The Drag King Book* (London: Serpent's Tale, 1999). The SF Drag King Show is currently held at Oasis, 298 Eleventh Street,
San Francisco, California. For more SF Drag King history, see the SF Drag King Contest website at http://www.sfdragkingcontest.com/aboutus.htm.

[141] See J. Basiliere, "Out of the Limelight: Queering Success through Nonmetropolitan Drag Kings," PhD diss. in Gender Studies, Indiana University, November 2015.

Women's Music

In the 1970s, urged by lesbian feminist desires to celebrate music that spoke to women's specific struggles, a network of women's music festivals arose to promote artists and offer women an opportunity to build community with one another. Though often labeled as "for women," these events became synonymous with lesbian culture. Women's music festivals in particular emphasized "women-only" space, which led to decades long struggles over whether transwomen should be included. The Michigan Womyn's Music Festival (MichFest), the largest and one of the longest-running women's music festivals, was a famous site of this conflict. Michfest was founded in 1976 as a women-only space to share knowledge, build community, and support women's music. It continually operated for forty years, bringing thousands of women together each summer for a communal living and working experience in the woods of rural Michigan.[142] MichFest was one of many women's music festivals that began in the early 1970s, including the first one held in 1973 at Sacramento State University, the first National Women's Music Festival (Champaign-Urbana, Illinois, 1974), and the Midwest Wimmin's Festival (Kaiser, Missouri, late 1970s).[143] Performers included women of diverse racial and class backgrounds, as well as a host of musical genres; Cris Williamson, Holly Near, Alix Dobkin, The Indigo Girls, Tribe 8, Melissa Ferrick, Bikini Kill, Le Tigre, Betty, Bitch, Toshi Reagon, Staceyann Chin, Marga Gomez, and many others took the stage at Michfest over the years. The festival was limited to "women-born-women" which led to incidents of transwomen being harassed or turned away, and an ongoing media battle over the inclusion of transwomen. Between 1991 and 2011 both cisgender and transgender activists frequently formed a protest camp across the road from MichFest called Camp Trans, and called for full inclusion. In 2015, festival founder and organizer Lisa Vogel announced the fortieth festival in 2016 would be the last MichFest.[144]

---

[142] For more on women's music festivals in general and MichFest in particular, see Bonnie Morris, *Eden Built By Eves* (Boston: Alyson Books, 2000).

[143] *See Midwest Wimmin's Festival website at* http://midwestfestival.weebly.com.

The interest in women's music also contributed to a thriving women's music industry in the mid and late 1970s in which women worked to gain control of all aspects of the music industry, from songwriting to producing and marketing. Olivia Records was originally founded with such a mission in 1973 by Judy Dlugacz and several friends and former members of the Furies Collective in Washington, DC. The group soon relocated to California to gain better access to the music industry.[145] Olivia Records was also the site of a notorious conflict over women-only policies. In 1978, an Olivia sound engineer named Sandy Stone was outed as a transgender woman by those who did not believe that transwomen are "real" women. Sandy Stone left Olivia Records but went on to help found the field of Transgender Studies with the publication of her famous essay "The Empire Strikes Back: A Posttranssexual Manifesto."[146] Meanwhile, Olivia Records floundered as they failed to keep up with a changing music industry in the 1980s, and finally by 1988 reworked their business model into a women's travel and cruise line. Olivia Travel continues to cater to lesbian and bisexual women by offering women-only cruises and events with performances by popular lesbian musicians, artists, athletes, comedians, and activists.[147]

Resort Communities

With the rise of urban LGBTQ communities came a desire to escape the city in the summertime, particularly among those who could afford a vacation. Yet most mainstream resort areas were dominated by heterosexual families and didn't offer the privacy or safety lesbian, bisexual, and gay vacationers desired. Thus within driving distance of many urban LGBTQ centers, there arose particular towns, islands, and spas known for their LGBTQ community.[149] While many of these resort towns were predominantly made by and for white, middle- and upper-class urban gay and bisexual men, lesbians and LGBTQ people of color have also been part of the development of queer vacation destinations.

---

[144] Trudy Ring, "This Year's Michigan Womyn's Music Festival Will Be the Last," *Advocate*, April 21, 2015, http://www.advocate.com/michfest/2015/04/21/years-michigan-womyns-music-festival-will-be-last.

[145] From 1975 to 1988, Olivia Records operated out of offices at 4400 Market Street, Oakland, California. The Furies operated out of a home in the Capitol Hill neighborhood of Washington, DC, from 1971-1973. The Furies Collective was listed on the NRHP on May 2, 2016.

[146] For the manifesto itself as well as historical context provided by the editors, see Susan Stryker and Stephen Whittle, eds., *The Transgender Studies Reader* (New York: Routledge, 2006), 221-235.

[147] Founded in Washington, DC, in 1973, Olivia Records was an important publisher of women's music. They stopped publishing albums in 1988, and founded the Olivia cruise line that same year.

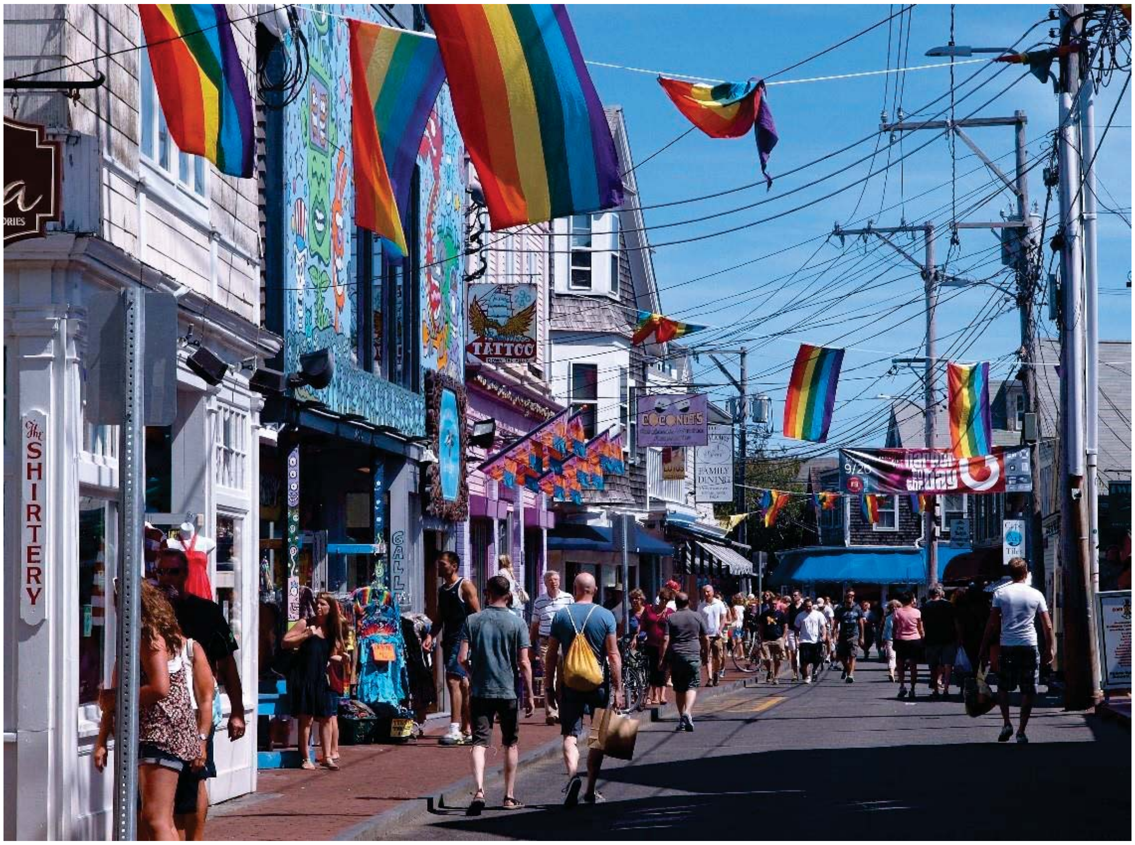


Figure 11: Provincetown, Massachusetts has a long history as an LGBTQ vacation spot, including the Atlantic House, known as a safe spot for gay and queer people as early as the start of the 1900s. It has been an openly LGBTQ bar since the 1950s. Photo by Mararie, 2014.[148]

---

[148] License: CC BY-SA 2.0. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:P-town_in_all_its_glory_%2815381859282%29.jpg. The Provincetown Historic District was added to the NRHP on August 30, 1989.

[149] At the turn of the century, there were also resorts and spas that historians have uncovered as having certain queer tendencies, not clearly fitting in our contemporary understanding of heterosexual, bisexual, or homosexual. For a unique examination of several such resorts, see Kevin D. Murphy, "Heterotopia, Queer Space, and the Turn-of-the-Twentieth-Century American Resort," *Winterthur Portfolio* 43, no. 2/3 (2009): 185-228.

One of the most thorough histories of a gay resort town is Esther Newton's study of Cherry Grove, a small town on Fire Island, a barrier island off Long Island, New York.[150] A short trip from Manhattan, the wind-swept dunes were originally the summer spot of gay men in the theater and entertainment industries.[151] Lesbians later played an important role in the development and protection of Fire Island's LGBTQ institutions. Other east coast resort towns include Ogunquit, Maine; Asbury Park on the New Jersey shore; Rehoboth Beach, Delaware; and Provincetown at the tip of Cape Cod, Massachusetts. Beginning with the alternative culture of an 1899 artists' colony, Provincetown's LGBTQ history includes drag and other gay events throughout the first half of the twentieth century.[152] By the 1970s, the town was known for its gay culture, and has since developed an extensive LGBTQ event schedule, drawing thousands each year (Figure 11).[153]

The Midwest's gay resort areas include the sister towns of Saugatuck and Douglas, Michigan, who like Provincetown, benefitted from the early presence of an artists' colony in the early 1900s, drawing a liberal and often gay, bisexual, and lesbian vacation crowd to mingle with locals, who had already quietly formed networks and gay beach spots.[154] In the 1960s and 1970s, Saugatuck was home to one of the Midwest's earliest gay bars, the Blue Tempo House of Music, which served openly gay patrons in violation of state liquor laws of the time.[155] Today Saugatuck and Douglas boast many LGBTQ-owned and operated businesses, as well as parades, special events, and other attractions for LGBTQ tourists.[156]

---

[150] Esther Newton, *Cherry Grove, Fire Island: Sixty Years in America's First Gay and Lesbian Town* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1993).

[151] The Carrington House, Cherry Grove, New York was listed on the NRHP on January 8, 2015; the Cherry Grove Community House and Theater, 180 Bayview Walk, Cherry Grove, New York was listed on the NRHP on June 4, 2013.

[152] For more on the Provincetown artists' colony and the Cape Cod School of Art, see Nyla Ahrens, *Provincetown: The Art Colony - A Brief History and Guide,* rev. ed. (Provincetown, MA: Provincetown Art Association and Museum, 2000). The Provincetown Historic District was added to the NRHP on August 30, 1989.

[153] For more on Provincetown's history, see Karen Christel Krahulik, *Provincetown: From Pilgrim Landing to Gay Resort* (New York: NYU Press, 2007).

[154] Jay Deratany, "The Fascinating History of Gay Resort Towns," *Travel Pulse,* July 27, 2015. http://www.travelpulse.com/news/features/the-fascinating-history-of-gay-resort-towns; Emily Fox, "How the largest gay resort in the Midwest is in Michigan's 'Bible belt,'" *Michigan Public Radio*, January 11, 2016, http://michiganradio.org/post/how-largest-gay-resort-midwest-michigans-bible-belt#stream/0.

[155] Ibid. The Blue Tempo was located on Lake Street in Saugatuck but burned to the ground in 1976; much of Saugatuck-Douglas' LGBTQ history is chronicled at the Saugatuck-Douglas Museum (in the

The South has its gay resort history as well: Both Fort Lauderdale and Key West, Florida, have long histories of LGBTQ resident and tourist culture. Asheville, North Carolina and Eureka Springs, Arkansas are also home to gay bed and breakfasts, artists' colonies, gay beach parties, and annual summer swarms of gay, lesbian, and bisexual and men and women. Eureka Springs originally began its resort town identity in the 1880s with the arrival of the railroad, and today continues that tradition, marketing itself as a "microcosm of San Francisco" with dozens of LGBTQ owned and operated businesses, three Diversity Weekends (Pride-like celebrations), beautiful Victorian homes, charming narrow streets, and a welcoming and affirming environment for LGBTQ residents and visitors.[157]

The West Coast's most famous gay and lesbian resort towns include Palm Springs and Guerneville, California. Guerneville was first a popular mainstream resort town in the late nineteenth century, but shifting transportation patterns and destructive flooding in the 1960s left it run down.[158] The inexpensive real estate, proximity to San Francisco, and the efforts of a handful of individuals, including gay Philadelphian Peter Pender who bought a riverside hotel and named it Fife's, started the rebirth of Guerneville into an LGBTQ gay vacation hotspot.[159]

LGBTQ leisure spaces have varied and uneven histories in the United States, often formed as spaces of safety, resistance, and community

---

Saugatuck Pump House at 735 Park Street, Saugatuck, Michigan), see "Mystery of the Blue Tempo House of Music, Topic of Saugatuck Museum 'Tuesday Talk,'" Saugatuck/Douglas Historical Society website, http://sdhistoricalsociety.org/collections/histmystery/news072307-1.htm.

[156] See Gay Saugatuck Douglas website at http://gaysaugatuckdouglas.com.

[157] See Out in Eureka website at http://www.gayeurekasprings.com.

[158] Catherine Cole, "How Did Guerneville Get to Be So Gay?" *The Bold Italic*, June 22, 2014, https://thebolditalic.com/how-did-guerneville-get-to-be-so-gay-the-bold-italic-san-francisco-c1abf89c0566#.rkjkcrmqt.

[159] Ibid. Fife's struggled with a 1995 flood (see Michael Dougan, "Many are digging out in Guerneville; Fife's may be lost," *San Francisco Examiner*, January 23, 1995, http://www.sfgate.com/business/article/Many-are-digging-out-in-Guerneville-Fife-s-may-3159623.php) and was eventually sold and renamed Dawn Ranch Lodge and no longer operates as an LGBTQ-focused business (16467 River Road, Guerneville, California).

building outside of mainstream venues. As a result, some forms of LGBTQ leisure hold great importance to the LGBTQ community, as sites where relationships and lifelong connections are made, sites where gender and sexuality are in play, and sites where creativity and fun flourish. These environments sometimes sit at odds with the history of LGBTQ sporting cultures; instead of advocating for separate spaces, LGBTQ athletes usually push for acceptance in mainstream sports. As a result, the possibilities in community building and gender play available in LGBTQ-specific leisure spaces are often not available to LGBTQ athletes. Female athletes in particular face a particularly challenging set of gender obstacles, as athletic masculinities in women remain tied to homophobic accusations of lesbianism.

LGBTQ Americans are both central to our American culture, and yet still often outsiders from mainstream norms. When it comes to sport and leisure histories, LGBTQ Americans are everywhere and also sometimes nowhere—the lasting effects of our gender and sexual norms has meant many LGBTQ stories will go untold. Those who have the talent and abilities to gain sport or entertainment celebrity and then also are unabashed about their LGBTQ identities forge a connection with everyday LGBTQ Americans who struggle with the same homophobic, transphobic, and sexist cultural norms. Bringing more of these stories to light strengthens all our sport and leisure cultures, whether professional sport leagues and long-running television shows or backyard ballfields and quiet sunny beaches. LGBTQ sports and leisure history is America’s sport and leisure history.

PLACES

Unlike the Themes section of the theme study, this Places section looks at LGBTQ history and heritage at specific locations across the United States. While a broad LGBTQ American history is presented in the Introduction section, these chapters document the regional, and often quite different, histories across the country. In addition to New York City and San Francisco, often considered the epicenters of LGBTQ experience, the queer histories of Chicago, Miami, and Reno are also presented.

25

SAN FRANCISCO: PLACING LGBTQ HISTORIES IN THE CITY BY THE BAY

Donna J. Graves and Shayne E. Watson

Introduction

San Francisco is internationally recognized as a magnet and place of pilgrimage for LGBTQ people and a critical proving ground for advancements in queer culture, politics, and civil rights. The city has also pioneered efforts to identify, document, and preserve LGBTQ historic sites, and San Francisco was the site of foundational efforts to bring LGBTQ concerns into the preservation agenda. Those efforts are the focus of this chapter, as we outline our experience of preparing a citywide historic context statement for LGBTQ history in San Francisco, which was carried out from 2013 to 2016. We conclude with a summary of some of the key themes in San Francisco's LGBTQ history and examples of historic properties associated with those themes. It is our hope that this chapter may inspire other towns and cities throughout the country to develop LGBTQ heritage preservation programs, as well as serve as an example of how the documentation of sites associated with LGBTQ heritage can be organized from conceptualization to implementation.

San Francisco's first LGBTQ landmark, Harvey Milk's residence and Castro Camera store, was designated in 2000.[1] The following year, the first national conference on LGBTQ historic preservation was organized in San Francisco by the grassroots LGBTQ preservation group Friends of 1800, the Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender (GLBT) Historical Society, and the James C. Hormel Gay and Lesbian Center of the San Francisco Public Library.[2] In 2004, the Friends of 1800 sponsored the nation's first historic context statement for LGBTQ history, titled *Sexing the City: The Development of Sexual Identity Based Subcultures in San Francisco, 1933-1979*, authored by Damon Scott.[3] *Sexing the City* was groundbreaking as the first LGBTQ heritage documentation report in the country. It was, however, intended to be a framework for future research, not a broad and inclusive study.

In 2013, we secured funding to develop a more comprehensive historic context statement for San Francisco's LGBTQ history, spanning the Native American period through the AIDS epidemic in the 1990s. The *Citywide Historic Context Statement for Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender and Queer History in San Francisco* presents historical background on nine historic themes and pays particular attention to incorporating the place-based histories of underdocumented groups within the LGBTQ communities, including lesbians, bisexuals, transgender people, and LGBTQ people of color.[4] In 2015, San Francisco's Historic Preservation Commission formally adopted the context statement; the final version of the report, including revisions responding to public comments, was accepted by the San Francisco Planning Department in March 2016 and is available online.[5]

---

[1] Harvey Milk's residence and Castro Camera were located at 573-575 Castro Street, San Francisco, California. Since 2000, two more San Francisco buildings have received local recognition for their LGBTQ significance: the Jose Theatre/Names Project Building at 2362 Market Street and the Twin Peaks Tavern at 401 Castro Street. In 1996, the National AIDS Memorial Grove in San Francisco's Golden Gate Park was designated a National Memorial.

[2] The conference, Looking Back and Forward: Significant Places of the GLBT Community, was held June 21-22, 2001 at the Hotel Bijou (111 Mason Street, extant) and the San Francisco Public Library (100 Larkin Street, extant).

[3] Damon Scott with Friends of 1800, *Sexing the City: The Development of Sexual Identity Based Subcultures in San Francisco, 1933-1979* (San Francisco: Friends of 1800, 2004). The study can be accessed online at http://www.friendsof1800.org/context_statement.pdf. The Friends of 1800 is a nonprofit organization dedicated to preserving the architectural heritage of San Francisco with a special interest in the identification and recognition of issues and sites important to LGBTQ history and culture. The Friends of 1800 was founded to prevent the demolition of the Fallon Building at 1800 Market Street, an 1894 Victorian that embodies many layers of San Francisco history. The group was successful in preventing the demolition, and the Fallon Building was incorporated into the construction of the LGBT Center (1800 Market Street).

Crafting a Citywide LGBTQ Historic Context Statement

Context statements are place-based research documents that identify historic resources within a specific theme, geographic area, and/or time period, providing a foundation for future planning and development decisions that affect cultural heritage. Until recently, context statements and historic designations in San Francisco have generally focused on architectural characteristics such as building type or style, or a geographic target such as a neighborhood, rather than a thematic focus on aspects of social or cultural history. To date, three citywide historic context statements have focused on some of the social and cultural aspects of

---

[4] Donna J. Graves and Shayne E. Watson, *Citywide Historic Context Statement for Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender and Queer History in San Francisco*, (San Francisco: San Francisco Planning Department, March 2016). The report can be accessed online at http://sf-planning.org/lgbt-historic-context-statement. The LGBTQ Historic Context Statement was funded by a grant from the City's Historic Preservation Fund Committee, with fiscal sponsorship from the GLBT Historical Society, which also provided enthusiastic support as a partner and resource. Since 2005, the San Francisco Historic Preservation Fund Committee has provided grants to preservation-related projects. These grants are drawn from a fund established as a result of civil action pursuant to an unlawful demolition of a landmark building. See http://oewd.org/index.aspx?page=176. Los Angeles' Office of Historic Resources commissioned a similar document, "Survey LA: LGBT Historic Context Statement," completed by GPA Consulting in September 2014 and accessible online at http://preservation.lacity.org/sites/default/files/LGBT%20Historic%20Context%209-14.pdf.

[5] The GLBT History Museum (4127 Eighteenth Street) in the Castro neighborhood has been curating and exhibiting LGBTQ history in San Francisco since its opening in 2010. San Francisco has a long history of interpretive projects honoring significant LGBTQ individuals and events including: interpretive plaques at the Black Cat Café (710 Montgomery Street), Compton's Cafeteria (101 Taylor Street), the home of gay veteran and activist Leonard Matlovich (along Eighteenth Street in the Castro neighborhood); renaming of streets and parks to honor gay-rights pioneer José Sarria (José Sarria Court), founder of the Gay Games Dr. Tom Waddell (Dr. Tom Waddell Place), transgender performer and activist Vicki Marlane (Vicki Mar Lane), lesbian businesswoman and activist Rikki Streicher (Rikki Streicher Field), and the Pink Triangle Park in the Castro neighborhood, a memorial to honor LGBTQ people who were persecuted, imprisoned, and/or killed during and after the Nazi regime; and the creation of the Rainbow Honor Walk in the Castro neighborhood, a series of sidewalk plaques honoring LGBTQ individuals.

San Francisco's diverse past, including African American, LGBTQ, and Latina/o histories.

The preparation of the LGBTQ Historic Context Statement was supported by an extraordinarily talented and diverse advisory committee made up of academics, preservation professionals, independent scholars, and community activists.[6] These individuals reviewed document drafts and shared specific areas of expertise. They also offered advice on strategies to tap community-based knowledge in order to create a document that recognizes the diverse and intersectional experiences of LGBTQ people in San Francisco. Even with the richness of San Francisco's LGBTQ archives, the majority of primary sources reflect the experiences of white, gay, and middle-class men. Connecting with people who had important knowledge of underrepresented communities was an essential task and included numerous individual interviews.[7] This research into otherwise underrepresented members of San Francisco's LGBTQ communities must be ongoing.

Creating a framework for the plethora of potential themes in San Francisco's LGBTQ Historic Context Statement was the first task and prompted discussions with archivists and key advisors on organizing important topics, events, sites, and periods into a cohesive and comprehensive document. The overarching theme of the LGBTQ Historic Context Statement is the development of LGBTQ communities in San Francisco. The structure of the historical narrative is roughly chronological and is organized around the following nine subthemes:

- Early Influences on LGBTQ Identities and Communities (Nineteenth Century to 1950s)

---

[6] See Graves and Watson for the list of advisory committee members.

[7] Toward the end of the project, Graves and Watson established a partnership with the national oral history collecting project, StoryCorps, which has a recording station at the main branch of the San Francisco Public Library at 100 Larkin Street. A workshop called "Our Stories" gathered video interviews with elders and youth. One of the challenges presented was how to utilize and share these recorded interviews. Digital technologies have reduced barriers to gathering people's memories in audio and video format—but without expertise and funding to edit the recollections and a platform to share them, the potential of these resources is yet to be tapped.

- Development of LGBTQ Communities in San Francisco (Early Twentieth Century to 1960s)
- Policing and Harassment of LGBTQ Communities (1933 to 1960s)
- Homophile Movements (1950s to 1965)
- Evolution of LGBTQ Enclaves and Development of New Neighborhoods (1960s to 1980s)
- Gay Liberation, Pride, and Politics (1960s to 1990s)
- Building LGBTQ Communities (1960s to 1990s)
- LGBTQ Medicine (1940s to 1970s)
- San Francisco and the AIDS Epidemic (1981 to 1990s)

In addition to a growing library of secondary sources, historians of LGBTQ San Francisco have two invaluable local archives from which to draw: the GLBT Historical Society (established in 1985) and the James C. Hormel Gay & Lesbian Center at the San Francisco Public Library (established in 1996).[8] These archives provided crucial information for tracing the social and physical history of LGBTQ communities in San Francisco. Material at these repositories includes hundreds of oral history interviews, a database of over thirteen hundred sites associated with LGBTQ history, historic photographs and documents, collections related to individuals and organizations, and ephemera associated with sites throughout the San Francisco Bay Area.[9]

Establishing a public presence and lines of communication between the project team and the LGBTQ communities was essential in launching the endeavor. We created a project email address, an informational page on the City's Planning Department website, and used a Facebook page, "Preserving LGBT Historic Sites in California," to create a space for people to offer their knowledge, share research findings, and ask questions of community members.[10] Social media and press helped us inform the community about the project and invite questions and information about LGBTQ sites. We also conducted in-person outreach at events, meetings, and conferences of neighborhood associations, LGBTQ groups, preservation organizations, and historical societies.[11]

---

[8] The GLBT Historical Society is located at 989 Market Street. The James C. Hormel Center is located at 100 Larkin Street. Other important LGBTQ archives in California include the ONE National Gay & Lesbian Archives at the University of Southern California and the June Mazer Lesbian Archives at UCLA and in West Hollywood.

[9] Some of the materials in these archives were compiled and donated by scholars and historians such as Allan Bérubé, Nan Alamilla Boyd, Martin Meeker, Susan Stryker, and Don Romesburg, whose articles, books, and exhibitions were also critical resources for development of San Francisco's LGBTQ Historic Context Statement.

San Francisco's LGBTQ Historic Context Statement was written and organized to be as reader-friendly as possible, guide nonpreservationists through the process of nominating properties for designation as local, state, and federal landmarks, and support future place-based educational and interpretive projects. The report begins with an illustrated narrative history, and concludes with a "Step-by-step Guide to Evaluating LGBTQ Properties in San Francisco," which presents directions for evaluating, documenting, and designating historic LGBTQ properties.

One of the challenges the San Francisco LGBTQ Historic Context Statement addresses is that local, state, and national registers of historic places have historically privileged well-maintained buildings or high-style architecture, commonly associated to middle and upper-class individuals, usually white and male, who could afford to live, work, and socialize within them. Buildings with rich histories but poor integrity have often been overlooked or rejected for landmarking. The importance placed on integrity—requiring that the structure retain a substantial amount of original physical fabric related to its historical significance—can present major obstacles when trying to designate sites associated with marginalized communities such as LGBTQ. Many aspects of LGBTQ history unfolded in San Francisco's less privileged neighborhoods, or in areas that were in flux or slated for redevelopment. In many cases, the physical spaces are no longer extant or have undergone major changes. Important events or organizational meetings were often held in restaurants, bars, or storefronts that continually changed over time due to shifting economic and cultural realities in a dynamic city. All of these factors have led to diminished integrity of physical spaces, which historically has left properties vulnerable to substantive change or demolition and therefore ineligible for formal recognition or for historic preservation tax credits.

---

[10] Preserving LGBT Historic Sites in California can be found at https://www.facebook.com/PreservingLGBTHistory.

[11] The project team organized two community workshops to introduce the project and gather information. The first workshop drew approximately sixty community members who enthusiastically shared their memories in small working groups, facilitated by note-taking volunteers. A subsequent workshop, called "Our Stories," had two purposes: to capture information about sites important to elders in underdocumented communities, including people of color and people who identify as bisexual or transgender; and to foster intergenerational dialogue with youth from the Lavender Youth Recreation and Information Center (LYRIC) summer internship program.

We assert that loss of integrity should not affect determination of a property's historical significance if that significance is rooted in cultural or social, rather than architectural, histories. The San Francisco LGBTQ Historic Context Statement presents a strong argument and suggestions for recognizing properties that have poor integrity but significant histories.[12] Properties no longer extant or that have undergone physical change can still retain powerful meaning for communities and remain important cultural sites.

In addition to suggesting designation of more individual landmarks and historic districts associated with LGBTQ histories, the LGBTQ Historic Context Statement acknowledges that preservation of buildings alone is not sufficient in conveying this important aspect of San Francisco's history. The report's recommendations discuss the importance of interpretation and education at LGBTQ historic sites, and supporting critical aspects of San Francisco's existing LGBTQ communities, such as historic LGBTQ businesses that are still in operation, and ongoing community events such as the annual San Francisco Pride Celebration & Parade, the Dyke and Trans Marches, and the Pink Triangle memorial on Twin Peaks. San Francisco is pioneering strategies to protect such manifestations of what is known as "intangible cultural heritage," including exploring the creation of a “Legacy Business Program” intended to preserve longstanding neighborhood-defining commercial and nonprofit establishments, and a new historic preservation element of the city’s general plan that incorporates “cultural heritage assets.”[13]

---

[12] Work by historian Raymond W. Rast and architectural historian Elaine Brown Stiles was especially helpful in framing arguments about integrity and significance. Raymond W. Rast, "A Matter of Alignment: Methods to Match the Goals of the Preservation Movement," *Forum Journal* 28, no. 3 (Spring 2014): 13-22; Elaine Brown Stiles, "Integrity Considerations in Evaluating LGBTQ Historic Sites," (unpublished paper, Arcus Internship, College of Environmental Design, University of California, Berkeley, 2014).

By creating a broader and more inclusive picture of the development and establishment of the LGBTQ communities in San Francisco, the LGBTQ Historic Context Statement will help community members, city planners, and elected officials make better-informed decisions regarding the protection and stewardship of physical and intangible LGBTQ cultural resources. Furthermore, the LGBTQ Historic Context Statement was adopted in the midst of a period of rapid redevelopment in San Francisco and a seemingly constant stream of proposals to demolish socially and culturally significant places. The more than three hundred properties documented in the context statement now stand a chance of being protected under California Environmental Quality Act (CEQA) laws related to historic preservation, which mandate municipalities to consider the impacts of redevelopment on historic properties. And perhaps most importantly, state historic preservation laws afford tremendous power to public opinion during environmental review processes, providing LGBTQ communities an opportunity to use their collective voice to oppose projects that would destroy the historic fabric of San Francisco’s LGBTQ enclaves.

---

[13] See San Francisco Heritage website, “Sustaining San Francisco’s Living History: Strategies for Conserving Cultural Heritage Assets,” http://www.sfheritage.org/cultural-heritage, 2014, accessed January 31, 2015; San Francisco Planning Department memo: “Draft Preservation Element: Cultural Heritage Discussion,” June 24, 2015.

Sampling of Historic Themes in the San Francisco LGBTQ Historic Context Statement and Associated Properties

The sections that follow illustrate several of the key themes covered in San Francisco's LGBTQ Historic Context Statement and a sampling of the types of historic properties associated with them.

Early Influences on LGBTQ Identities and Communities (Nineteenth Century to the 1950s)

Recognizing early expressions of what we now term LGBTQ identities was an important part of the LGBTQ Historic Context Statement, even though documentary sources are scarce and our insights into previous lives is limited by our current understanding of sexual identity. The narrative history begins in the Native American period when two-spirit people lived among the San Francisco Bay Area indigenous groups, the *Ohlone*.[14] When Europeans arrived in California in the 1700s to establish *presidios* (military garrisons), Catholic missions, and *pueblos* (secular townships), their contact with two-spirit people was often cruel and punishing.[15] At Mission Santa Clara, a former Ohlone settlement, Spanish soldiers imprisoned two-spirit people, stripped their clothes, and humiliated them by forcing them to sweep the plaza (traditionally women's work).[16]

---

[14] Malcolm Margolin, *The Ohlone Way: Indian Life in the San Francisco-Monterey Bay Area* (Berkeley, CA: Heyday Books, 1978), 84. For more about two-spirit peoples, see Roscoe (this volume).

[15] San Francisco's mission (Mission San Francisco de Asís, also known as Mission Dolores) and presidio were constructed in 1776. An important remnant of the Spanish period in California is the extensive manuscripts left by the early explorers and later the Franciscan missionaries and military governors. Firsthand accounts by soldiers and missionaries make it clear that the Spanish wanted to eradicate two-spirits among the indigenous people. The Mission San Francisco de Asís, listed on the NRHP on March 16, 1972, is located at 320 Dolores Street. The presidio, listed on the NRHP on October 15, 1966, designated an NHL on June 13, 1962, and incorporated into the NPS—part of the Golden Gate National Recreation Area—on October 1, 1994, is at the northern tip of the San Francisco peninsula.

[16] Francisco Palóu, *Palóu's Life of Fray Junípero Serra*, trans. and ed. Maynard J. Geiger O.F.M. (Washington, DC: American Academy of Franciscan History, 1945), 198-199.

When gold was discovered in California's mountains in 1848, the state's nonindigenous population exploded and San Francisco grew from a tiny village into an "instant city."[17] *Californios* (the Spanish-speaking descendants of the Spanish and Mexican colonizers, now American citizens), Sonoran Mexicans, Chileans, Peruvians, French, Chinese, Americans, and others flooded into San Francisco before heading to the goldfields. The disparity of men to women (12.2 to 1 in 1850) was extraordinary and opened a space for men to form homosocial and (likely) homosexual relationships.[18] Early forms of non-Native LGBTQ expression in California were born in this period, including cross-dressing and cross-gender entertainment.[19] During the Gold Rush and subsequent decades when women continued to be scarce, men wore traditionally female clothing to play the role of women at all-male parties known as stag dances.[20] During the same period, men performed in cross-gender roles in San Francisco's minstrel and vaudeville theaters.[21] One of the city's famous early female impersonators was Ah Ming, who in the 1890s had a contract at a Chinatown theater and was making $6,000 a year (the equivalent of $159,000 in 2016). Ming's obituary notes, "As a female impersonator… Ming led all of his countrymen" and was rumored to have performed for the "crowned head of China."[22] In the bawdy saloons and dance halls of entertainment districts such as the Barbary Coast on Pacific Avenue, female impersonators performed on stage but also engaged in the sex trade.[23] One of the most documented early cases of cross-gender performers engaging in homosexual sex occurred at the Dash, one of the largest dance halls built after the 1906 earthquake.[24] In 1908, the Dash became notorious when it was reported that male patrons could purchase sex from cross-gender performers for a dollar.[25] These early cases of cross-dressing and cross-gender entertainment formed what theater historian Laurence Senelick calls a "queer and transgender demi-monde," an early underground LGBTQ community that was able to thrive because of its connection to mainstream cross-gender entertainment.[26] In the Barbary Coast and later the Tenderloin, explains historian Nan Alamilla Boyd, "female impersonators transported the language and gestures of a nascent queer culture to the popular stage," and "enabled audiences to negotiate the boundaries of a changing sexual landscape."[27]

---

[17] Roger Lotchkin, *San Francisco, 1846-1856: From Hamlet to City* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1974), xxxvii.

[18] Susan Lee Johnson, *Roaring Camp: The Social World of the California Gold Rush* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2000), 174.

[19] Historians generally describe three primary motivations for cross-dressing during this period: cross-gender identification (before the concepts of transgender and transsexual existed); cross-dressing for comfort or for access to gender-restricted work; and cross-dressing as a form of entertainment. When discussing cross-gender identities in the nineteenth century, historians caution against applying labels such as gay, lesbian, and transgender because it is difficult to know if the men and women identified in these ways, especially in a period before the terminology existed and before the social roles in question were clearly distinguished from one another. See Peter Boag, *Re-Dressing America's Frontier Past* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011).

[20] A stag dance held on July 4, 1849, on the *Panama*, a ship bound for San Francisco, featured a "fancy dress ball" for which some of the young men dressed in calico gowns. See Boag, *Re-Dressing America's Frontier Past*, 64.

[21] Male-to-female cross-dressers were more common than their female-to-male counterparts, but women performing as men also appeared in minstrel troupes. In August 1863, famous American stage performer Adah Isaacs Menken played a Tartar prince in *Mazeppa* at Maguire's Opera House, Washington and Montgomery Streets (now demolished). The show drew a huge audience that waited outside for hours on opening day and filled the theater every night of the series. Newspapers described Menken's performances as venturing "out of the common run" and creating an "idealized duality of sex," see Ben Tarnoff, *The Bohemians: Mark Twain and the San Francisco Writers Who Reinvented American Literature* (New York: The Penguin Press, 2014), 57. In the 1860s, Salle Hinckley of the Buislay Troupe performed as "Don Guzman" at San Francisco's Metropolitan Theatre, Montgomery and Washington Streets (now demolished). Grace Leonard, billed as "Stageland's Most Artistic Male Impersonator" and "The Ideal American Boy," performed at the Empress, 965 Market Street (now demolished) in 1912. Information on Hinckley and Leonard from various advertisements and articles in the *San Francisco Call*.

---

[22] *San Francisco Call*, November 27, 1892.

[23] For more on LGBTQ history in the Barbary Coast, see Nan Alamilla Boyd, *Wide Open Town: A History of Queer San Francisco to 1965* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003). The Barbary Coast was San Francisco's principal entertainment district from the Gold Rush through the 1910s, stretching west along Pacific Avenue from the waterfront to Montgomery Avenue (now Columbus) with branches down Kearny Street and Broadway. The streets were lined with saloons, concert and dance halls, gaming houses, and brothels. The Barbary Coast was home to a mix of races with American, Irish, German, and African American saloonkeepers and patrons of many nationalities. The area also was a draw for soldiers stationed at the Presidio and merchant marines arriving at the port of San Francisco. As San Francisco neighborhoods continued to develop to the south and west through the end of the nineteenth century, the Barbary Coast and other northern environs were neglected and cut off from the major street-car lines leading to the Market Street hub, adding to the district's reputation as a desolate wasteland.

[24] The Dash was located at 574 Pacific Avenue, San Francisco, California. The building is extant and is a contributor to the Jackson Square Historic District, listed on the NRHP on November 18, 1971, and the San Francisco Article 10 Jackson Square Historic District.

[25] The Dash was short-lived and closed soon after opening. The Dash is often called San Francisco's "first gay bar," but likely it was one of many early examples of a typical entertainment-district saloon featuring female impersonators engaging in homosocial or homosexual activity—either with the intention to deceive or to meet a demand for nonnormative sex. "Dive Men Officials for Cook," *San Francisco Call*, Vol. CIV, no. 142, October 20, 1908; cited in Boyd, *Wide Open Town*, 25.

[26] Laurence Senelick, "Boys and Girls Together: Subcultural Origins of Glamour Drag and Male Impersonation on the Nineteenth-Century Stage," in *Crossing the Stage: Controversies on Cross-Dressing,* ed. Lesley Ferris (London: Routledge, 1993), 85. Senelick is quoted in Boyd, *Wide Open Town*, 34.

Other subthemes presented in the first chapter of the LGBTQ Historic Context Statement are: Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Century Sex Laws and Policing; Progressive Era Women's Reform Movements; and Bohemianism. Some of the highlights from these early histories include a highly publicized police sting in 1918 known as the Baker Street Scandal, which uncovered an underground gay community in San Francisco involving dozens of servicemen and civilian men;[28] pioneering female architect Emily Williams and metal artist Lillian Palmer, who shared a life together in the home that Williams designed for them in 1913;[29] Charles Warren Stoddard, one of the first writers in the United States to speak relatively openly about his homosexuality, who in 1903 published an autobiographical novel with homosexual themes set in San Francisco;[30] and lesbian poet and San Francisco resident Elsa Gidlow, who in 1923 published *On a Grey Thread*, a book of lesbian-centric poems that literary historians recognize as the first book of openly lesbian poetry published in North America.[31]

---

[27] Ibid.

[28] The Baker Street Scandal was centered on a residence along Baker Street near the Presidio (the building is partially extant at the rear).

[29] The residence in the Nob Hill neighborhood of San Francisco is extant. Williams and Palmer met in 1898 and lived together at various residences until Williams' death in 1942. They are buried together in Los Gatos Memorial Park Cemetery in San Jose, California. For more on Emily Williams, see Inge S. Horton, *Early Women Architects of the San Francisco Bay Area: The Lives and Careers of Fifty Professionals, 1890-1951* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Co., Publishers, 2010).

[30] Stoddard formed an intimate relationship with Japanese poet Yone Noguchi in the late 1890s. See Amy Sueyoshi, "Intimate Inequalities: Interracial Affection and Same-sex Love in the 'Heterosexual' Life of Yone Noguchi, 1897–1909," *Journal of American Ethnic History* 29 (Summer 2010): 26. See also Sueyoshi (this volume).

[31] Elsa Gidlow lived at 150 Joice Street (now demolished) near Chinatown in San Francisco for thirteen years (c. 1924-1937). After that, she moved to the Haight-Ashbury neighborhood, first to 1158 Page Street (now demolished) and later a few blocks away, also on Page Street (extant). Gidlow lived for thirteen years in a former summer cottage in Fairfax, Marin County, before moving to Druid Heights in Muir Woods. Druid Heights is now part of the Muir Woods National Monument, added to the NPS on January 9, 1908 and listed on the NRHP on January 9, 2008. Gidlow died at Druid Heights in 1986.

Early Development of LGBTQ Communities in San Francisco (Early Twentieth Century to the 1960s)

The central place of bars and sex-commerce establishments to LGBTQ history in both public memory and scholarship is well established.[32] This important aspect of LGBTQ history was included in San Francisco's LGBTQ Historic Context Statement, particularly for more recent decades when people could share their memories of places in which they gathered for social life, community organizing, and intimacy.

The repeal of Prohibition in 1933 was a watershed in LGBTQ history, and LGBTQ bars and nightclubs subsequently opened all over the country.[33] Queer spaces thrived in San Francisco in large part because of the highly lucrative tourism industry based on sexualized and racialized nightclub performances.[34] The post-Prohibition nightclub provided a space in which San Francisco's historic cross-gender entertainment model was revived, and the city's tourism industry, which thrived on exoticized entertainments, encouraged the renaissance.[35]

From 1933 through 1965, the North Beach neighborhood was one of San Francisco's most popular tourist destinations, with over twenty venues catering to LGBTQ communities opening during this period.[36] The sexually charged cross-gender performances at nightclubs such as Finocchio's, Mona's 440 Club, and the Black Cat Café drew huge crowds and allowed San Francisco's nascent LGBTQ communities to blend easily with tourists and develop seemingly under the radar.[37]

---

[32] See chapters by Gieseking, Baim, Hanhardt, and Johnson (all this volume) for a broader discussion.
[33] Little documentation exists about queer spaces in San Francisco during and prior to Prohibition, but certainly there were spaces frequented by the nascent LGBTQ communities. Finocchio's, discussed later in this section, started out as a speakeasy and after Prohibition became famous for its cross-gender performances.
[34] For a detailed explanation of how and why queer spaces thrived in San Francisco as part of a tourist economy after Prohibition, see Nan Alamilla Boyd's *Wide Open Town*.
[35] Boyd, *Wide Open Town,* 15.
[36] Ibid., 245. A substantial number of LGBTQ spaces opened in the Tenderloin during the same period, including the Old Crow at 962 Market Street (extant), opened c. 1935, and the Silver Rail at 974 Market Street (partially extant), opened c. 1942.
[37] Ibid.

One of the earliest known LGBTQ spaces in San Francisco was Finocchio's nightclub in the North Beach neighborhood.[38] Finocchio's female-impersonation shows began during Prohibition and later featured some of the country's most famous female impersonators, such as Walter Hart, billed as the "Male Sophie Tucker," and Lucian Phelps, the "Last of the Red Hot Papas."[39] Finocchio's was popular with both tourists and members of the city's LGBTQ communities. Since many of the Finocchio's performers were LGBTQ, gay men, especially, were drawn to the nightclub and viewed the drag queens as heroines because of their overt and unabashed queerness.[40]

San Francisco's first lesbian nightclub was Mona's 440 Club in North Beach (Figure 1).[41] Open from 1938 through 1952, Mona's was known for its cross-gender entertainment featuring tuxedoed male-impersonating performers. As the only lesbian-centric space in San Francisco through World War II, Mona's became famous throughout the country as a fun, safe, and welcoming space where women could find love and friendship.[42]

---

[38] Finocchio's was originally a restaurant owned by heterosexual couple Marjorie and Joseph Finocchio. It opened in the late 1920s or early 1930s at 441 Stockton Street (extant) near Union Square. Sometime in the mid-1930s, Finocchio's moved to the second floor of a two-story building at 406 Stockton Street near Sutter Street (now demolished). In the late 1930s, Finocchio's moved to 506 Broadway Street near Kearny (extant). Finocchio's closed at this location in 1999. For more on the history of Finocchio's, see Boyd, *Wide Open Town*, 52.

[39] Clyde Evans, interview by Allan Bérubé and Eric Garber, April 12, 1983, GLBT Historical Society Oral History Collection, The Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender Historical Society; Eric Garber, "Finocchio's: A Gay Community Landmark," *Newsletter of the San Francisco Bay Area Gay & Lesbian Historical Society* 3, no. 4 (June 1988): 1.

[40] Esther Newton, *Mother Camp: Female Impersonators in America* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1972), cited in Garber "Finocchio's: A Gay Community Landmark."

[41] A heterosexual, self-described bohemian named Mona Sargent is credited for operating San Francisco's first lesbian bar, Mona's 440 Club at 440 Broadway in the North Beach neighborhood. Sargent opened her first bar in 1933 in a small storefront at 451 Union Street (now demolished) on Telegraph Hill above North Beach. The bar was short-lived and closed after two years. In 1936, Sargent opened her second bar in the basement space at 140 Columbus Avenue (extant). Known as Mona's Barrel House, the space became a draw for lesbians when Sargent featured male-impersonating waitresses as entertainment. For more on the history of Mona Sargent's lesbian bars, see Boyd, *Wide Open Town*, 68.

[42] Mona (Sargent) Hood, interview by Nan Alamilla Boyd, July 25, 1992, GLBT Historical Society Oral History Collection, The Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender Historical Society.

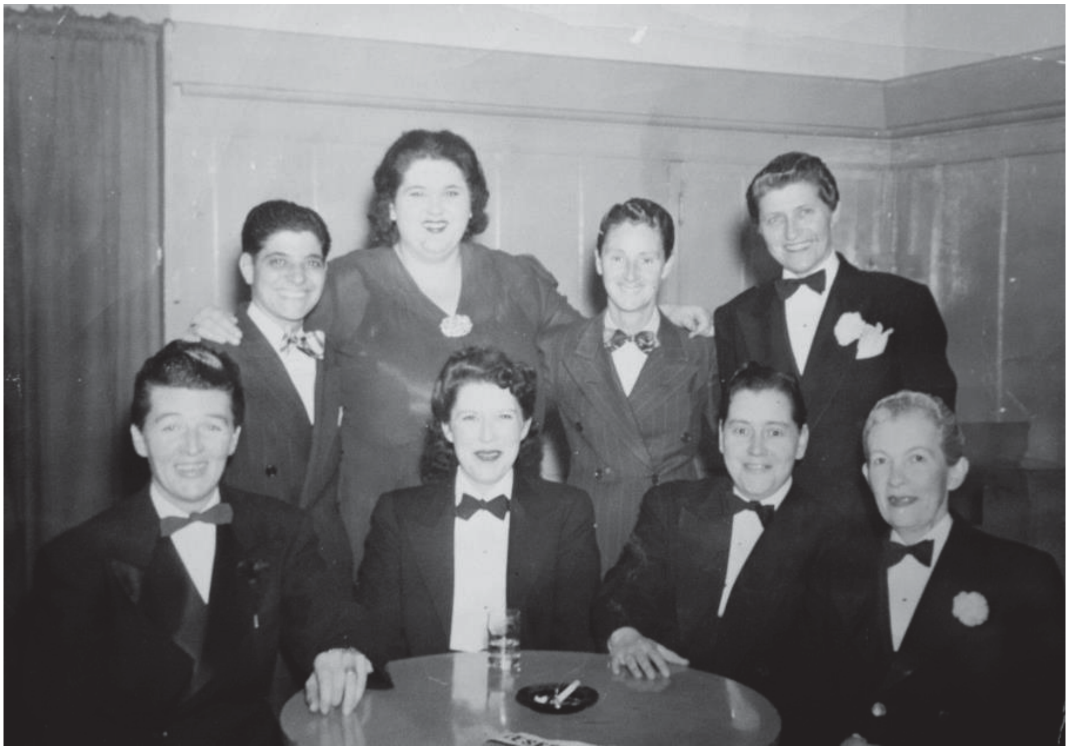


Figure 1: Performers at Mona's 440 Club in the 1940s or 1950s. Photographer unknown. Courtesy of the Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender Historical Society.

One of the most well-known performers at Mona's was African American singer Gladys Bentley, billed as the "Brown Bomber of Sophisticated Songs."[43]

The Black Cat Café opened in 1933 in Jackson Square near the former Barbary Coast.[44] Early patrons were a broad mix of bohemians, intellectuals, dockworkers, and North Beach residents. The bar always attracted a clientele described as a cross-section of class, race, and sexuality, but the Black Cat became a popular gay hotspot in the 1950s when it began hosting politically infused drag operas starring gay rights pioneer José Julio Sarria.[45] The Black Cat was at the center of an important court case in 1951 when owner Sol Stoumen, after having his liquor license repeatedly revoked for catering to homosexuals, appealed to the Supreme Court of California and won. The decision in Stoumen v. Reilly essentially legalized gay and lesbian bars in California—the first state in the country to do so, and at the peak of McCarthyism and antihomosexual policy making.[46] In 1961, the Black Cat served as headquarters for José Sarria's campaign for city supervisor, the first time an openly gay candidate anywhere in the world ran for public office.[47]

---

[43] Boyd, *Wide Open Town,* 76. For more on Gladys Bentley, see Boyd.

[44] The Black Cat Café building at 710 Montgomery Street remains extant. It is a contributor to the Jackson Square Historic District, listed on the NRHP on November 18, 1971. Austrian holocaust survivor and libertarian heterosexual Solomon "Sol" Stoumen purchased the Black Cat in 1945 and operated the bar until it closed in 1963. For more on the history of the Black Cat Café, see Boyd, *Wide Open Town*, 56.

[45] Gerald Fabian, interviewed by Willie Walker, November 30, 1989 and January 23, 1990, The Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender Historical Society. José Sarria was born in San Francisco to a Colombian mother and a Nicaraguan father. Sarria also co-founded several homophile organizations,

Highlights of other important LGBTQ bars, nightclubs, and restaurants documented in San Francisco's LGBTQ Historic Context Statement include the Old Crow in the Tenderloin, one of the first gay-friendly bars to open after Prohibition and one of the longest-running LGBTQ bars in the city (open c. 1935-1980).[48] The Paper Doll in North Beach (open 1947-1961) was one of the first restaurants catering to the queer community in San Francisco and provided a public alternative to nightclubs and bars.[49] Popular with both gay men and lesbians (and presumably bisexual and transgender people), the Paper Doll was one of the earliest spaces in San Francisco that functioned as an informal community center where "gay, lesbian, and transgendered people could make friends, find lovers, get information, or plan activities."[50] The Beige Room in North Beach (open 1951-1958) was a lower-budget, but decidedly queerer version of Finocchio's, famous for its female-impersonation shows by performers such as Lynne Carter, a white man known for impersonating African

---

including the League for Civil Education, the Tavern Guild, and the Society for Individual Rights. In 1964, he founded the Imperial Court System, which became an international association of charitable organizations and the second largest LGBTQ organization in the world.

[46] Christopher Lowen Agee, *The Streets of San Francisco: Policing and the Creation of a Cosmopolitan Liberal Politics, 1950-1972* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2014), 85.

[47] Had he won, Sarria also would have been the first Latino to win a supervisor's seat in San Francisco, see Boyd, *Wide Open Town,* 60.

[48] The Old Crow at 962 Market Street (extant) and another gay bar, the Silver Rail at 974 Market Street (extant at front, demolished at rear), were located in the same building at the corner of Market, Turk, and Mason Streets, an area known as the Meat Market, a hot spot for gay hustling and prostitution. Turk Street from Jones to Mason was one of the main drags for cruising and hustling from the 1940s to the 1980s. The Old Crow and the Silver Rail were known gay hustler pick-up spots.

[49] The Paper Doll was located at 524 Union Street (extant).

[50] Boyd, *Wide Open Town*, 61.

American singers Pearl Bailey and Josephine Baker.[51] Unlike Finocchio's, which followed a stringent hiring process, the Beige Room was more of an "underworld operation…with a lot more freedom in [whom] they hired."[52] Many of the performers were openly queer, giving the Beige Room an "insider's appeal," according to Nan Alamilla Boyd.[53] "[F]emale impersonators at the Beige Room both legitimized queer culture and set the standard for flamboyant drag performance … the Beige Room was the place where San Francisco's drag culture flourished."[54]

Bathhouses, streets, parks, restrooms, beaches, and other public spaces where cruising and hustling took place allowed vast, but discreet, sex-based communities to develop in San Francisco.[55] "Because *all* sex acts between men were … illegal," writes historian Allan Bérubé, "gay men were forced to become sexual outlaws … experts at stealing moments of privacy and at finding the cracks in society where they could meet and not get caught."[56]

One of San Francisco's longest-running gay bathhouses was Jack's Turkish Baths, open from the mid-1930s through the 1980s in the Tenderloin.[57] Jack's was popular with gay servicemen during World War II and was known to be more upscale than other gay bathhouses.[58] Another important sex and community space in San Francisco was the Sutro Bath House, open from 1974 through the 1980s in the Mission-Valencia and

---

[51] The Beige Room was located at 831 Broadway (extant).

[52] Gerald Fabian, interviewed by Willie Walker, 1989 and 1990.

[53] Boyd, *Wide Open Town*, 130

[54] Ibid., 130, 132.

[55] The experiences of gay men and transgender women are the focus of this section; for a variety of reasons, those populations were more inclined to seek sex in public and to form communities around sexual activity.

[56] Allan Bérubé, "The History of the Baths," *Coming Up!* (San Francisco), December 1984. Historian George Chauncey, in his groundbreaking *Gay New York: Gender, Urban Culture, and the Makings of the Gay Male World, 1890-1940* (New York: Basic Books, 1994), argues that cruising and hustling on city streets and sex in public spaces mirrored, or blended with, the sexualized street culture of urban working-class heterosexual neighborhoods in the first half of the twentieth century.

[57] Jack's Baths opened at 1052 Geary Boulevard near Van Ness Avenue in the mid-1930s, according to San Francisco city directories; the building is extant. In 1941, Jack's Turkish Baths moved one block away to 1143 Post Street, where it remained until it closed in the 1980s (extant).

[58] Bérubé, "The History of the Baths"; and Gerald Fabian, interviewed by Willie Walker, 1989 and 1990.

South of Market neighborhoods.[59] Sutro was one of the only sex clubs that welcomed lesbians and bisexuals. Equally significant was Osento, opened in Mission-Valencia in 1980, the only bathhouse in San Francisco that catered exclusively to women.[60]

Beginning in 1984, as the number of San Franciscans with AIDS grew to unprecedented numbers, bathhouses began to close, primarily a result of loss of business as patrons began to fear contracting AIDS.[61] The City of San Francisco ordered bathhouses to close later that year. Osento survived the bathhouse closures and operated until 2008, presumably because it prohibited sex of any kind: "Unlike the men's bathhouses, [Osento] really was a place for bathing.... [T]he rules were no sex (not even with yourself), and privacy was respected. But if you couldn't touch, you could look: it was a place to experience the myriad beauty of real women."[62]

Two of the earliest gay cruising and hustling areas in San Francisco were lower Market Street, as early as the 1920s, and the Tenderloin, a center for gay and transgender sex beginning in at least the 1930s.[63] The Tenderloin intersection of Mason, Turk, and Market Streets became known as the "Meat Market" for the amount of gay hustling that took place there. Other popular public sex spaces throughout the twentieth century were Union Square;[64] the northeast waterfront, especially at the Embarcadero YMCA;[65] the Presidio of San Francisco, with ties to a gay sex scene as early as the 1910s;[66] and all of the city's parks, especially Golden Gate Park, Buena Vista Park in the Haight-Ashbury neighborhood and Dolores Park in the Mission District.[67]

---

[59] Sutro Bath House opened at 312 Valencia Street in 1974 and moved to 1015 Folsom Street c. 1977. Both buildings are extant.

[60] The building that housed Osento is extant in the Mission District, and is now a private residence. Osento was reportedly very strict about not allowing sexual activity among its patrons.

[61] John-Manuel Andriote, *Victory Deferred: How AIDS Changed Gay Life in America* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1999), 78.

[62] Stephanie J. Rosenbaum, "Osento, 1980-2008," *The Adventures of Pie Queen* (blog), August 20, 2008, http://piequeen.blogspot.com/2008/08/osento-1980-2008.html.

[63] The portion of Lower Market that was popular for gay hustling and cruising stretched from the Embarcadero to Fifth and Mason Streets. One reason for the popularity of this strip was that it served as a connection between the waterfront and the Tenderloin, and it was an entertainment corridor dotted with movie theaters, restaurants, bars, and all-night cafeterias. See Susan Stryker and Jim Van Buskirk, *Gay by the Bay: A History of Queer Culture in the San Francisco Bay Area* (San Francisco: Chronicle Books, 1996), 24.

[64] Union Square in downtown San Francisco is bordered by Geary, Powell, Post, and Stockton Streets.

[65] The Embarcadero YMCA was built in 1926 at 169 Steuart Street between Mission and Howard and is still extant and in operation. By World War II, the Embarcadero YMCA had become a favorite spot for

Policing and Harassment of LGBTQ Communities (1933 to the 1960s)

The history of antihomosexual and antitransgender hostility, including manifestations in policing and harassment, is crucial to understanding LGBTQ history and essential to documenting the rise of places of queer resistance. While new queer spaces continued to appear in San Francisco in the 1940s and 1950s and communities coalesced around them, governmental agencies became intent on reversing the progress. Policing of queer people intensified during this period for a confluence of reasons. World War II brought hundreds of thousands of young men and women to the Bay Area, prompting the military to set boundaries as a form of social control. McCarthyism and the federal antigay witch-hunt known as the Lavender Scare cast a pall on all things related to "sexual deviancy." New state legislation in the 1950s and homophobic politicians radically changed the way queer people and places were policed in California. Consequently, increased negative media coverage of queer people led to growing public pressure to crack down on queer communities.

Throughout World War II, the armed forces went to great lengths to control the enormous population of military personnel in San Francisco.[68] Military and local police joined forces to monitor queer spaces and people

---

gay sexual activity. Alfred Kinsey called it the "most notorious Y in the states." Kinsey cited in Justin Spring, *Secret Historian: The Life and Times of Samuel Steward, Professor, Tattoo Artist, and Sexual Renegade* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2010), 180.

[66] Stryker and Van Buskirk, *Gay by the Bay*. In the 1930s, gay rights pioneer Harry Hay was involved in a gay sex network associated with the Presidio. Hay describes a guardhouse off of one of the Geary-side gates (likely the Presidio Gate) that was headquarters for the network. See Harry Hay, "Gay Sex before Zippers," interview with Chris Carlsson (San Francisco: Shaping San Francisco, 1995), https://archive.org/details/ssfHAYBVDCT. Part of the Golden Gate National Recreation Area (as of October 1, 1994), the Presidio of San Francisco was listed on the NRHP on October 15, 1966 and designated an NHL on June 13, 1962.

[67] Golden Gate Park, located on the west side of the city, was listed on the NRHP on October 15, 2004.

[68] Allan Bérubé, *Coming Out Under Fire: The History of Gay Men and Women in World War Two* (New York: Free Press, 1990), 113.

in the city. Policing intensified after World War II when Governor Earl Warren oversaw sweeping changes to California's sodomy laws and punishments for sex crimes, essentially allowing for a conviction for homosexual acts to result in life in prison.[69] This led to an uptick of homosexual-related arrests in San Francisco in the mid-1950s.[70] Dozens of bars were permanently shuttered or had their liquor licenses repeatedly revoked. Countless LGBTQ people were harassed, arrested, imprisoned, institutionalized, and had their lives permanently altered or destroyed by harassment and oppression.

One of the most publicized police raids in San Francisco history occurred on September 8, 1954, when officers raided Tommy's Place/12 Adler Place in North Beach—at that time the only queer space in the city owned and operated by lesbians.[71] The bars and restaurant were run by entrepreneur Eleanor "Tommy" Vasu, along with her girlfriend, Jeanne Sullivan, and bartenders Grace Miller and Joyce Van de Veer. Police arrested Miller and Van de Veer on suspicion of supplying narcotics to minors. The next morning, photographs of the two women leaving jail appeared in the newspaper under the headline "Arrested."[72] Their ages and home addresses were included in nearly every article reporting on the case. After a long and very public legal battle, the jury found Grace Miller guilty of selling alcohol to minors and sentenced her to serve six months in the county jail. Media attention and public pressure in the wake of the Tommy's/12 Adler raid forced the two bars to close.[73]

---

[69] William N. Eskridge Jr., *Dishonorable Passions: Sodomy Laws in America, 1861-2003* (New York: Viking, 2008), 88-91. Warren was governor of California from 1943 to 1953.

[70] Boyd, *Wide Open Town,* 92.

[71] Tommy's Place and 12 Adler Place were located in the same building with addresses at 529 Broadway Street and downstairs at the rear at 12 Adler Place (both extant). For detailed discussion of the raid on Tommy's Place/12 Adler Place, see Boyd, *Wide Open Town*, 91.

[72] "Arrested," *San Francisco Call-Bulletin*, September 1954, Grace Miller Papers, San Francisco Public Library. See also Boyd, *Wide Open Town*.

[73] "2 Girls Tell Visits to Tommy's Place," *San Francisco Examiner*, December 2, 1954, Grace Miller Papers, San Francisco Public Library. See also Boyd, *Wide Open Town*.

The largest raid of an LGBTQ establishment in San Francisco occurred in August 1961 at a late-night coffee house called the Tay-Bush Inn.[74] Over one hundred people, mostly lesbians, were arrested for disorderly conduct and taken to jail.[75] The Tay-Bush Inn raid is significant not only for the number of patrons arrested, but also because the media coverage of the Tay-Bush raid, unlike previous raids, was somewhat sympathetic toward the men and women arrested. The resulting spirited public dialogue about the rights of gay men and lesbians to congregate in bars marked a turning point in San Francisco citizens' perception of gay and lesbian spaces.[76]

Homophile Movements (1950s to the 1960s)

San Francisco is a site of national and international significance for its role in the rise of mid-twentieth-century homophile movements. The homophile groups that organized in the United States in the 1950s were the radical first phase of the gay and lesbian rights movement.[77] By publishing newsletters and organizing national conferences, homophile organizations educated LGBTQ communities and the public about what it meant to be gay or lesbian in mid-twentieth-century America—and by doing so made significant steps toward LGBTQ people achieving fundamental rights as citizens.[78] Some of the country's most influential and enduring homophile organizations were founded in San Francisco in the 1950s and 1960s.

---

[74] The Tay-Bush Inn (now demolished) was located at 900 Bush Street at the corner of Bush and Taylor Streets between Union Square and Nob Hill.

[75] Eskridge, *Dishonorable Passions,* 97.

[76] Boyd, *Wide Open Town,* 213-215.

[77] John D'Emilio, *Sexual Politics, Sexual Communities: The Making of a Homosexual Minority in the United States, 1940-1970* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983), 3. For a detailed history of homophile movements in San Francisco, see D'Emilio, *Sexual Politics, Sexual Communities* and Martin Meeker, *Contacts Desired: Gay and Lesbian Communications and Community, 1940s-1970s* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006).

[78] San Francisco's first homophile organizations were generally focused on lesbians and gay men. Bisexual and transgender organizing was largely separate and started in the 1960s.

The country's first nationwide homophile group, the Mattachine Society, was founded in 1950 by Harry Hay and others in Los Angeles.[79] The founding premise of the Mattachine Society was to instill a positive "group consciousness" in homosexuals, urging members to take pride in their minority status and "forge a unified movement of homosexuals ready to fight against their oppression."[80] The organization educated members through meetings, conferences, and a newsletter, the *Mattachine Review*. Within a few years, the organization had expanded to include chapters throughout California, almost exclusively consisting of white, middle-class gay men. While women were welcome in name, their participation was limited, with the group focusing predominantly on men's issues. The first Mattachine Convention was held in San Francisco's

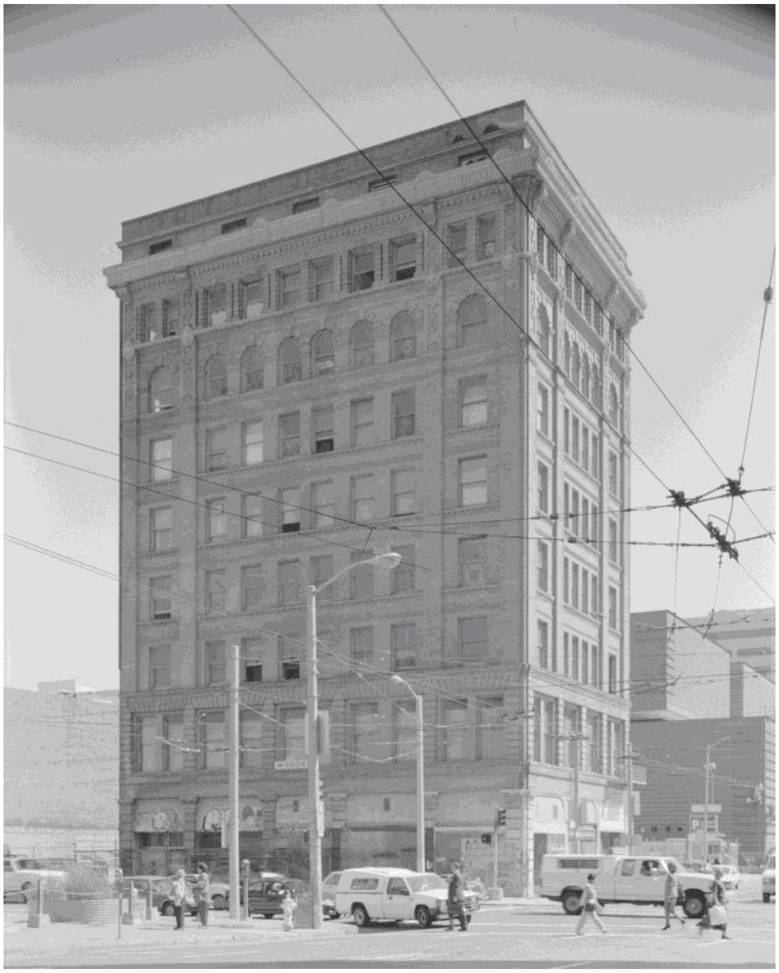


Figure 2: Williams Building, national headquarters of the Mattachine Society and Daughters of Bilitis. Photographer unknown. Historic American Buildings Survey, Library of Congress (HABS CAL,38-SANFRA,212).

---

[79] The group was originally called the Mattachine Foundation and had their first meetings in the homes of Harry Hay and his mother in the Silver Lake and Hollywood Hills neighborhoods of Los Angeles. The first homophile group in the United States was the Society for Human Rights, founded by Henry Gerber and others in Chicago, Illinois in 1924.

[80] D'Emilio, *Sexual Politics, Sexual Communities,* 58, 65-66.

Japantown in 1954.[81] After a series of schisms and shifts, the Mattachine Society reorganized and by 1957 had established its national headquarters in San Francisco's Williams Building in the South of Market area (Figure 2).[82]

The Daughters of Bilitis (DOB), the nation's first lesbian-rights organization, was founded in San Francisco in 1955. Similar to the Mattachine Society, DOB membership was comprised predominantly of white and middle-class women. The first meetings were attended by a group of lesbian couples at the home of Filipina Rose Bamberger and Rosemary Sliepan in the Bayview neighborhood. Two of the co-founders were gay rights pioneers Del Martin and Phyllis Lyon. The DOB was initially a lesbian social organization, but the group's focus soon shifted to LGBTQ advocacy and education with a focus on women's issues. The DOB's first national headquarters was established in 1956 in a space shared with the Mattachine Society in the Williams Building.[83] That same year, the organization began publishing the first national lesbian newsletter, *The Ladder*. The DOB hosted the first of many biennial conventions in San Francisco in 1960 at the Hotel Whitcomb.[84] It was the largest public gathering of lesbians in the country up to that point. The DOB expanded to include local chapters in cities throughout the country. By the mid-1970s, there were twenty chapters throughout the United States. The San Francisco chapter of the DOB closed in 1978.

The Society for Individual Rights (SIR), which eventually became the largest homophile organization in the country, was formed in San

---

[81] The first Mattachine Convention was held at 1830 Sutter Street, San Francisco, built originally as the Japanese YWCA in 1932. By 1954, it had been removed from Japanese American control and was being leased by the Quaker organization, American Friends Service Committee.

[82] The Williams Building, located at 693 Mission Street in the South of Market neighborhood is extant. The Mattachine Society stayed at the Williams Building through c. 1967 when the organization moved to Adonis Books at 348 Jones Street. Meeker, *Contacts Desired,* 53. The Williams Building was also the location of offices of the Daughters of Bilitis and Pan Graphic Press, one of the first small gay presses in the US, responsible for publishing issues of both the *Mattachine Review* and *The Ladder*.

[83] Del Martin and Phyllis Lyon, *Lesbian/Woman* (San Francisco: Glide Publications, 1972), 11.

[84] The Hotel Whitcomb is extant at 1231 Market Street. See "1st National Convention (1960) - San Francisco," Box 7, Phyllis Lyon and Del Martin Papers, 93-13, The Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender Historical Society.

Francisco in September 1964.[85] SIR was started during the period when gay and lesbian activism was becoming more militant and more inclusive of all members of queer communities.[86] In April 1966, SIR opened the first LGBTQ community center in the country in the South of Market area.[87] Services offered by SIR included job referrals, legal aid, financial advice, and health and wellness. The organization ceased operations in the late 1970s.

The Council on Religion and the Homosexual (CRH), the first homophile organization in the United States with religious affiliation, was founded in San Francisco in 1964. In 1962, Glide Memorial Methodist Church in the Tenderloin hired clergymen to staff and operate the Glide Urban Center, a pioneering community organizing center that operated out of the church.[88] Glide hired Reverend Ted McIlvenna to oversee a young-adult program focused on the Tenderloin neighborhood's growing population of homeless youth.[89] Soon after arriving at Glide, McIlvenna discovered that many of the program's youth were young gay men "driven to street hustling by the hostility and ostracism of their parents and peers."[90] Because McIlvenna was heterosexual and unfamiliar with LGBTQ issues, he turned to local homophile organizations for help. In late May 1964, McIlvenna, with sponsorship from the Glide Urban Center, organized a three-day conference attended by twenty Protestant clergymen and over a dozen members of the homophile movement, including representatives from the DOB, Mattachine Society, SIR, and the Tavern Guild.[91] For many of the ministers in attendance, the "face-to-face confrontation" with the homophile activists was "the first time they had ever knowingly talked with a homosexual or a lesbian."[92] Del Martin wrote of the retreat: "San Francisco was the setting for the historic birth of the United Nations in 1945. And again, in 1964, San Francisco provided the setting for the re-birth of Christian fellowship … to include all human beings regardless of sexual proclivity."[93] The CRH was founded as an outgrowth of the conference. It was the first organization in the country to have "homosexual" in its name.

---

[85] SIR was founded in the basement of a residential building in the Haight-Ashbury neighborhood of San Francisco. "Society for Individual Rights," José Sarria papers, The Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender Historical Society.

[86] D'Emilio, *Sexual Politics, Sexual Communities,* 190.

[87] The building is extant at 83 Sixth Street and, although no longer a queer space, continues to operate as a community center.

[88] Glide Memorial Methodist Church is extant at 330 Ellis Street.

[89] D'Emilio, *Sexual Politics, Sexual Communities*, 192.

[90] Ibid, 191-192.

[91] The retreat was held at the extant Ralston L. White Memorial Retreat at 2 El Capitan in Mill Valley, California. The retreat center is a residence designed by Bay Area architect Willis Polk. See Agee, *The Streets of San Francisco*, 103; and Marcia Gallo, *Different Daughters: A History of the Daughters of Bilitis and the Rise of the Lesbian Rights Movement* (New York: Carroll & Graf Publishers), 105.

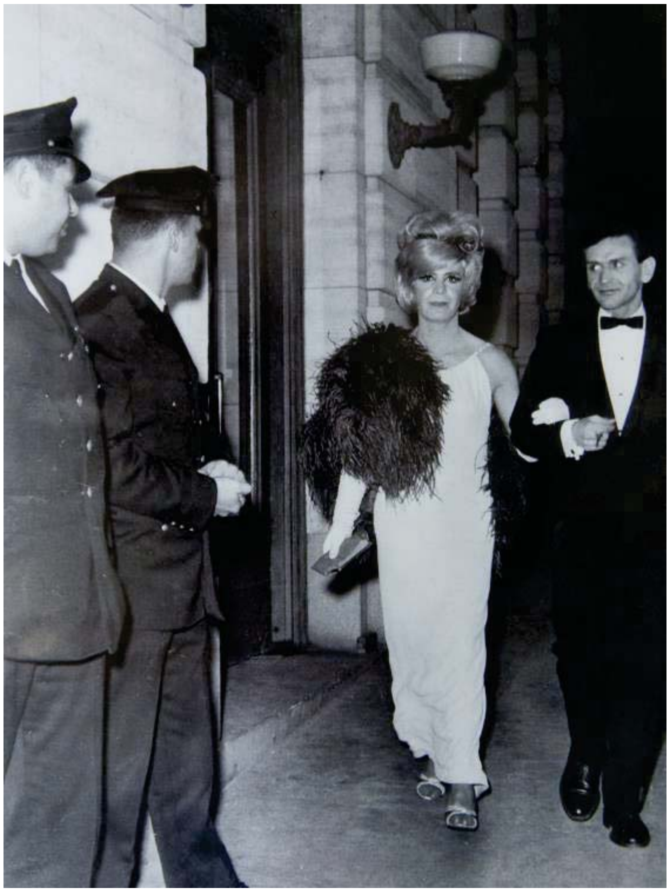


Figure 3: San Francisco Police Department officers harassing patrons entering the Council on Religion and the Homosexual's New Year's Mardi Gras Ball on January 1, 1965. Photograph by San Francisco Examiner photographer, Ray "Scotty" Morris. Courtesy of the Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender Historical Society.

The CRH sponsored one of the most significant events in LGBTQ history in San Francisco: the Mardi Gras Ball on January 1, 1965, at California Hall.[94] Organized as a fundraiser for the newly founded CRH, over five hundred guests purchased tickets for the event. CRH leaders anticipated some form of police harassment and negotiated with city officials to obtain the proper permits. In spite of this, the police turned out in full force, illuminating Polk Street with klieg lights and photographing everyone who entered the event (Figure 3). After a scuffle with police, six attendees were arrested, including two attorneys retained to prevent harassment. The following morning at a press conference, CRH clergymen called to end police harassment of gay and lesbian communities in San Francisco, marking one of the first times in US history that religious leaders spoke publicly for LGBTQ rights.[95] The ministers' outrage provoked unprecedented public support and homophile groups mobilized to combat police oppression.

---

[92] D'Emilio, *Sexual Politics, Sexual Communities*, 193.
[93] Gallo, *Different Daughters*, 106.
[94] California Hall is extant at 625 Polk Street and is a San Francisco Article 10 Landmark.

While the New Year's Mardi Gras Ball incident later came to be known as San Francisco's "Stonewall," a much closer parallel event to the 1969 New York rebellion occurred in 1966, in what became known as the Compton's Cafeteria Riot. For several days in August 1966, transgender women, drag queens, and young male hustlers demonstrated militant resistance in the face of police harassment at a favorite late-night Tenderloin establishment, Gene Compton's Cafeteria.[96] Part of a local chain, Compton's Cafeteria at the corner of Turk and Taylor Streets was considered a relatively safe space for transgender women, who often scraped together a living by working as street prostitutes. Cheap residential hotels in the Tenderloin were among the very few places that would rent rooms to them. Protests in San Francisco such as the Compton's Riot, as well as others by CRH and Vanguard, the first queer youth group founded in 1966, illustrated a new era of gay radicalism that preceded the now far better-known events at New York's Stonewall Inn of June 1969.

LGBTQ Medicine (1940 to the 1990s)

San Francisco became an important center for the study of gender and sexuality in the 1940s and 1950s through the work of the Langley Porter Clinic at the University of California San Francisco (UCSF).[97] Opened in

---

[95] Gallo, *Different Daughters*, 108.

[96] Gene Compton's Cafeteria was located at 101 Taylor Street (extant). A smaller, but similar "riot" occurred in 1959 at Cooper's Doughnuts in Los Angeles. See Faderman and Timmons, *Gay L.A.: A History of Sexual Outlaws, Power Politics, and Lipstick Lesbians* (New York: Basic Books, 2006), 1. Neither event received wide press coverage, which has contributed to the erasure of these events from popular understanding of LGBTQ history. See Stryker (this volume).

[97] The UCSF Medical School and the California Department of Institutions, which oversaw the state's psychiatric hospitals, founded the clinic in 1941 as a joint venture creating California's first "psychiatric institute where several specialties in medicine, especially neurology and neurosurgery, would collaborate in a true multi-discipline approach to mental illness." Mariana Robinson, *The*

March 1943, the clinic's founding director, Dr. Karl Bowman, had taught and practiced psychiatry in New York City. During World War II, Bowman conducted research on gay men held in the psychiatric ward of the US Naval Hospital on Treasure Island in the San Francisco Bay after their sexuality had been discovered while in uniform.[98]

One of Bowman's key collaborators was Louise Lawrence, who had been living full-time as a transgender woman since 1942. Lawrence lectured on transgender topics at UCSF and created an expansive international network of transgender people, some of whom stayed with her at her home in the Haight-Ashbury neighborhood, a residence Susan Stryker describes as a "waystation for transgender people from across the country who sought access to medical procedures in California."[99] Lawrence's carefully compiled data supported medical research and treatment by the most prominent doctors dealing with transgender issues, including Alfred Kinsey, Karl Bowman, and Harry Benjamin.[100] Benjamin was a German-born endocrinologist who popularized the term transsexual and publicly defended homosexual rights and the rights of such individuals to medical support rather than psychiatric "cures."[101] New York-based Benjamin kept a medical office in San Francisco during summers from the 1930s to the 1970s.[102]

Later, San Francisco's international reputation as a place that challenged gender norms made it the birthplace of the first intersex rights organization. Cheryl Chase, who had been designated male at birth, was later raised as a girl after doctors changed their decision and performed

---

Coming of Age of the Langley Porter Clinic: The Reorganization of a Mental Health Institute, ICP case series (Indianapolis, IN: Bobbs-Merrill Company, Inc., 1962), 2-3. Bowman's tenure ended in 1956, 8. The Clinic, later the Langley Porter Neuropsychiatric Institute, was located at 401 Parnassus Avenue (extant).

[98] Susan Stryker, *Transgender History,* Seal Studies (Berkeley, CA: Seal Press, 2008), 41-42.

[99] Ibid., 44.

[100] Stryker, *Transgender History,* 44.

[101] Joanne Meyerowitz, *How Sex Changed A History of Transsexuality in the United States* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2002), 144. Susan Stryker, "Dr. Harry Benjamin," GLBTQ Encyclopedia.com, 2015, http://www.glbtqarchive.com/ssh/benjamin_h_S.pdf

[102] Benjamin organized Magnus Hirschfeld's tour of the United States in 1930, see Meyerowitz, *How Sex Changed,* 44. His office was located at 450 Sutter Street, extant. The building was added to the NRHP on December 22, 2009.

surgery on her at the age of eight.[103] Her discovery as an adult of these childhood manipulations of her gender identity led Chase to move to San Francisco and form the Intersex Society of North America in 1993.[104] In its early years, the Society operated out of Chase's home in the Twin Peaks neighborhood, and early meetings were held at the Institute for Advanced Study of Human Sexuality, where Chase was a student.[105] Within a few years, the organization was providing peer support to approximately four hundred people around the world, educating medical providers about treating people with ambiguous genitalia, and providing education about intersexuality to the general public.[106]

Gay Liberation, Pride, and Politics (1960s to the 1990s)

New York's Stonewall Inn is often cited as the "birthplace" of the gay rights movement in the United States, yet San Francisco and other cities such as Los Angeles, Philadelphia, and Boston played major roles in advancing civil rights for LGBTQ people. Scholars Elizabeth Armstrong and Suzanna Crage argue that the focus on the Stonewall rebellion in 1969 as the starting point of LGBTQ liberation has obscured earlier key moments in LGBTQ history, including the Mardi Gras Ball.[107] The San Francisco LGBTQ Historic Context Statement used archival materials and interviews of participants active in San Francisco during the 1960-1980s to identify sites associated with the myriad organizations and events that shaped queer politics, culture, and identity in those pivotal decades (Figure 4).

---

[103] Vernon A. Rosario, "An Interview with Cheryl Chase." Journal of Gay and Lesbian Psychotherapy 10: 2 (2006).

[104] Natalie Angier, "Intersexual healing," *New York Times,* February 4, 1996, http://www.nytimes.com/1996/02/04/weekinreview/ideas-trends-intersexual-healing-an-anomaly-finds-a-group.html, accessed July 23, 2014.

[105] Bo Laurent (formerly Cheryl Chase), electronic communication with Donna Graves, July 23, 2014. The Institute for Advanced Study of Human Sexuality, founded in 1976, is located at 1523 Franklin Street.

[106] Cheryl Chase, "Surgical Progress is Not the Answer to Intersexuality" in *Intersex in the Age of Ethics*, Alice Domurat Dreger ed. (Hagerstown, MD: University Publishing Group, 1999), 147. Susan Stryker, *Transgender History*, 138. The Intersex Society of North America (ISNA) closed in 2006 and turned its mission over to Accord Alliance, see http://www.isna.org.

[107] Elizabeth A. Armstrong and Suzanna M. Crage, "Movements and Memory: The Making of the Stonewall Myth," *American Sociological Review* 71, no. 4 (October 2006): 724-751.

The radical youth movement of the late 1960s and early 1970s shaped gay liberation organizations that emerged after the homophile period. Bay Area activist Carl Wittman's "A Gay Manifesto" (1970) was an influential and widely distributed essay that linked the fate of gays and lesbians to other oppressed groups and viewed sexual liberation "as merely one aspect of a broader social transformation."[108] Wittman described San Francisco as "a refugee camp for homosexuals. We have fled here from every part of the nation, and like refugees elsewhere, we came not because it is so great here, but because it was so bad where they are."[109] Historian John D'Emilio writes that within a few years of the Manifesto's publication "San Francisco had become, in comparison with

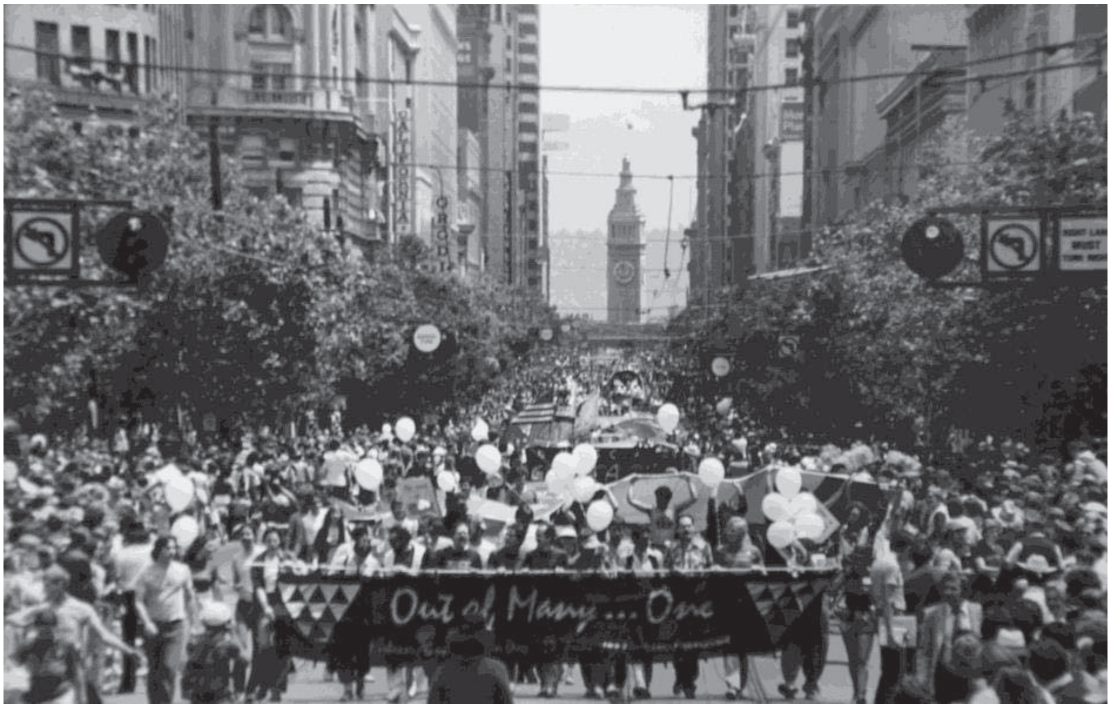


Figure 4: San Francisco Pride Parade 1982, view east down Market Street to the Ferry Building. Photograph by Greg Day. Courtesy of the Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender Historical Society.

---

[108] Elizabeth A. Armstrong, *Forging Gay Identities: Organizing Sexuality in San Francisco, 1950 to 1994* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002), 2.

[109] Carl Wittman, "A Gay Manifesto," in *Out of the Closets: Voices of Gay Liberation,* eds. Karla Jay and Allen Young (New York: Douglas Book Corp, 1972), 332-342.

the rest of the country, a liberated zone for lesbians and gay men. It had the largest number and widest variety of organizations and institutions."[110]

Younger people shifted the terms and tactics of the movement for gay rights; as Charles Thorpe, the keynote speaker at the 1970 National Gay Liberation Front Student Conference held at the SIR Community Center noted, "it is the young that are aware and aware is synonymous with desperate. That means a new culture, a new society, and a new education. This has scared the don't-rock-the-boat older gays."[111] San Francisco's Bay Area Gay Liberation (BAGL, 1975–1978) was among the groups who advocated a radical agenda for gay rights (Figure 5).[112] Organizational meetings and special events were held at the SIR Community Center and at the gay community centers that followed in San Francisco's Civic Center neighborhood.[113] BAGL activities included protests supporting the Gay Teachers Coalition; against

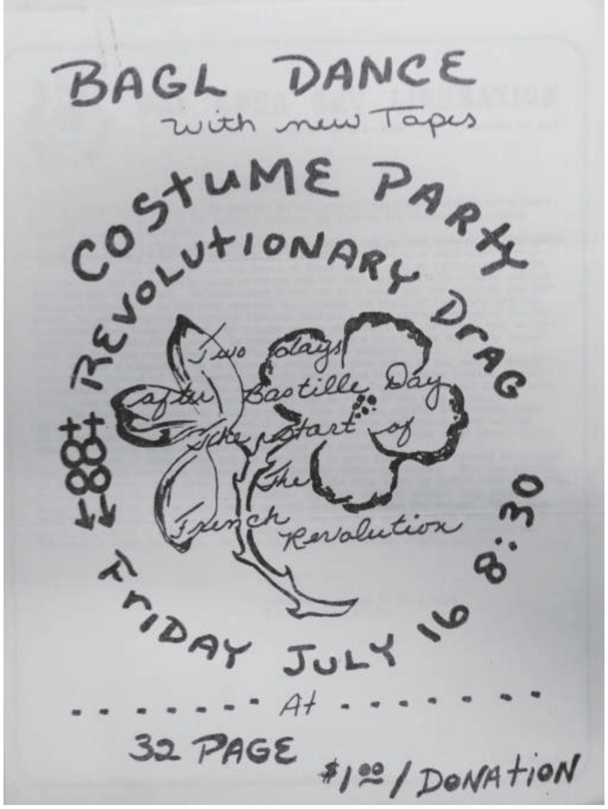


Figure 5: Poster for the Bay Area Gay Liberation's "Revolutionary Drag" Costume Party, 1976. Courtesy of the Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender Historical Society.

---

[110] John D'Emilio, "Gay Politics, Gay Community," in *Making Trouble: Essays on Gay History, Politics, and the University* (Hoboken, NJ: Taylor and Francis, 2014), 87.

[111] Charles Thorpe, "Identity, Leadership and Violence" in *Out of the Closets*, 352.

[112] Christina B. Hanhardt described BAGL's platform as "based on a multi-issue critique of capitalism and the state," see "Butterflies, Whistles and Fists: Gay Safe Streets Patrols and the New Gay Ghetto, 1976-1981," *Radical History Review* (Winter 2008): 65.

[113] San Francisco had a small succession of gay community centers in the 1970s and 1980s: 32 Page Street operated from ca. 1976-1978 (extant) and a larger center at 330 Grove Street operated ca. 1977-1981 (now demolished). In 1982, many of the organizations from 330 Grove moved to a former convent at 890 Hayes Street (extant). Groups Ephemera Collection GLBT Historical Society; Christina B. Hanhardt, *Safe Space: Gay Neighborhood History and the Politics of Violence* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2013), 98.

police repression on Polk Street, an area that housed a concentration of gay-owned and oriented businesses; and against The Club Bath's practice of turning away customers who were effeminate, elderly, or African American.[114]

By the mid-1970s, the sheer numbers of LGBTQ people in San Francisco allowed for the emergence of groups organized along various axes of race, ethnicity, and sexual/gender identity. In 1967, transgender women activists formed Conversion Our Goal (COG), which has been described as "probably the first formal organization of self-defined transsexuals in the world."[115] COG met twice monthly at Glide Memorial Church to offer mutual support to its members and call publicly for freedom from police harassment, legal rights to medical care for transition, job opportunities, and fair housing.[116] Bisexual rights pioneer Marguerite "Maggi" Rubenstein helped to found The Bisexual Center, the nation's first specifically bisexual organization in 1976. The Center offered counseling and support services to Bay Area bisexuals and published a newsletter, the *Bi Monthly*, from 1976 to 1984.[117]

Recognizing that their concerns were often not reflected in groups dominated by white gay men, LGBTQ people of color formed new organizations beginning in the mid-1970s. The Gay Latino Alliance was founded in 1975 with approximately fifty men and women attending its second meeting at the SIR Center. The same year, Randy Burns and Barbara Cameron founded Gay American Indians, the first reported organization for queer Native Americans. The Black Gay Caucus organized in 1976 and met every two weeks at the Gay Community Center on Page Street. Gay Asian Support Group, formed in 1977, which appears to be the first formal Asian Pacific Islander American organization for LGBTQ people, also held bimonthly meetings at the Page Street community center "to rap, socialize, do outreach work, get into politics, develop ourselves more, make new friends and/or develop relationships."[118]

---

[114] The Club Baths was located at 201 Eighth Street (extant).

[115] Meyerowitz, *How Sex Changed,* 230.

[116] Ibid.

[117] Clare Hemmings, *Bisexual Spaces: A Geography of Sexuality and Gender* (New York and London: Routledge, 2002), 156. The Bisexual Center operated first out of offices at 544 Market Street and later from the North Panhandle neighborhood home of co-founder David Lourea; initial Bisexual Center meetings were held at Rubenstein's home just south of Glen Park.

Many lesbians also began to see the gay liberation movement as reproducing oppressive patterns that privileged men's voices and issues. Del Martin voiced the objections of lesbians who had felt sidelined or condescended to by gay activists in an influential manifesto titled "If That's All There Is" that appeared in the October 1970 issue of *Vector*. "I've been forced to the realization that I have no brothers in the homophile movement," Martin wrote; "Fifteen years of masochism is enough."[119] Lesbians of color stood in complex relation to both the women's movement and gay and lesbian rights organizations. Bay Area lesbian writers Cherrie Moraga and Gloria Anzaldúa helped shape discussion of these issues with their influential 1981 anthology *This Bridge Called My Back: Writings by Radical Women of Color*. The Latina, African American, Asian American, and Native American writers represented in the book—many of them from San Francisco—challenged claims of sisterhood made by white feminists and explored the links between race, class, feminism, and sexuality.[120]

Although not an exclusively lesbian organization, The Women's Building in the Mission District is one of the anchors of the history of women, feminists, lesbians, and queer and progressive groups more generally in San Francisco (Figure 6).[121] In 1978, a core group of women from the San Francisco Women's Centers, an incubator for women's rights organizations, began looking into purchasing a building. A sympathetic realtor pointed them towards the Sons of Norway's Dovre Hall, built in

---

[118] Gay Asian Support Group (GASP) Newsletter, September 22, 1977, in GLBT Historical Society Newsletters. See Roscoe, Sueyoshi, and González and Hernandez (all this volume).

[119] Josh Sides, *Erotic City: Sexual Revolutions and the Making of Modern San Francisco* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), 114. She expanded on this observation in *Lesbian/Woman*, coauthored in 1972 with her partner Phyllis Lyon, and originally produced by the publications arm of Glide Memorial Church.

[120] Cherrie Moraga and Gloria Anzaldúa, eds., *This Bridge Called My Back: Writings by Radical Women of Color* (Watertown, MA: Persephone Press, 1981).

[121] The Women's Building is located at 3543 Eighteenth Street, San Francisco, California.

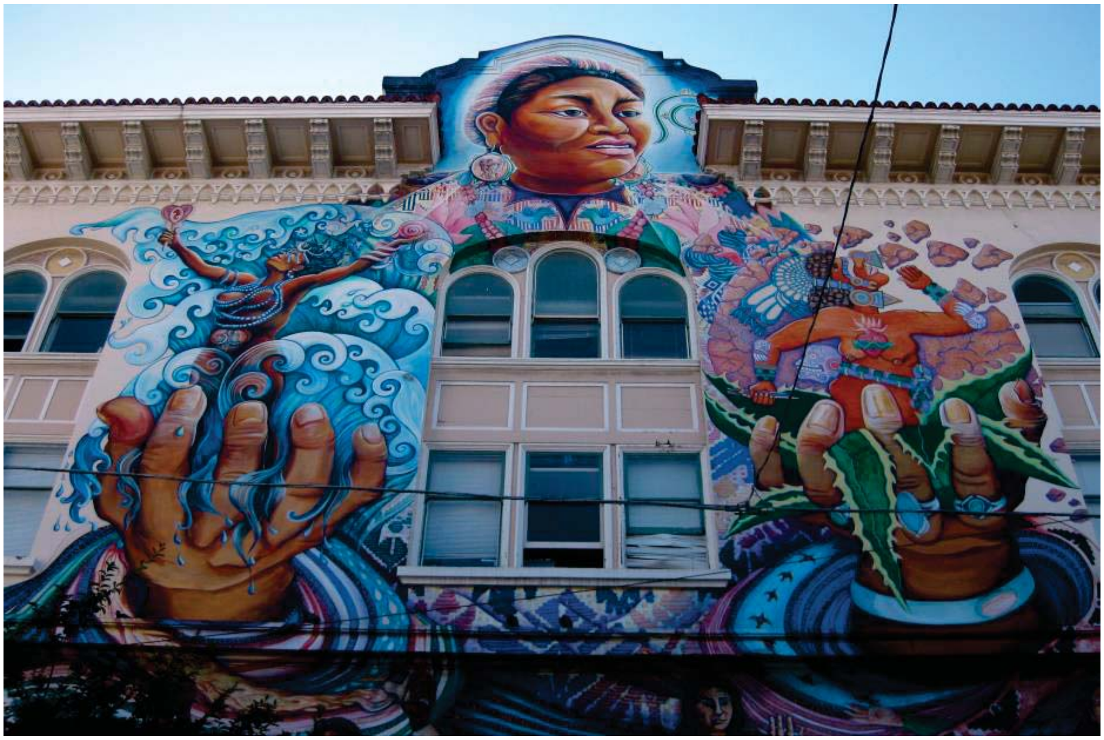


Figure 6: The Women's Building has served as an anchor for LGBTQ culture since it was founded in 1979. The MaestraPeace Mural, painted in 1994 by Juana Alicia, Miranda Bergman, Edythe Boone, Susan Kelk Cervantes, Meera Desai, Yvonne Littleton, Irene Perez, and many helpers, covers two exterior walls and four stories of the building. Photograph by Wally Gobetz, 2009.[122]

1910, which was no longer active except for a ground-floor bar. Negotiations moved forward, and The Women's Building opened in the fall of 1979.[123] Within a year, the building held a memorial service for assassinated leader Harvey Milk, meetings of Lesbians Against Police Violence, a slide lecture by Allan Bérubé that benefited the San Francisco Lesbian and Gay History Project, and "Becoming Visible" a conference of African American lesbians. Since then, a remarkable number and range of events and meetings important to LGBTQ history have been held at The Women's Building, which continues to function as a community space.[124]

---

[122] License: CC BY-NC-ND 2.0. https://www.flickr.com/photos/wallyg/3922017349

[123] Sushawn Robb, *Mothering the Movement: The Story of the San Francisco Women's Building* (Denver: Outskirts Press, 2012), 47-48.

[124] Many organizations initially supported by The Women's Building went on to form their own nonprofits, such as Lesbian Visual Artists, the San Francisco Network for Battered Lesbian and Bisexual Women, Older Lesbian Organizing Committee, and the Lavender Youth Recreation and Information Center.

San Francisco and the AIDS Epidemic (1981 to the 1990s)

San Francisco, New York, and Los Angeles were the first American cities to face the AIDS crisis; a pathologist at UCSF identified the first diagnosis of Kaposi's sarcoma in April 1981.[125] Two months later, the Centers for Disease Control (CDC) released a report describing an alarming new disease in a handful of gay and bisexual men. Within a few weeks of the CDC's announcement, clinicians, public health officials, and other medical professionals in San Francisco realized the potential tsunami. The San Francisco Department of Public Health quickly established a system for reporting and registering cases; the reporting network grew over the years to include major hospitals and private clinics.[126]

In December 1981, the San Francisco *Sentinel* published an article in which Bobby Campbell became the first Kaposi's sarcoma patient to publicly announce his illness. Declaring himself the "KS Poster Boy," Campbell convinced Star Pharmacy, a drugstore in the heart of the Castro neighborhood, to allow him to put up posters in their storefront windows warning about the "gay cancer."[127] Campbell's physician, Dr. Marcus Conant, shared his alarm and in 1982 approached activist Cleve Jones about creating an organization to mobilize the gay community and pressure the government for additional funds. The resulting Kaposi's Sarcoma Research and Education Foundation (later renamed the San Francisco AIDS Foundation) initially operated from folding tables covered with flyers and leaflets at the corner of Eighteenth and Castro Streets. Within a few months, it opened the first agency specifically addressing the new disease.[128] In October 1983, the KS/AIDS Foundation offices received national attention when a Florida hospital flew a critically ill AIDS patient to San Francisco and had him dumped at the organization's front door.[129]

---

[125] Randy Shilts, *And the Band Played On; People, Politics and the AIDS Epidemic* (New York: St. Martin's Griffin, 2007), 60.

[126] Sides, *Erotic City*, 177. The Department of Health was headquartered at 101 Grove Street (extant).

[127] Ibid., 10-108. Star Pharmacy was located at 498 Castro Street (extant).

[128] Shilts, *And the Band Played On,* 161. For the initial address of 520 Castro Street, see San Francisco AIDS Foundation website, "The View from Here: Cleve Jones and Dr. Marcus Conant," http://www.sfaf.org/hiv-info/hot-topics/from-the-experts/the-view-from-here-cleve-jones-marcus-conant-2011.html, 2011, accessed June 1, 2014. The first offices of the San Francisco AIDS Foundation were at 520 Castro Street (extant).

By 1984, San Francisco's rate of infection was the highest per capita in the nation. Community members, doctors, public health workers, and others debated their concerns over public health and civil liberties for over a year; in the meantime, nearly a third of the city's twenty bathhouses had closed, primarily because business was down as a result of patrons' fear of contracting AIDS.[130] The City of San Francisco ordered bathhouses to close in October 1984. One bathhouse, the 21st Street Baths refused to comply but ultimately gave in and closed in 1987 when threatened with a lawsuit by the city. It was the last licensed gay bathhouse in the city.[131]

The first dedicated inpatient AIDS ward in the world, at San Francisco General Hospital's Ward 5B, opened in July 1983 with an innovative program of integrated treatment, care, and support services for patients, partners, friends, and family members.[132] In addition to pioneering patient care, San Francisco was the location for a number of important studies of AIDS prevention and treatment. San Franciscans also established the field of organized end-of-life AIDS care. In 1987, the defunct convent of Most

---

[129] Mark Thompson, ed., *Long Road to Freedom: The Advocate History of The Gay and Lesbian Movement* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1994), 240.

[130] John-Manuel Andriote, *Victory Deferred*, 78. By spring 1984, The Cauldron, Cornholes, Liberty Baths, Sutro Baths, and Bulldog Baths had all closed according to Rodger Streitmatter, *Unspeakable: The Rise of the Gay and Lesbian Press in America* (Boston: Faber and Faber, 1995), 257.

[131] "14 San Francisco Sex Clubs Told to Close to Curb AIDS," *New York Times*, October 10, 1984. http://www.nytimes.com/1984/10/10/us/14-san-francisco-sex-clubs-told-to-close-to-curb-aids.html, accessed June 12, 2014; and Johnny Miller, "Last Gay Bathhouse in S.F. Shut Down Over AIDS," *San Francisco Chronicle*, May 13, 1987, http://www.sfgate.com/entertainment/article/Last-gay-bathhouse-in-S-F-shut-down-over-AIDS-3549850.php, accessed June 12, 2014. The 21st Street Baths were located at 3244 Twenty-First Street (now demolished).

[132] Andriote, *Victory Deferred,* 116; and Carol Pogash, *As Real As It Gets: The Life of a Hospital at the Center of the AIDS Epidemic* (New York: Birch Lane Press, 1992), 21. San Francisco General Hospital is located at 1001 Potrero Avenue. Pogash describes AIDS treatment at SF General starting in the seven-story main building constructed in the 1970s and moving to an older brick structure late in 1982.

Holy Redeemer Church in the Castro became Coming Home Hospice, reportedly the first AIDS hospice in the nation.[133]

Because public funds to combat AIDS were so scarce, the widely heralded "San Francisco model" of AIDS care developed based on volunteer labor and charitable giving.[134] A plethora of local community groups emerged, made up of individuals who cared for the sick, researched treatment options, raised funds, and pressured government agencies to do more. Because these organizations usually formed as small, grassroots efforts and evolved with the crisis, their space needs and locations shifted over time. Much of the focus of early AIDS organizations was on the Castro, a neighborhood that was predominately white and relatively wealthy. LGBTQ people of color argued that they needed to develop services within their communities that were not being met by the more mainstream organizations such as the San Francisco AIDS Foundation and Shanti Project. From the mid-1980s on, LGBTQ people of color formed numerous HIV/AIDS organizations to serve their communities and to advocate on their own behalf.

As the numbers of the dead grew with no cure on the horizon, many San Franciscans turned their anger and frustration into direct action protests and civil disobedience. In May 1983, thousands walked from the Castro to the Civic Center behind a banner "Fighting for Our Lives," in the AIDS Candlelight March—the first major demonstration against AIDS.[135] Under Mobilization Against AIDS, this event grew to become an annual, international vigil of protest and commemoration. [136] In what has been described as the first use of civil disobedience against the AIDS epidemic anywhere in the world, several protestors chained themselves to the doors of the federal building housing the regional office of Health and Human Services on October 27, 1985.[137] The ARC/AIDS Vigil became an encampment that occupied a lawn in United Nations Plaza twenty-four hours a day for ten years.

---

[133] Donal Godfrey, *Gays and Grays: The Story of the Gay Community at Most Holy Redeemer Catholic Church* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2007), 89. The Hartford Street Zen Center purchased 61 Hartford Street in 1988. David Schneider, *Street Zen: The Life and Work of Issan Dorsey* (New York: Da Capo Press, 2000), 174-175. Coming Home Hospice was located at 115 Diamond Street (extant).

[134] Stryker and Van Buskirk, *Gay by the Bay,* 93.

[135] The Civic Center Historic District was added to the NRHP on October 10, 1978 and designated an NHL on February 27, 1987.

[136] Mobilization Against AIDS brochure, 1986. Mobilization Against AIDS file, Groups Ephemera Collection, The Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender Historical Society. Other ephemera in this collection indicate that the first meeting of MOB was held at 647-A Castro Street, and by 1986 offices were located at 2120 Market Street, Suite 106.

San Francisco is the birthplace of two of the nation's most visible and enduring memorials to AIDS: the NAMES Project AIDS Memorial Quilt and the National AIDS Memorial Grove. Conceived by longtime San Francisco gay rights activist Cleve Jones in November 1985, the project rallied volunteers to a storefront along Market Street.[138] First shown as forty panels at the 1987 Lesbian & Gay Freedom events in San Francisco, the project soon began accepting a growing flood of panels contributed from across the country. It became an international tool to illustrate the devastating impact of AIDS and to humanize its victims.[139] In 1988, another group of friends began discussing the creation of a public memorial garden in San Francisco to the victims of the AIDS epidemic. Beginning in 1991, monthly workdays brought together diverse Bay Area residents affected by the pandemic who reclaimed a former derelict site in Golden Gate Park. In 1994, the City of San Francisco signed a ninety-nine year lease with The AIDS Memorial Grove, and two years later it was designated the only national AIDS memorial authorized by Congress and the president.[140]

---

[137] Libby Ingalls, "AIDS/ARC Vigil 1985-1995," Found SF website, http://foundsf.org/index.php?title=AIDS/ARC_Vigil_1985-1995, accessed March 22, 2014. Health and Human Services was located in the Federal Building, 50 United Nations Plaza (extant), a contributing element to the Civic Center Historic District (see note 134).

[138] The NAMES Project first met, and had their first home at 2362 Market Street (extant, San Francisco Landmark No. 241).

[139] The quilt had grown to nearly two thousand panels when it was displayed four months later on the National Mall in Washington, DC, during the National March on Washington for Lesbian and Gay Rights. The NAMES Quilt was nominated by Representative Nancy Pelosi for a Nobel Peace Prize in 1989, the same year that San Francisco filmmakers Rob Epstein and Jeffrey Friedman won an Academy Award for the documentary film, *Common Threads: Stories from the Quilt* (San Francisco: Telling Pictures Films, 1989). Cleve Jones with Jeff Dawson, *Stitching a Revolution: The Making of an Activist* (San Francisco: Harper One, 2000).

[140] By 1990 the Grove Steering Committee had received Recreation and Parks Department permission to use de Laveaga Dell in Golden Gate Park. Volunteers who reclaimed the formerly derelict site saw it as a metaphor for resilience and the power of community. See Bruner Foundation, *National AIDS*

Conclusion

The *Citywide Historic Context Statement for Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, and Queer History in San Francisco* is the most comprehensive research yet conducted on LGBTQ historic sites in an American city. Yet it is by no means complete. The project points to the need for intensive and detailed studies to fill in the gaps in queer histories, as well as the promise of creative approaches to documentation and interpretation. Our intention is that this information will not only provide a platform for better recognition of LGBTQ heritage in San Francisco, but serve as a guide and inspire similar efforts and nominations across the country.

Memorial Grove, 1999 Silver Medal Winner (Cambridge, MA: Bruner Foundation, 2000), 70-71, http://www.brunerfoundation.org/rba/pdfs/1999/03_NationalGrove.pdf, accessed May 12, 2014.

26

PRESERVATION OF LGBTQ HISTORIC & CULTURAL SITES—A NEW YORK CITY PERSPECTIVE

Jay Shockley

For over two decades, New York City has been in the forefront nationally in the historic preservation of LGBTQ historic and cultural sites. Beginning in the early 1990s, a number of historic preservationists, historians, and artists began documenting LGBTQ history and worked on projects to bring official commemoration and public awareness of significant LGBTQ sites.

Given that New York is the largest American city and has a dense urban building fabric, and also that the various New York LGBTQ communities have been so prominent in LGBTQ rights and other social movements, and all aspects of American arts and culture, it is no surprise that there are many notable sites. New York City is also extraordinarily fortunate in the fact that it has had strong historic preservation protections since 1965, and many neighborhoods and sites associated with LGBTQ history are extant through historic district designations, even if their LGBTQ histories

---

Andrew S. Dolkart, Ken M. Lustbader, and Amanda Davis assisted as readers and editors.

have often not been officially recognized. Greenwich Village, in particular, one of the first neighborhoods in the city that allowed, and gradually accepted, an open gay and lesbian presence in the early twentieth century, resulting in its emergence as an early, nationally significant LGBTQ enclave, has multiple historic districts that have thus far protected many sites.

A number of strategies have been employed to bring these “hidden histories” to light: identifying previously unknown sites and reinterpreting historic sites through maps, guidebooks, walking tours, public talks, online guides, and street-marking projects; weaving LGBTQ history into documentation of individual landmark and historic district designations; and using a variety of tools to advocate for official recognition of significant representative sites. Unlike the City of San Francisco, for instance, which recently commissioned a four-year long project to produce a context statement for its LGBTQ history and associated sites, New York City has not had an officially sanctioned overall survey of LGBTQ sites, despite extensive documentation within city landmarks designation reports. The currently-evolving, independent New York City LGBT Historic Sites Project, founded in 2014, will do this through a comprehensive survey, documentation, and evaluation of LGBTQ-associated properties in all five boroughs of the city. Below is a chronology of these efforts over the past two decades, as well as a case history of Greenwich Village.

New York City Landmarks Preservation Commission Designation Reports (1992 on) and Pride Month Website Slide Shows (2013-2015)

In 1992, Andrew S. Dolkart in *Guide to New York City Landmarks*, the official guidebook to the New York City Landmarks Preservation Commission’s designated landmarks and historic districts, included for the first time several LGBTQ sites, including the Stonewall Inn[1]. Also beginning that year, staff members of the commission's research department began to include LGBTQ history, where appropriate, in official designation reports for projects to which they were assigned.[2] The commission did not undertake an effort to locate significant LGBTQ historic sites, so that this staff effort was rather random and in no way reflected an ordering of the most important LGBTQ sites or the diversity of the city in terms of boroughs or race or other criteria. However, as a result of these staff efforts and research, New York City has far more official landmark designation reports that document LGBTQ history and specific extant sites than any other American city. New York lagged behind at least five other cities in designating landmarks specifically for their LGBTQ associations. In June 2015, after years of staff and public advocacy, the commission designated the Stonewall as New York City's first landmark recognized for its LGBTQ history.[3]

---

[1] Andrew S. Dolkart, *Guide to New York City Landmarks* (Washington, DC: Preservation Press, 1992).

Many of the LGBTQ-related sites documented by staff and designated by the commission were in the greater Greenwich Village area of Manhattan [see case study below], though there were some chance or surprise discoveries in the rest of the city. On occasion, there was the opportunity to introduce an LGBTQ context in a discussion of, for instance, a building type. The Wilbraham is a prime example of a bachelor flats building, a type of residential hotel that developed in the late nineteenth century exclusively for men. At that time, nearly half of men over the age of fifteen in the city were unmarried, and housing options were severely limited for single men, who were seen as a threat to marriage and traditional gender roles. Historian George Chauncey, in his pioneering book *Gay New York: Gender, Urban Culture, and the Making of the Gay*

---

[2] This was led primarily by Jay Shockley and Gale Harris.

[3] Jay Shockley began to publically advocate for the Stonewall to be designated as an individual NYC landmark in 2009 when he was invited to speak on LGBTQ preservation by the Greenwich Village Society for Historic Preservation (GVSHP). Under Andrew Berman, GVSHP became a political force for LGBTQ preservation after the loss in 2012 of the building at 186 Spring Street, which had been home to a number of early LGBTQ rights leaders. The Stonewall, located at 51-53 Christopher Street, was designated as part of the Greenwich Village Historic District (GVHD) on April 29, 1969, just months before the uprising. It was the first LGBTQ site listed on the NRHP (June 28, 1999),thefirst LGBTQ NHL(February 16, 2000), andthe first LGBTQ National Monument(June 24, 2016). It was designated an NYC Landmark on June 23, 2015.

Male World, 1890-1940, recognized these apartments as significant early private spaces for some upper-middle-class/professional gay men.[4]

Another Landmarks Preservation Commission research staff effort has been the re-interpretation of already designated landmarks and buildings in historic districts all over the city from an LGBTQ perspective, via slide shows posted on the commission's official website for Pride Month in 2013 through 2015.[5] The variety of such sites chosen, from the mid-nineteenth century to the present, allowed for a greater diversity, including associations with African Americans, women, and the boroughs other than Manhattan:

Bethesda Fountain, Central Park

Sculptress Emma Stebbins (1815-1882) designed her masterpiece Angel of the Waters in the 1860s while living in Rome with her lover Charlotte Cushman, a leading actress of the American and British stages. Stebbins was but one of a number of lesbian artists who formed a circle around Cushman. This fountain is the earliest public artwork by a woman in New York City and was the only sculpture sanctioned as part of the early design and construction phase of Central Park.[6]

"Clear Comfort" (Alice Austen House)

Alice Austen (1866-1952) lived for much of her life in this early family farmhouse on Staten Island. A photography pioneer most active from the 1880s to the 1920s, she produced about eight thousand images. Among these are Austen and friends dancing together, embracing in bed, and

---

[4] George Chauncey, *Gay New York: Gender, Urban Culture, and the Making of the Gay Male World, 1890-1940* (New York: Basic Books, 1994). The Wilbraham, located at 1 West 30thStreet, remains a residential building. Landmarks Preservation Commission (LPC), *The Wilbraham Designation Report* (New York: City of New York, 2004), researched and written by Jay Shockley.

[5] This was done by Jay Shockley, Gale Harris, and Christopher D. Brazee.

[6] Central Park was designated an NHL on May 23, 1963, listed on theNRHP on October 15, 1966, and designated an NYC Scenic Landmark on April 16, 1974.

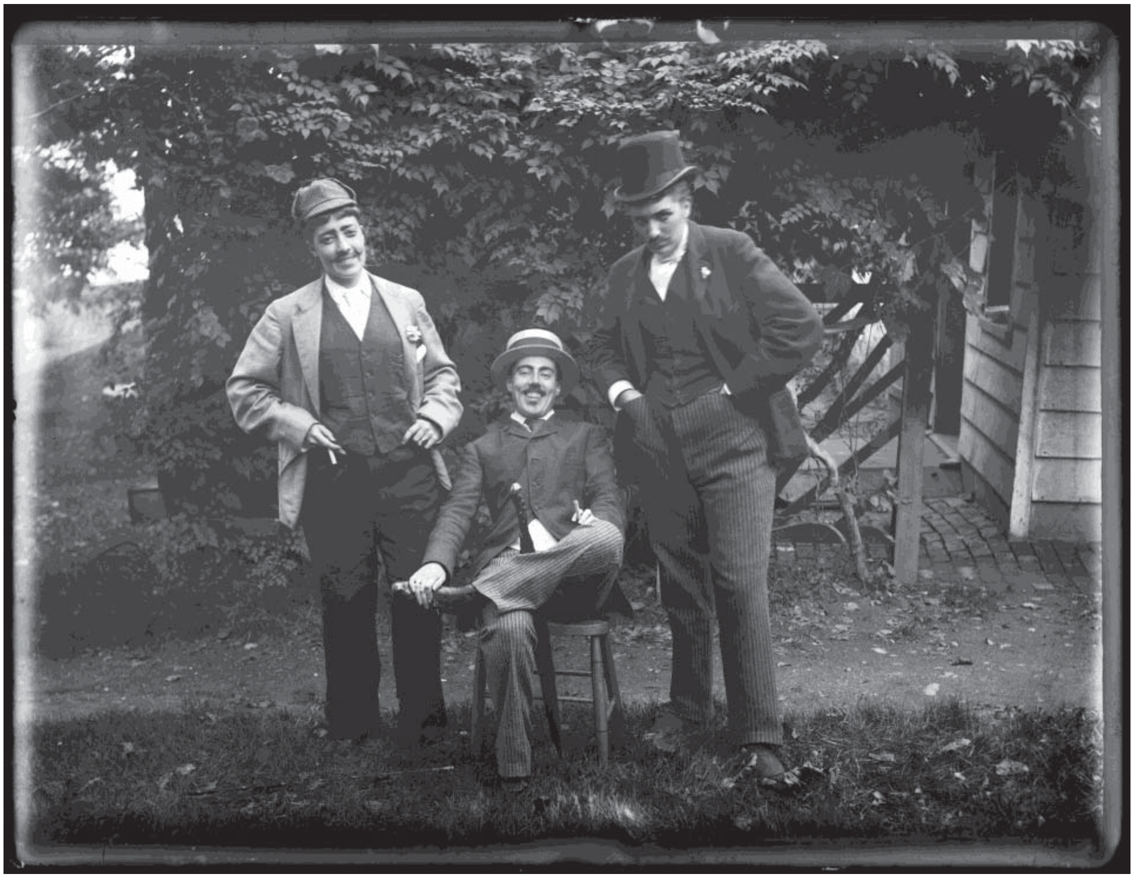


Figure 1: Julia Martin, Julia Bredt, and self: dressed up. Photo by Alice Austen, 1891. From the Collection of Historic Richmond Town.

cross-dressing, photographs that were unique for their time and have become iconic for the LGBTQ community (Figure 1). In 1899, Austen formed an intimate relationship with Gertrude Amelia Tate (1871-1962), who came to live here from 1917 until the property was lost to foreclosure in 1935 and the women were forced to separate. The house became a public museum in 1975, though for decades the real story of the owners' lives was actively discouraged in the museum's interpretation. In recent years, the Historic House Trust has reversed this policy.[7]

---

[7] The Historic House Trust Newsletter (Fall 2010) included contemporary re-creations of several of Alice's images by photographer Steven Rosen. The Austen House is located at 2 Hylan Boulevard, Staten Island. It was designated an NYC Landmark on August 2, 1967, added to the NRHP on July 28, 1970, and designated an NHL on April 19, 1993.

Oliver Smith House

This Brooklyn Heights residence was purchased in 1953 by Oliver Smith (1918-1994), one of the most famous theatrical designers of his day and a twenty-five time Tony Award nominee. He created the original sets for such Broadway shows as Guys and Dolls, West Side Story, My Fair Lady, The Sound of Music, Hello Dolly!, and such ballets as Rodeo and Fancy Free. Smith was associated with an influential group of gay writers, artists, and intellectuals, and perhaps influenced by his time at February House (a noted gay commune that once stood at 7 Middagh Street, since demolished), he established his own home as a center of gay culture in Brooklyn. From around 1955 to 1965, he rented the garden apartment to Truman Capote (1924-1984).[8]

Paul Rudolph Apartments

Paul Rudolph (1918-1997), architect and chairman of the Department of Architecture at Yale University, began renting an apartment in 1961 by the East River in Midtown. After purchasing the building in 1976, he converted it into apartments and added a remarkable, sculptural penthouse completed in 1982. This work is emblematic of the architectural contribution of the LGBTQ community to American architecture and Rudolph's acclaim as one of America's most innovative twentieth-century architects. From 1922 to the early 1950s, this had been the home of "First Lady of the Theater" Katharine Cornell and her husband, director-producer Guthrie McClintic, who had one of the most famous Broadway "lavender marriages" of their day.[9]

---

[8] Capote supposedly wrote portions of Breakfast at Tiffany's (published 1958) and In ColdBlood (published 1966) while living here. The Smith House is located in the Brooklyn Heights Historic District, which was designated an NHL on January 12, 1965, designated by NYC on November 23, 1965, and added to the NRHP on October 15, 1966.

[9] The term "lavender marriage" usually refers historically to a marriage between a gay man and lesbian, often done for social and professional reasons. The Rudolph Apartments was designated an NYC Landmark on November 16, 2010.

Audre Lorde House

The acclaimed black lesbian feminist writer/activist Audre Lorde (1934-1992) resided on Staten Island from 1972 to 1987 with her partner, psychology professor Frances Clayton. During her time here, Lorde held professorships at Hunter and John Jay Colleges and wrote several books of poetry and essays, as well as her renowned autobiographical works, The Cancer Journals (1980) and Zami: A New Spelling of My Name (1984).[10]

Lesbian Herstory Archives

Celebrating its fortieth anniversary in 2014, the Archives houses the world's largest collection of materials by and about lesbians and their communities. Established in the Manhattan apartment of Joan Nestle and Deborah Edel, the Archives moved in 1993 to Brooklyn. A combined research facility, museum, and community center, it owns a vast library of books and journals, subject and organizational files, unpublished papers, conference proceedings, reference tools, audio-visual materials, art, and ephemera.[11]

OLGAD Map, REPOHistory, and Gay New York (1994)

In 1994, the year of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Stonewall Rebellion in New York City, a group of eight historic preservationists and one architect participated in the short-lived Organization of Lesbian + Gay Architects and Designers (OLGAD) and produced one of the first known public attempts in the city to introduce the issue of LGBTQ preservation and historic sites.[12] One of the group's members, Ken M. Lustbader, had recently broached this topic in his Columbia University historic preservation thesis "Landscape of Liberation: Preservation of Gay and Lesbian History in Greenwich Village."[13] OLGAD's map "A Guide to Lesbian & Gay New York Historical Landmarks" (Figure 2) was intended as a sampling of LGBTQ-related sites, with walking tours of Greenwich Village, Harlem, and Midtown, displaying a wide range of extant buildings. These included well-known landmarks, such as hotels and theaters, listed for their LGBTQ connections, as well as bars and social meeting places, residences of notable people, and gay rights movement locations. This map led the Municipal Art Society and others to begin sponsoring LGBTQ walking tours.

---

[10] The Lorde House is located in the St.Paul's Avenue-Stapleton Heights Historic District, Staten Island, designated by NYC on June 22, 2004.

[11] The Archives is located at 484 14thStreet in the Park Slope Historic District, Brooklyn, designated by NYC on July 17, 1973, and added to the NRHP on November 21, 1980.

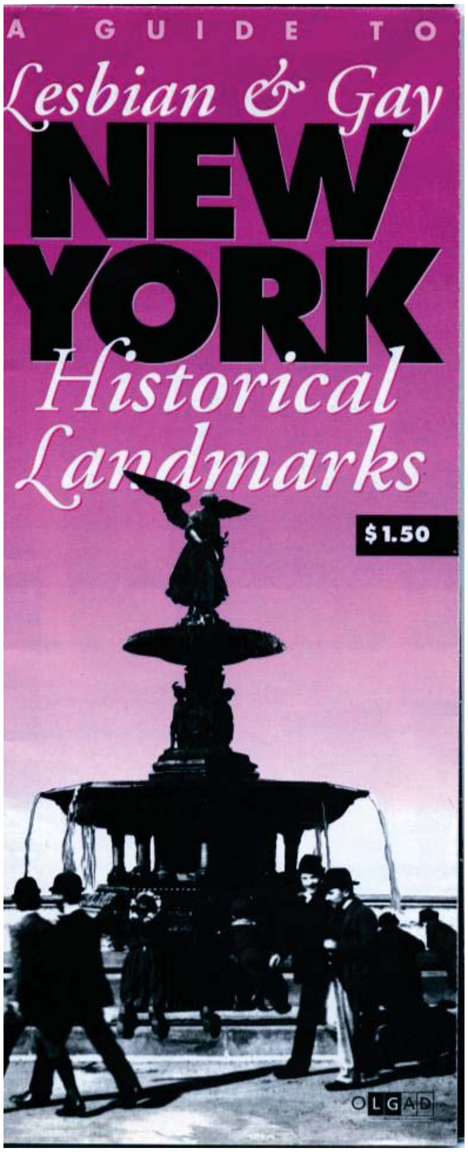


Figure 2: Organization of Lesbian + Gay Architects and Designers, "A Guide to Lesbian & Gay New York Historical Landmarks" map (1994).

Many of the sites were located in Greenwich Village, which had the largest map. In Harlem, one of New York's most significant African American neighborhoods, just one of the significant sites featured is the famous Apollo Theater, where nearly every important African American entertainer played during its heyday as a showcase for black performers from the 1930s into the 1970s. Gay, lesbian, and bisexual luminaries such as Bessie Smith, Alberta Hunter, Ethel Waters, Jackie "Moms"

---

[12] Joan C. Berkowitz, Don L. Dinkel, Jr., Andrew S. Dolkart, Gale Harris, Mary Jablonski, Ken M. Lustbader, Tom Reynolds, and Jay Shockley.

[13] Ken M. Lustbader, "Landscape of Liberation: Preservation of Gay and Lesbian History in GreenwichVillage," master's thesis, Columbia University, 1993.

Mabley, Little Richard, Johnny Mathis, Alex Bradford, and James Cleveland appeared there. During the 1960s, a popular attraction was the drag Jewel Box Revue, America's first traveling troupe of gender impersonators featuring a racially integrated cast of twenty-five men and one woman, Master of Ceremonies Stormé DeLarverié.[14]

The OLGAD map was not the only project that sought to recognize important LGBTQ sites as part of Stonewall's twenty-fifth anniversary. REPOHistory, an activist group of visual and performance artists, writers, filmmakers, and historians who sought to publicly repossess aspects of history that had generally been ignored, undertook a Queer Spaces project. They designed pink triangle signs giving the LGBTQ history of nine Manhattan locations, which they then erected on street signposts.[15] George Chauncey's *Gay New York*, also published that year, was an immensely important contribution to raising awareness of the incredibly rich history of late nineteenth and early twentieth-century New York City. Two subsequent guidebooks that listed many LGBTQ sites in New York in 1997 were *The Queerest Places: A Guide to Gay and Lesbian Historic Sites and Stepping Out: Nine Tours Through New York City's Gay and Lesbian Past.*[16]

Effort to Have the Stonewall Declared a National Historic Landmark (1994)

In connection with the twenty-fifth anniversary of Stonewall, OLGAD members worked to have the Stonewall Inn (Figure 3) declared a National

---

[14] The Apollo Theater is located at 253 West 125th Street. It was designated an NYC Landmark and NYC Interior Landmark on June 28, 1983, and listed on the NRHP on November 17, 1983. Organization of Lesbian + Gay Architects and Designers (OLGAD), "A Guide to Lesbian & Gay New York Historical Landmarks" (1994); LPC website, Pride Month slide show (PMSS), 2014, http://www.nyc.gov/landmarks.

[15] These included the site of the first ACT UP demonstration at Trinity Church, 74 Trinity Place, listed on the NRHP and designated an NHL on December 8, 1976; Everard Baths, 28 West 28th Street; Julius' Bar, 159 West 10th Street; and a headquarters of the Daughters of Bilitis.

[16] Paula Martinac, *The Queerest Places: A Guide to Gay and Lesbian Historic Sites* (New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1997); and Daniel Hurewitz, *Stepping Out: Nine Tours Through New York City's Gay and Lesbian Past* (New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1997).

Historic Landmark (NHL).[17] The designation did not happen at this time for two reasons: the lack of building owner support which was necessary in order to proceed, and the lack of precedence. Since there had never been any prior LGBTQ NHL historic context or theme study developed, the Department of the Interior deemed it impossible to determine the Stonewall's significance. Further, the successes of the gay rights movement were seen as too recent and too limited at that point; a street riot was questioned as the most worthy site for commemoration; Stonewall was not considered a defining moment or event for the LGBTQ community's "basic humanity" to be demonstrated (or commemorated) to American society; and written gay history was misinterpreted as too "lacking" to provide sufficient historical background.[18]

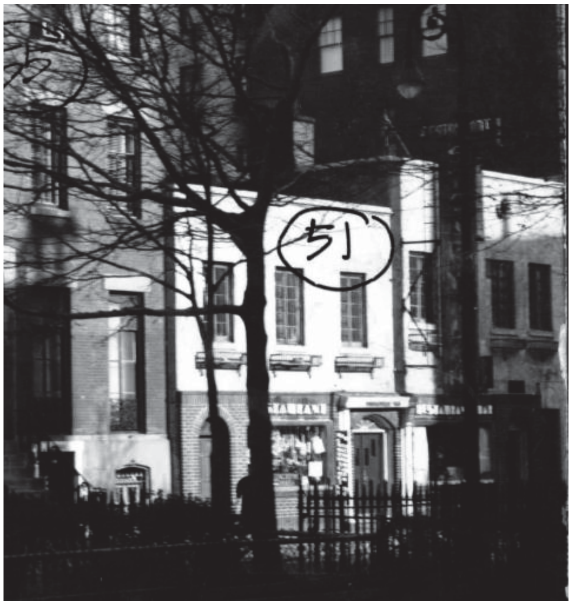


Figure 3: The Stonewall Inn, 51-53 Christopher Street, New York City, New York. Photo by John Barrington Bayley, circa 1965. Courtesy of the New York City Landmarks Preservation Commission.

Thirtieth Anniversary of Stonewall – National Register of Historic Places (1999) and National Historic Landmark (2000)

Just four years later, the Stonewall nomination became a priority, facilitated by openly-gay John Berry, who was serving as Assistant Secretary for Policy, Management and Budget, Department of the Interior.[19] Sponsored by the Greenwich Village Society for Historic

---

[17] This effort was led by OLGAD member Gale Harris.

[18] Memorandum, March 4, 1994, NPS, Department of the Interior.

[19] Stephen Morris, Chris Thomson, and Jim Gasser, members of Gay, Lesbian or Bisexual Employees (GLOBE), began meeting about the Stonewall in 1998, *Interior GLOBE News* (Spring 2000).

Preservation, the nomination was fast-tracked for listing on the New York State Register and then the NRHP in 1999, and the Stonewall became an NHL in 2000.[20] The nomination focused solely on the significance of the Stonewall to LGBTQ history, since the building was already part of the Greenwich Village Historic District, and included the surrounding streets and Christopher Park where the Stonewall Rebellion took place. This expansion of the site to include the park and streets was promoted by Kathleen LaFrank, of the New York State Historic Preservation Office, who suggested Civil War battlefields as a boundary precedent. In order to address the issue of the NRHP fifty-year threshold, the nomination extensively quoted from contemporary newspapers and journals, personal reminiscences, scholarly books, and historians' statements, which established Stonewall's "exceptional significance" due to its impact on the history of civil rights both nationally and internationally. The Stonewall was the first and only specifically LGBTQ-related listing on the NRHP until the Dr. Franklin E. Kameny Residence was added in 2011, and was the only LGBTQ NHL until the Henry Gerber House was designated in 2015.[21]

New York City LGBT Historic Sites Project (2014-2015)

In 2011, three former OLGAD members, Jay Shockley, Andrew S. Dolkart, and Ken M. Lustbader, wishing to raise the discussion of LGBTQ historic preservation on a national level, led the session "Beyond Stonewall: Recognizing Significant Historic Sites of the Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual & Transgender Community" at the National Trust for Historic Preservation Conference in Buffalo. When the Department of the Interior, in 2014, announced the National Park Service Historic Preservation Fund

---

[20] The nomination was written by Andrew S. Dolkart with Jay Shockley, using in part research later published in: David Carter, Stonewall: The Riots That Sparked the Gay Revolution(New York: St. Martin's Press, 2004).

[21] The Dr. Franklin E. Kameny Residence, in the Palisades neighborhood of Northwest Washington, DC, was added to the NRHP on November 2, 2011. The Gerber House, in the Old Town Triangle neighborhood of Chicago, was designated an NHL on June 19, 2015.

Grants to Underrepresented Communities, for projects that would assist in broadening the diversity of sites on the NRHP and as NHLs, the three men submitted an LGBTQ grant application through the New York State Historic Preservation Office. The New York City LGBT Historic Sites Project was awarded a federal grant of $49,999, and subsequently leveraged additional foundation support.

The New York City LGBT Historic Sites Project, initially conceived as a two-year project, is currently surveying, documenting, and evaluating previously unknown and undocumented properties in all five boroughs of the city associated with LGBTQ historic and cultural themes, as well as those already locally designated or listed on the NRHP, flagged for LGBTQ connections. A publically accessible, online map of sites will be created, using outreach and input from professionals, organizations, archives, and community members. Although New York City has been a national leader in the LGBTQ rights movement, no survey or comprehensive documentation currently exists of sites associated with LGBTQ history. The project provides context and baseline documentation for New York City's LGBTQ history and extant sites; establishes a resource for future scholarship and preservation efforts; and will produce new NRHP nominations, amended NRHP listings, and local designations. The first NRHP nomination by the project was Julius' Bar, which was listed on the New York State Register in March 2016 and on the NRHP in April 2016.[22]

Greenwich Village: An LGBTQ Historic Preservation and Cultural Case History

Within greater Greenwich Village, including the East Village and also a few sites in the immediately adjacent SoHo and Union Square neighborhoods, there are numerous, disparate extant sites representing the history of the LGBTQ community from the 1850s to the present. These include bars, popular meeting places, cultural institutions, housing accommodations, theaters, residences of noted persons, and sites associated with LGBTQ civil rights. Greenwich Village was one of the first neighborhoods in New York City that allowed, and gradually accepted, an open gay and lesbian presence, which resulted in its emergence as an early and nationally significant LGBTQ enclave. The following discussion is not meant in any manner as a definitive history of the LGBTQ community in New York, or the various communities within the larger community. It represents a partial site-based narrative of New York's first "gay" neighborhood that emerges based solely on documented and extant sites drawn from the various projects mentioned in this chapter above. In particular, many of these sites are documented in official city landmark designation reports, a fact which is unique nationally. New York City is fortunate in the fact that so many LGBTQ-associated sites are protected by historic district designations, within Greenwich Village alone by six historic districts.

---

[22] Julius at 159 West 10th Street, New York City was added to the NRHP on April 21, 2016.

Early Known Gay and Lesbian Life from the 1850s to the 1890s

The period from the 1850s to the 1890s is the first recorded emergence in New York of what would now be regarded as LGBTQ spaces, a number of which are extant. The earliest currently known is Pfaff's, operated from 1859 to 1864 by German-born proprietor Charles Ignatius Pfaff, which was a Rathskeller-like beer/wine cellar restaurant in the Coleman House Hotel, extending into the sidewalk vaults (basement area below the sidewalk). It became a favorite haunt of the Bohemians of the 1850s, including artists, writers, and actors. Walt Whitman, iconic in the United States and Europe as one of the first people to openly express the concept of men loving men via his poetry, was a central figure among this group from 1859 to 1862. During his Pfaff's period, around 1859, Whitman wrote twelve famously homoerotic "Calamus" poems that were included in the 1860 edition of Leaves of Grass. A portion of Pfaff's was known as a place for men looking for other men. Although Pfaff's vault space has been destroyed, the basement, along with the rest of the hotel, survives.[23]

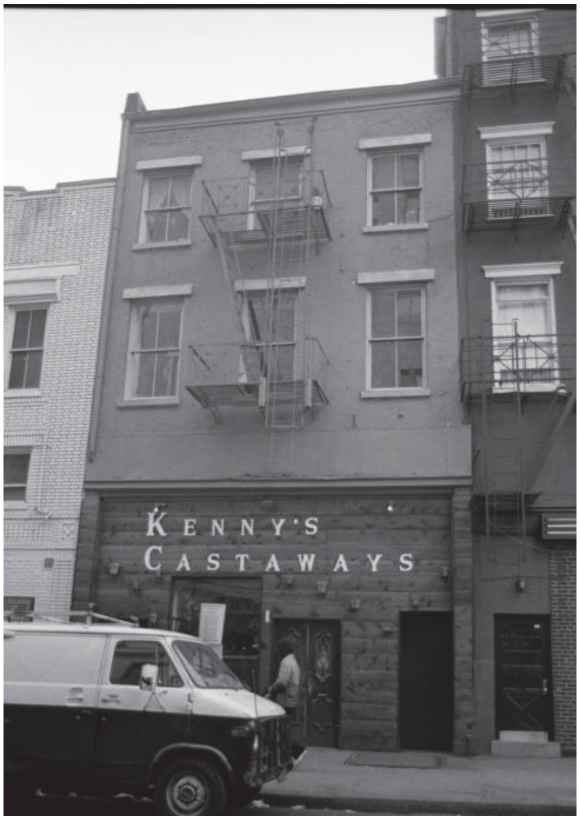


Figure 4: Former location of The Slide, 157 Bleecker Street, New York City, New York, 1980s. Courtesy of the New York City Landmarks Preservation Commission.

In Gay New York, Chauncey identified the 1890s as one of the earliest periods in the city when one very specific, and "notorious," aspect of the emerging gay male community—the subculture of flamboyantly effeminate "fairies"—became noticed by a wider public. He posited that this subculture was more fully and publicly integrated into working-class than middle-class culture.[24] While the Bowery, Lower East Side, and Tenderloin were the most notorious New York centers for "commercialized vice" and "homosexual rendezvous" at this time, there were also such spots on Bleecker Street in Greenwich Village. Upper middle-class men, in particular, and some women, were attracted to downtown, in part to witness the "depravity" of the lower classes and thus to be scandalized or titillated (or both). For example, The Slide (Figure 4) was popularly identified by 1890 as "New York's 'worst dive' because of the fairies … gathered there."[25] A "slide," in prostitutes' jargon of the time, was "an establishment where male homosexuals dressed as women and solicited men."[26] Contemporary newspapers, purporting to defend the public's morals, spotlighted the most sensational aspects of this underworld. The Slide was closed by police in 1892 and the proprietor convicted of keeping a “disorderly house.”[27] Another “dive,” the Black Rabbit, was personally raided in 1900 by Anthony Comstock of the Society for the Suppression of Vice. Of this establishment, he fumed “that he has never before raided a place so wicked, and that ‘Sodom and Gomorrah’ would blush for shame at hearing to what depths of vice its habitués had descended.”[28]

---

[23] The Coleman House Hotel, 645-647 Broadway, is located in the NoHo Historic District, designated by NYC on June 29, 1999. LPC, PMSS, 2014. The only other known extant New York City location associated with Whitman is his house in Wallabout, Brooklyn, where he completed an early version of his Leaves of Grassin 1855.

[24] Chauncey, Gay New York, 34.

[25] Ibid, 37.

[26] Ibid, 68. Chauncey suggested that The Slide, in a rowhouse basement, was so named to specifically announce its character, even though its "fairies" did not in fact dress as women.

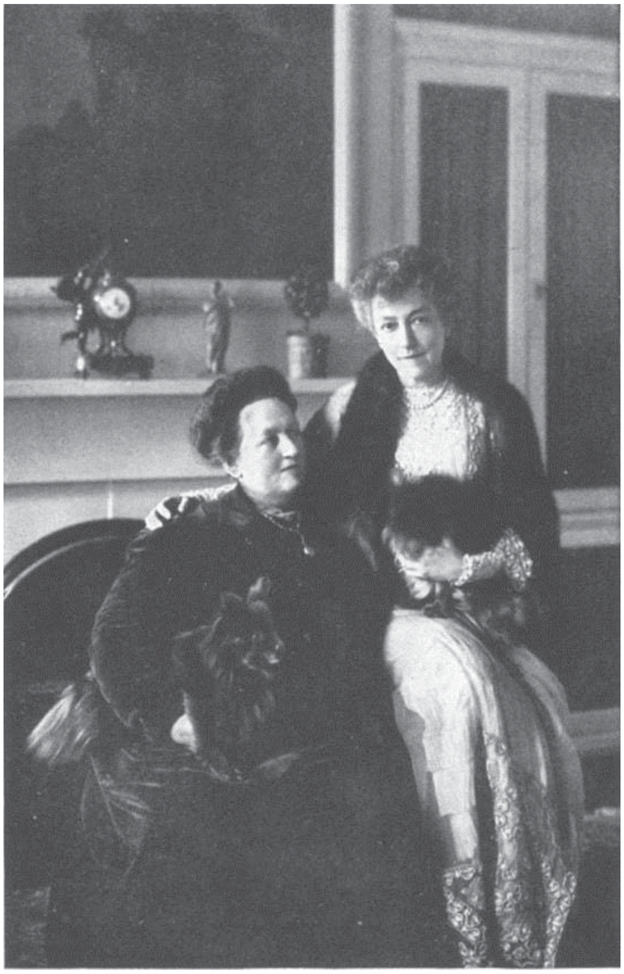


Figure 5: Elsie de Wolfe and Elisabeth Marbury.[29]

On the opposite side of the social spectrum were a number of LGBTQ individuals who operated within the spheres of upper New York society, politics, and culture. The Victorian lesbian power couple Elsie de Wolfe, often credited as America’s first professional interior designer, and Elisabeth Marbury, one of the world’s leading, and pioneering female, theatrical producers (Figure 5), lived in a house near Union Square between 1892 and 1911. They first met in 1887, and their relationship lasted nearly forty years. Their Sunday afternoon salons here were attended by notables connected with the worlds of the arts, society, and politics. By coincidence, the house next door was, according to a 1914 biography, a place where the great gay Irish wit and writer Oscar Wilde lodged while touring America in 1882.[30]

---

[27] The Slide was located at 157 Bleecker Street in the South Village Historic District (SVHD). “The Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender (LGBT) Community’s Presence in the South Village,” in LPC, South Village Historic District Designation Report (New York: City of New York, 2013), researched and written by Jay Shockley.

[28] “Black Rabbit Club is Closed Forever,” New York Herald, March 15, 1899, 12; and “Raid on ‘The Black Rabbit,’” New York Times, October 6, 1900, 2. The Black Rabbit was located at 183 Bleecker Street in the SVHD.

[29] From Elisabeth Marbury, *Reminiscences by Elisabeth Marbury* (New York: Boni and Liveright, 1932).

Murray H. Hall (1840-1901) was a Tammany politico who lived as a man for over thirty years but after death was revealed to have been a woman, creating an international press furor and attracting the attention of pioneering sexologist Havelock Ellis. In 1872, Hall married Cecilia Florence Lowe, a school teacher, and by 1874 Hall had established an employment agency chiefly representing domestic help. The couple moved several times but remained close to the Jefferson Market Police Court since Hall was also a bail bondsman. Hall's last home/office was an apartment on Sixth Avenue. As a Tammany figure, Hall played poker and pool with city and state officials and other political leaders and was often able to secure appointments for friends.[31]

The Gay and Lesbian Presence in the 1910s and 1920s

After a period of decline as a desirable residential neighborhood, Greenwich Village was becoming known, prior to World War I, not only for its historic and picturesque qualities and affordable housing, but also for the diversity of its population and their social and political ideas. In the 1910s, gay men and lesbians frequented the many cheap Italian restaurants, cafeterias, and tearooms that the Village became known for. After the war and increasingly in the 1920s, they appropriated their own spaces, despite some opposition from fellow Villagers. This represented the first instance in New York City of covert middle-class gay and lesbian commercial enterprises, and started the Village's reputation as its most famous gay neighborhood. As Chauncey wrote, "the Village…came to represent to the rest of the city what New York as a whole represented to the rest of the nation: a peculiar social territory in which the normal social constraints on behavior seemed to have been suspended and where men and women built unconventional lives outside the family nexus."[32]

---

[30] LPC, *East 17th Street/Irving Place Historic District Designation Report* (New York: City of New York, 1998), researched and written by Gale Harris and Jay Shockley; and LPC, PMSS, 2013.

[31] According to one source, Hall (née Mary Anderson) was born in Scotland and at about age sixteen began dressing as a man, taking the name John Anderson. Anderson married young, but had a roving eye and an angry wife who disclosed Anderson's gender to the police. Fearing arrest, Anderson fled to America in 1870 and assumed the name Murray H. Hall." Murray Hall Fooled Many Shrewd Men," *New York Times*, January 19, 1901, 3; GVHD; and LPC, PMSS, 2014.

In 1914, the block of MacDougal Street just south of Washington Square emerged as a cultural and social center of the Bohemian set, with the Liberal Club, radical feminist Heterodoxy Club, and Washington Square Bookshop. The next-door Provincetown Playhouse from 1916 to 1929 was a serious amateur theater, and though most famous in this period for playwright Eugene O'Neill, it was also associated with figures prominent in the gay and lesbian community including Edna St. Vincent Millay, Djuna Barnes, Katharine Cornell, Tallulah Bankhead, and Eva Le Gallienne.[33] Washington Square Park was by the early twentieth century a popular cruising ground for gay men, and its west side became known as the "meat rack."[34] While West 3rd and 4th Streets had housed some of the speakeasies and tearooms run by and/or catering to New York's burgeoning lesbian and gay community after the war, this block of MacDougal became an important LGBTQ nucleus, especially after a series of police crackdowns on spots elsewhere in the Village in 1924 and 1925.

One such place on this block was "Eve Addams'" Tearoom, a popular after-theater club run in 1925 and 1926 by Polish-Jewish lesbian emigre Eva Kotchever (Czlotcheber), with a sign that read "Men are admitted but not welcome." A Village columnist in 1931 reminisced that her club was "one of the most delightful hang-outs the Village ever had."[35] After a police raid, Kotchever was convicted of obscenity (for Lesbian Love, a collection of her short stories) and disorderly conduct, and was deported.[36] The Black Rabbit (unrelated to the earlier Bleecker Street establishment with the same name), another of "the Village's gay stamping grounds,"[37] was closed by the police around 1929 and became the Minetta Tavern in 1937.

---

[32] Chauncey, Gay New York, 237, 243-244.

[33] Washington Square Bookshop was located at 135 MacDougal Street, the Liberal and Heterodoxy Clubs at No. 137, and the Provincetown Playhouse at No. 139. Of these locations, only a portion of the facade of the playhouse survives.

[34] GVHD; OLGAD.

[35] Chauncey, *Gay New York*, 242.

Webster Hall, one of New York's most historically and culturally significant large nineteenth-century assembly halls, has been the venue for countless events including conventions and political and union rallies, particularly for the working-class and immigrant populations of the Lower East Side. In the 1910s and 20s, it became famous for its Bohemian masquerade balls (Figure 6). It was significant as a gathering place for the city's early twentieth-century lesbian and gay community, who felt welcome to attend the balls in drag, and then sponsored their own events by the 1920s. Among the many notables who attended events here at this time were artist Charles Demuth and writer Djuna Barnes.[38]

The Village attracted a large number of artistic and socially progressive residents, among them many like-minded gay men and lesbians. One of the most notable and enduring Village cultural institutions is the Little Red School House, often considered the city's first progressive school, founded by lesbian reform educator Elisabeth Irwin (1880-1942). As early as 1912, Irwin worked at revising public school curriculum, and started her progressive "Little Red School House" curriculum in 1921. With the threat of public funding cuts, she was urged to found her own private, independent primary school. In 1932, the school moved to Bleecker Street and a high school (now Elisabeth Irwin High School) was added in 1940.[39]

---

[36] Ibid, 240. Allegedly "the police had received many complaints about objectionable persons visiting the tea room." "Sentenced for Giving Book," New York Times, July 3, 1926, 13. Eve Addams' Tearoom was located at 129 MacDougal Street. LPC, 129 MacDougal Street House Designation Report (New York: City of New York, 2004), researched and written by Jay Shockley; SVHD.

[37] Chauncey, Gay New York, 241. The Black Rabbit was located at 111 MacDougal Street in the SVHD.

[38] Webster Hall is located at 119-125 East 11thStreet. LPC, *Webster Hall and Annex Designation Report* (New York: City of New York, 2008), researched and written by Jay Shockley.

[39] The Little Red School House is located at 196 Bleecker Street in the SVHD. The Irwin High School is located in the Charlton-King-Vandam Historic District, designated by NYC on August 16, 1966, and added to the NRHP on July 20, 1973.

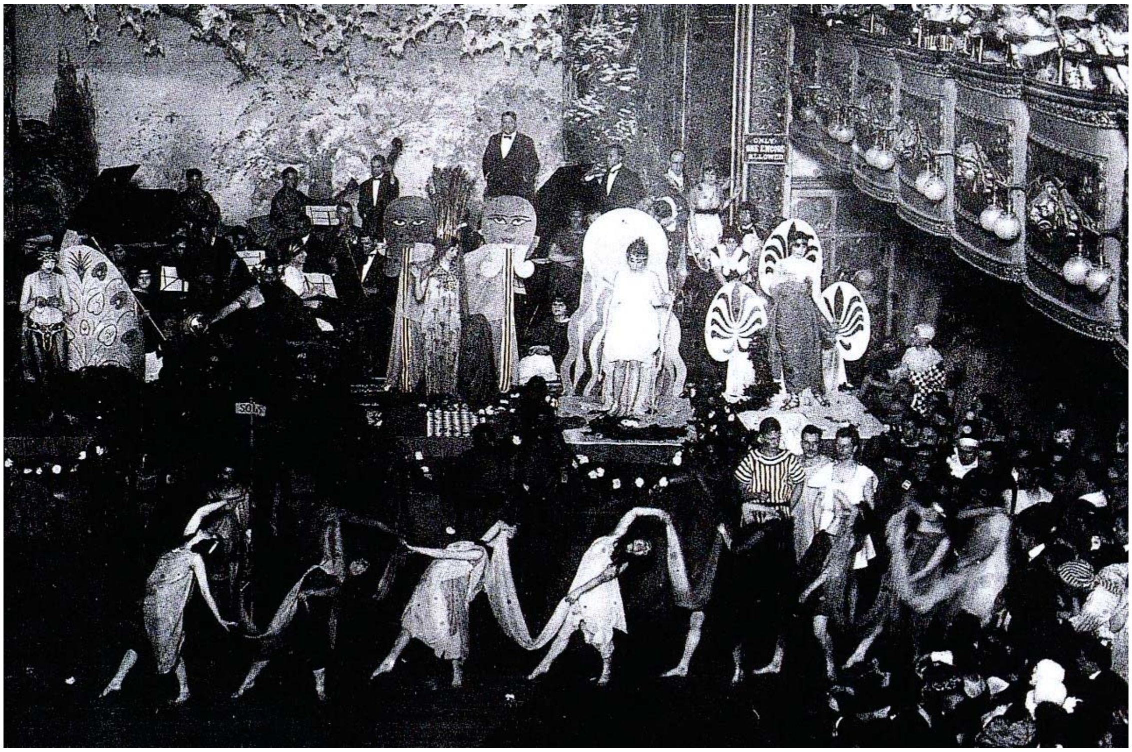


Figure 6: Masquerade ball in the 1910s or 1920s at Webster Hall, 119-125 East 11th Street, New York City, New York. Photographer unknown.[40]

Irwin continued to direct the school until her death. Her partner of thirty years was Katharine Anthony, a social researcher and feminist biographer. They lived nearby and were members of the Heterodoxy Club.[41]

Author Willa Cather, then an editor at McClure's Magazine, lived on Washington Square from about 1908 to 1913, with her partner Edith Lewis. Edna St. Vincent Millay was the first woman to win the Pulitzer Prize for poetry (1923), and "Vincent" had a number of relationships with women before her marriage. One of Millay's many Village residences was on Bedford Street in 1922-1923.[42]

---

[40] License: Public domain.https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Drag_Ball_in_Webster_Hall--1920s.jpg

[41] Their house on Bank Street is in the GVHD; Martinac, 112-113.

[42] Cather's apartment was at 82 Washington Place West. This building and Millay's residence are in the GVHD. OLGAD.

LGBTQ Social and Cultural Life, 1930s to the 1950s

From the 1930s, and particularly after World War II, the area of Greenwich Village south of Washington Square continued as the location of many known bars and clubs that catered to, welcomed, or merely tolerated, the LGBTQ community. Reflecting the not wholly hospitable climate of the post-war period, even in this neighborhood, many of these bars (largely lesbian) were located in the shadow of the elevated train that ran along West 3rd Street. Louis' Luncheon (1930s-1940s) was a hangout popular with gay men and lesbians, writers, and chorus girls. Tony Pastor's Downtown (1939-1967) had a mixed clientele of lesbians and tourists, some gay men, and female impersonators. Raided on morals charges in 1944 for permitting lesbians to "loiter" on the premises, Pastor's survived apparently with mob backing. The New York State Liquor Authority, however, revoked its liquor license in 1967 because, in the homophobic language of the agency, it had "become disorderly in that it permitted homosexuals, degenerates and undesirables to be on the license premises and conduct themselves in an offensive and indecent manner."[43] Among the numerous other lesbian bars nearby were Swing Rendezvous (c. 1940-1965), also a jazz club, Ernie's Restaurant/Three Ring Circus (c. 1940-1962), mostly heterosexual but also attracting working-class lesbians, Mona's (c. late 1940s-early 1950s), and Pony Stable Inn (c. late 1940s-1968), remembered by African American lesbian poet Audre Lorde in Zami Sister Outsider Undersong.[44]

The San Remo Cafe (c. 1925-1967) was a working-class bar that became a famous Bohemian hangout that attracted in the late 1940s and early 1950s, among its most prominent patrons, many gay artists and writers. These included Tennessee Williams, Gore Vidal, James Baldwin, Allen Ginsberg, William Burroughs, W. H. Auden, Harold Norse, John Cage, Larry Rivers, Frank O'Hara, and Merce Cunningham. The Music Box (c.

---

[43] "Liquor License is Revoked at Tony Pastor's Night Spot," *New York Times*, March 18, 1967, 15.

[44] Louis' Luncheon was located at 116 MacDougal Street. Tony Pastor's Downtown was located at 130 West 3rdStreet. Swing Rendezvous was located at 117 MacDougal Street. Ernie's Restaurant/Three Ring Circus was located at 76 West 3rdStreet. Mona's was located at 135 West 3rdStreet. All of these buildings are in the SVHD.

1950-1972) was one of the places listed in a 1955-1956 FBI investigative report of "notorious types and places of amusement" in the Village that stated "A majority of the bars and restaurants in this area cater to lesbians and homosexuals, quite a few of whom reside in the area and are not inhibited in the pursuit of their amorous conquests. In the bars and restaurants there will also be found a segment of the tourist trade who go to the Village to observe the lesbians and queers at play and to enjoy the atmosphere of the 'gay life.'"[45]

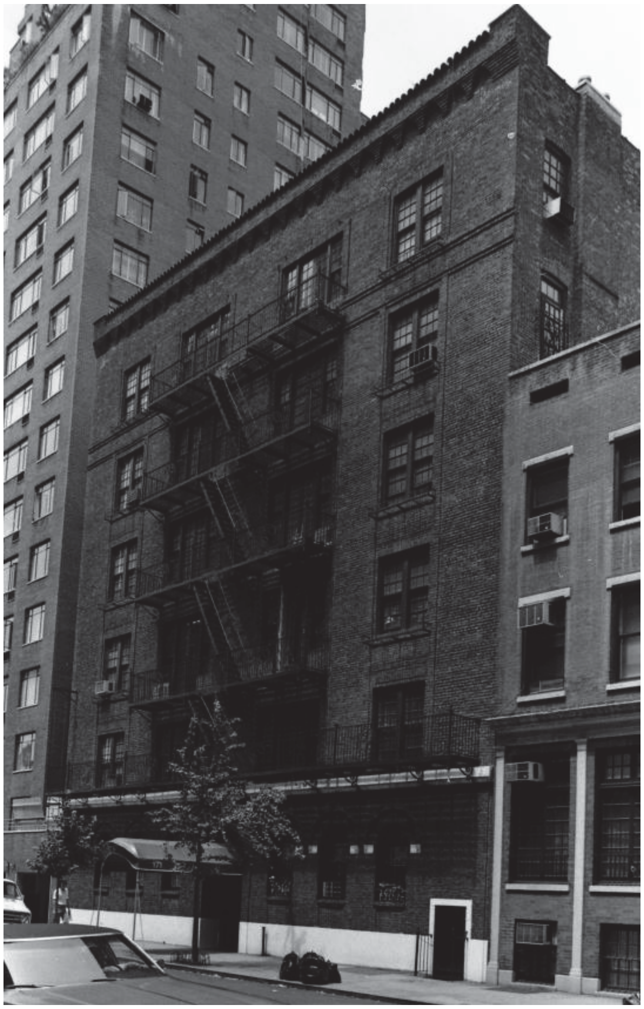


Figure 7: Apartment building, 171 West 12th Street, New York City, New York. Photo by John Barrington Bayley, c. 1965. Courtesy of the New York City Landmarks Preservation Commission.

Farther west in the Village, the Stewart (later Life) Cafeteria opened in 1933, quickly became a popular haunt for lesbians and gay men. Its plate-glass windows allowed visitors to the Village to gawk at the homosexuals inside, frequently attracting crowds.[46] In today's East Village, the Mafia-controlled 181 Club (1945-1953), called "the homosexual Copacabana," was one of the most luxurious gay and lesbian clubs in the United States and featured lavish shows of female impersonators.[47]

---

[45] FBI, "Notorious Types and Places of Amusement" (April 1956), cited by the OutHistory website, October 2013, http://www.outhistory.org. The San Remo was located at 93 MacDougal Street, and the Music Box at 121 West 3rd Street. Both buildings are in the SVHD.
[46] The Stewart Cafeteria was located at 116 Seventh Avenue South, in the GVHD. OLGAD.

Greenwich Village continued to attract many notable LGBTQ residents. First Lady Eleanor Roosevelt had key associations with Village women beginning in the 1920s. An apartment building on West 12th Street (Figure 7) housed many influential women between 1920 and 1950, including lesbians of note: Communist Party leaders Grace Hutchins and Anna Rochester, political radical Polly Porter, Democratic Party leader Mary Dewson, artist Nancy Cook, and educator Marion Dickerman, who organized the Todhunter School on the Upper East Side, and the Val-Kill furniture factory in partnership with Roosevelt, on her property near Hyde Park, New York. From 1933 to 1942, Roosevelt rented an apartment "haven" in the East 11th Street house of two close friends, writer Esther Lape and attorney Elizabeth Read. The couple, who lived here for over two decades, were influential suffragists, political reformers, and founders of the League of Women Voters. Roosevelt maintained her own apartment on Washington Square in 1942-1949.[48]

Photographer Berenice Abbott (1898-1991) and her partner Elizabeth McClausland (1899-1965) lived and worked in two flats they shared in a Village loft building from 1935 to 1965. An influential art critic and historian, McClausland wrote the text for Abbott's classic photographic series Changing New York, published in 1939. Djuna Barnes was a longtime resident of a modest rowhouse on Patchin Place after the publication of her lesbian novel Nightwood in 1936.[49] St. Luke's Place with its stately houses has long been a favored address for leaders in the arts and entertainment industry. Among its famous residents were painters Paul Cadmus (1904-1999) and Jared French (1905-1988), lovers when they moved there in 1935. French married artist Margaret Hoening in 1937 and they continued to share their home with Cadmus, who was joined by a new lover, painter George Tooker (1920-2011). In 1948, their friend George Platt Lynes photographed them here. Another close friend, British author E. M. Forster, was their houseguest in 1947 and 1949, and other visitors included Tennessee Williams, Cadmus's brother-in-law Lincoln Kirstein, and Andy Warhol.[50]

---

[47] The 181 Club was located in the former Louis N. Jaffe Art Theater, 181-189 Second Avenue. LPC, *Louis N. Jaffe Art Theater Designation Report* (New York: City of New York, 1993), researched and written by Jay Shockley; and LPC, PMSS, 2014. The building was listed on the NRHP as the Yiddish Art Theatre on September 19, 1985.

[48] The apartment building at 171 West 12thStreet, house on East 11thStreet, and apartment building at 29 Washington Square West are located in the GVHD; OLGAD.

[49] Abbott and McClausland resided on Commerce Street. This building and Patchin Place are located in the GVHD. LPC, PMSS, 2013 and 2014; OLGAD.

In the 1950s, the celebrated African American authors, civil rights activists, friends, and early gay-rights pioneers James Baldwin (1924-1987) and Lorraine Hansberry (1930-1965) moved to the Village. Baldwin was openly gay and many of his works centered on gay or bisexual characters and frankly explored issues of identity, race, and homosexuality.[51] Calling himself a "transatlantic commuter" he lived much of his life abroad while maintaining a series of residences in New York. From around 1957 to 1963 he rented a Village apartment. Hansberry, meanwhile, joined the Daughters of Bilitis homophile organization in 1957 and penned several essay-length letters about such topics as sexual identity, feminism, and homophobia to its publication, The Ladder. She moved into an apartment on Bleecker Street in 1953, shortly after she married Robert B. Nemiroff. In 1960, using a portion of the profits from her wildly successful play A Raisin in the Sun (1959), the couple—who later divorced amicably— purchased a residence near Washington Square. Hansberry became involved with one of the building's tenants, Dorothy Secules, and the two remained partners until Hansberry's premature death from cancer.[52]

---

[50] The Cadmus-French-Tooker residence is located in the GVHD. Playwright-screenwriter-director Arthur Laurents (1917-2011) also bought a house on St. Luke's Placearound 1960 and resided there until his death in 2011, for most of the time with his partner Tom Hatcher(d. 2006). Over that long period, Laurents wrote the screenplays for The Way We Were(1973) and The Turning Point(1977) and won Tony Awards for his book for Hallelujah, Baby!, his direction of La Cage aux Folles (1984), and a revival of Gypsy (2009). LPC, PMSS, 2013 and 2014; OLGAD.

[51] These included his second novel Giovanni's Room (1956), Another Country (1962), and Tell Me How Long the Train's Been Gone (1968).

[52] Baldwin's apartment on Horatio Street, and Hansberry's residences on Bleecker Street and Waverly Place are all located in the GVHD. LPC, PMSS, 2014.

The LGBTQ community has had a disproportionately significant and immeasurable impact on the cultural life of Greenwich Village and all of New York City, particularly in its theaters, which have featured the work of LGBTQ actors, directors, playwrights, and the various associated professions, as well as performers in its cafes and clubs, and as patrons of all of these venues. In the 1950s, Greenwich Village and the East Village became the cradle of what became the off-Broadway and off-off Broadway theater movements. The former Jaffe Art Theater, one of the most tangible reminders of the heyday of Yiddish theater in twentieth-century New York, was particularly renowned as the Phoenix Theater from 1953 to 1961. Founded by Norris Houghton and T. Edward Hambleton, it featured the work of directors including Tony Richardson and such performers as Montgomery Clift, Will Geer, Farley Granger, Eva Le Gallienne, and Roddy McDowall.[53] Actress-manager Julie Bovasso, in 1955, established and directed the Tempo Playhouse in the East Village, where she is credited with the American premieres of works by Jean Genet, including The Maids, as well as Gertrude Stein's In a Garden and Three Sisters Who Are Not Sisters.[54]

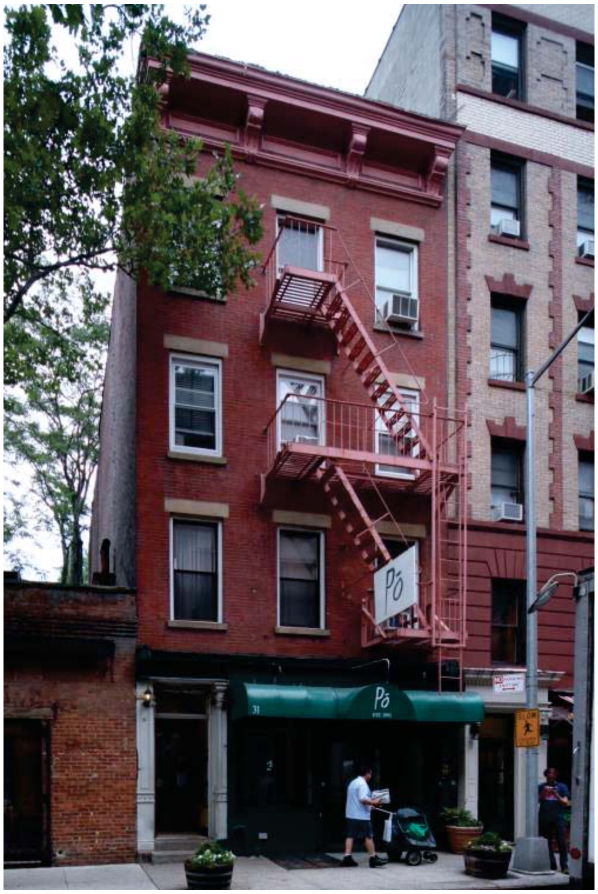


Figure 8: The former Caffe Cino, 31 Cornelia Street, New York City, New York, 2010. Courtesy of the New York City Landmarks Preservation Commission.

---

[53] The Phoenix Theater was located at 181-189 Second Avenue. LPC, *Louis N. Jaffe Art Theater Designation Report*.

[54] The Tempo Playhouse was located on St.Mark's Place. In 1964 this location also became a venue for the showing of early Avant-garde "underground" films by the Film-Makers' Cooperative under Jonas Mekas, then film critic of *The Village Voice* and editor-publisher of *Film Culture* magazine. The work of the Kuchar Brothers was introduced here, including the premiere of *Lust for Ecstasy*. The district

Caffe Cino (Figure 8) is widely recognized as the birthplace of off-off Broadway theater and is also significant as a pioneer in the development of gay theater. In 1958, Joe Cino (1931-1967) rented a ground-story commercial space, originally intending to operate a coffee shop with a small exhibition space for concerts, poetry readings, and art exhibits. He then allowed patrons to stage small Avant-garde theatrical performances. His partner Jon Torrey worked as electrician and lighting designer. Many of its early productions featured gay characters or subject matter. The staging of Lanford Wilson's The Madness of Lady Bright in 1964 was both the Cino's breakthrough hit and an early play to deal explicitly with homosexuality. Caffe Cino provided an important platform for newly emerging gay playwrights such as Doric Wilson, H. M. Koutoukas, Bob Heide, Bill Hoffman, Lanford Wilson, Tom Eyen, Jeff Weiss, David Starkweather, Charles Stanley, and Robert Patrick. The coffeehouse itself also became an important gay meeting spot, offering an alternative to bars and bathhouses. It closed in 1968, a year after Cino's suicide following Torrey's accidental death.[55] Judson Memorial Church on Washington Square, with an activist congregation, had begun sponsoring Avant-garde exhibits and performances in the 1940s and playwright/minister Al Carmines staged his own works here after 1958.[56]

1960s – Early 1970s -- the Early LGBTQ Rights Movement and Cultural Influence

Inevitably, Greenwich Village has many of the sites most associated with the struggle for LGBTQ rights in New York City, and nationally, over the decades. Julius' Bar by the 1950s attracted a gay clientele, despite

---

attorney's office raided the theater, seizing Jack Smith's allegedly "obscene" film *Flaming Creatures* and arresting Mekas, and he was again arrested for showing Genet's *Un Chant d'Amour*. LPC, *Hamilton-Holly House Designation Report* (New York: City of New York, 2004), researched and written by Jay Shockley.

[55] Caffe Cino was located at 31 Cornelia Street. LPC, *Greenwich Village Historic District Extension II Designation Report* (New York: City of New York, 2010), researched and written by Olivia Klose Brazee, Marianne Percival, and Virginia Kurshan; and LPC, PMSS,2013.

[56] Judson Memorial Church, 55 Washington Square South, was designated an NYC Landmark on May 17, 1966, and listed on the NRHP on October 16, 1974. OLGAD.

the treatment they received. With the New York State Liquor Authority's (SLA) regulations against serving liquor to "disorderly" patrons, and its interpretation that homosexuals were per se in that category, the bar's management pursued a policy of not encouraging the presence of gay men. On April 21, 1966, members of the New York Mattachine Society staged a "sip-in" at Julius' to challenge SLA regulations. The tactic was that men would enter the bar, declare their sexual orientation, and order a drink—knowing that they would be turned away. The group then filed a complaint of discrimination with SLA, and the publicity attracted favorable public support and the attention of the New York City Commission on Human Rights. This was a hugely significant pre-Stonewall assertion of LGBTQ rights and paved the way for the right of gay people to peacefully assemble and the legalization of gay bars.[57] That same year, a mass protest against the Lindsay administration's attempt to "clean up" Washington Square was staged from Judson Memorial Church, which was used in the 1960s-70s for lesbian and gay political gatherings.[58] In 1967, gay activist Craig Rodwell opened the Oscar Wilde Memorial Bookshop on Mercer Street, which was the nation's first lesbian and gay book store. It became a community meeting center as well.[59]

The Stonewall Inn is considered one of the most significant sites associated with LGBTQ history in New York City and the entire country. In June 1969, a routine police raid on this bar resulted in active resistance, setting off days of confrontation and demonstrations, with unprecedented cries for "gay pride" and "gay power." The Stonewall Rebellion sparked the next phase of the gay liberation movement, which involved more radical political action during the 1970s, and also inspired the LGBTQ pride movement. The first anniversary of the uprising was commemorated in June 1970 as Christopher Street Gay Liberation Day, the main event being a march from Greenwich Village to Central Park.

---

[57] Julius' Bar, which remains in operation, is located at 159 West 10thStreet, in the GVHD. LPC, PMSS,2013 and 2014. It was listed on the NRHP on April 21, 2016.

[58] OLGAD.

[59] The first location of the shop was in the apartment building at 291 Mercer Street. From 1973 to 2009, the shop as the Oscar Wilde Bookshop, was located at.15 Christopher Street, in the GVHD. OLGAD; and LPC, PMSS, 2014.

In the immediate aftermath of Stonewall, one of the earliest organizations formed was the Gay Liberation Front (GLF). Though of brief duration, the Gay Community Center was located (c. 1970-1971) on West 3rd Street (formerly Tony Pastor's Downtown). GLF had Sunday meetings and dances here, and this was also the headquarters of Radicalesbians, spun off of the male-dominated GLF in 1970, and the meeting place of Gay Youth, for GLF members under the age of eighteen.[60] A former firehouse in SoHo served as the headquarters of Gay Activists Alliance (GAA) (Figure 9) in 1971-1974. Formed in 1969 when a number of members broke away from the more radical GLF, GAA was primarily a political activist organization whose exclusive purpose was to advance LGBTQ civil and social rights. It lobbied for the passage of local civil rights laws, banning police entrapment and harassment, the creation of fair employment and housing legislation, and the repeal of sodomy and solicitation laws. Many of the group's activities were planned at the Firehouse, including sit-ins and picket lines. Perhaps the most famous GAA tactic was the "zap," a direct, public confrontation with a political figure regarding LGBTQ rights designed to gain media attention. The Firehouse also served as an

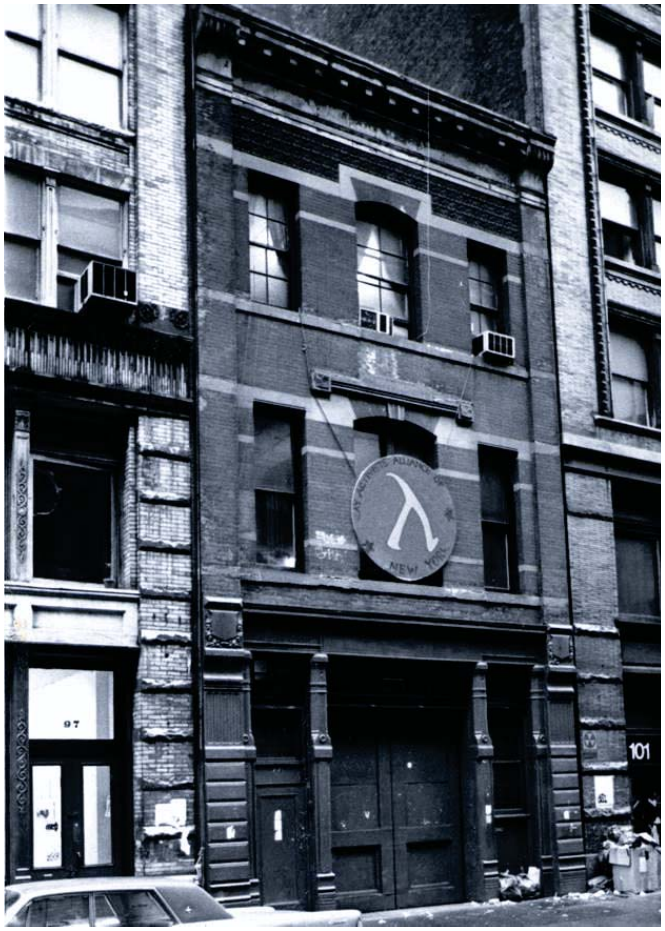


Figure 9: Gay Activists Alliance Firehouse, 99 Wooster Street, New York City, New York. Photo by John Barrington Bayley, circa 1972. Courtesy of the New York City Landmarks Preservation Commission.

---

[60] The Gay Community Center was located at 130 West 3rdStreet, in the SVHD.

important community center and hosted numerous social events, particularly Saturday night dance parties and Firehouse Flicks, a movie series selected by activist and film buff Vito Russo.[61]

During the 1960s, the influence of the LGBTQ community on off- and off-off-Broadway theater continued as strongly as before. The Provincetown Playhouse, in a later incarnation, housed Edward Albee's first play The Zoo Story (1960).[62] The Cherry Lane Theater, formed in 1924-1926 as an experimental theater by Edna St. Vincent Millay with friends, developed a close association with Albee in the early 1960s, presenting The American Dream, The Sandbox, and The Death of Bessie Smith. In 1969, the theater featured a retrospective look at the life and career of Lorraine Hansberry, To Be Young, Gifted and Black.[63] La Mama Experimental Theatre Club in the East Village was founded in 1961 by Ellen Stewart and opened in its current location in 1969. Today it is widely considered the oldest, most influential, and most prolific of all the off-off-Broadway stages. Though commercial theater has never been its focus, a number of La Mama plays achieved success on Broadway, including Harvey Fierstein's Torch Song Trilogy, and its resident director, Tom O'Horgan, later produced the influential hit Hair. Among the many notable playwrights and directors associated with La Mama have been Jean-Claude van Itallie, Tom Eyen, Lanford Wilson, William Hoffman, Charles Ludlam, Terrence McNally, Joseph Chaikin, John Vaccaro, Marshall Mason, and Meredith Monk.[64]

1970s to the Present

While the LGBTQ bar and social scene in Greenwich Village had emerged around MacDougal Street in the 1910s-1920s and remained centered in the South Village through the 1960s, there was also a migration northwest, to venues on Greenwich Avenue in the 1950s. Christopher Street became one of the best-identified LGBTQ locations in the world after Stonewall, and the popularity of the thoroughfare was sustained in the 1960s and 1970s by many gay-owned and gay-friendly bars and businesses. Gay men had traversed to the western terminus of Christopher for decades, to the piers along West Street for sexual encounters. By the early 1970s, the western end of Christopher Street and adjacent blocks along West Street, long established with seamen-oriented waterfront taverns, had become a nucleus for bars catering to a gay clientele. Six of the fourteen buildings that comprise the Weehawken Street Historic District have housed gay bars from that time to the present.[65]

---

[61] The Firehouse, at 99 Wooster Street, was designated as part of the SoHo-Cast Iron Historic District by NYC on August 14, 1973, while GAA still occupied the building and their lowercase lambda symbol was displayed on the facade. The district was designated an NHL on June 2, 1978, and listed on the NRHP on June 29, 1978. LPC, PMSS, 2013 and 2014.

[62] SVHD.

[63] The Cherry Lane Theater, at 38 Commerce Street, is in the GVHD. OLGAD.

[64] La Mama is located at 74 East 4thStreet. LPC, AschenbroedelVerein (later Gesangverein Schillerbund/now La Mama Experimental Theatre Club) Building Designation Report(New York: City of New York, 2009), researched and written by Jay Shockley.

North of Christopher Street, in the meatpacking district (today's Gansevoort Market Historic District), another type of LGBTQ nightlife—very late and usually sexual—emerged (Figure 10). The New York Times in 1995 described its varied activities: "nightspots lie scattered, often tucked away, among the frigid warehouses of beef, pork, veal and poultry…The meatpacking district runs around the clock, and throughout, there are marked shifts in what goes on…Burly men in stained white overalls often unload meat trucks in the predawn hours just as club kids and bikers emerge from late-night hangouts…The district has always had a vibrant gay and lesbian night scene."[66] The first of the new businesses (other than clubs) in the district was Florent Restaurant opened in 1985 by Florent Morellet in a 1949 diner, which became quite popular as an all-hours spot and performance venue.[67]

---

[65] These included West Beach Bar & Grill, 388-390 West Street (c. 1970-1980); Choo Choo's Pier, 392-393 West Street (c. 1972); Peter Rabbit, 396-397 West Street (c. 1972-1988); Ramrod, 394-395 West Street (c. 1976-1980); Sneakers, 392-393 West Street (c. late 1970s-1999); Badlands, 388-390 West Street (c. 1983-1991); and Dugout/RockBar, 185 Christopher Street (c. 1985-present). LPC, *Weehawken Street Historic District Designation Report* (New York: City of New York, 2006), researched and written by Jay Shockley.

[66] "Shifting Shadows and the Multiple Personality of the Meatpacking District," New York Times, February 5, 1995. The earliest gay club here was the Zoo, 421-425 West 13thStreet, in 1970. This was followed by Cycle/Den/ Zodiac/O.K. Corral/Mineshaft, 835 Washington Street (1970-85); Triangle/Barn/Attic/Sewer/J's Hangout/Hellfire, 669-685 Hudson Street (1971-2002) (Figure 10); Clit Club/Mother/Jackie 60, 859-877 Washington Street (1990s); Lure, 405-409 West 13thStreet (1995-2003); and Locker Room/Mike's Bar, 400 West 14thStreet (1990-1993). LPC*, Gansevoort Market Historic District Designation Report* (New York: City of New York, 2003), researched and written by Jay Shockley. The Gansevoort Market Historic District was listed on the NRHP on May 30, 2007.

Two of New York's most famous LGBTQ clubs opened in the East Village. The Pyramid Club (1979-present) became a defining venue in the 1980s for Avant-garde music and "politicized" drag performers such as Lypsinka, Lady Bunny, and RuPaul, and sponsored early benefit concerts for AIDS. The Saint (1980-1988), owned by gay entrepreneur Bruce Mailman and located in the former Commodore Theatre (later Fillmore East), was one of the most spectacular and expensive dance clubs the city had ever seen.[68]

Numerous LGBTQ notables in the arts have continued to reside and work in the Village. The Merce Cunningham Dance Studio, one of

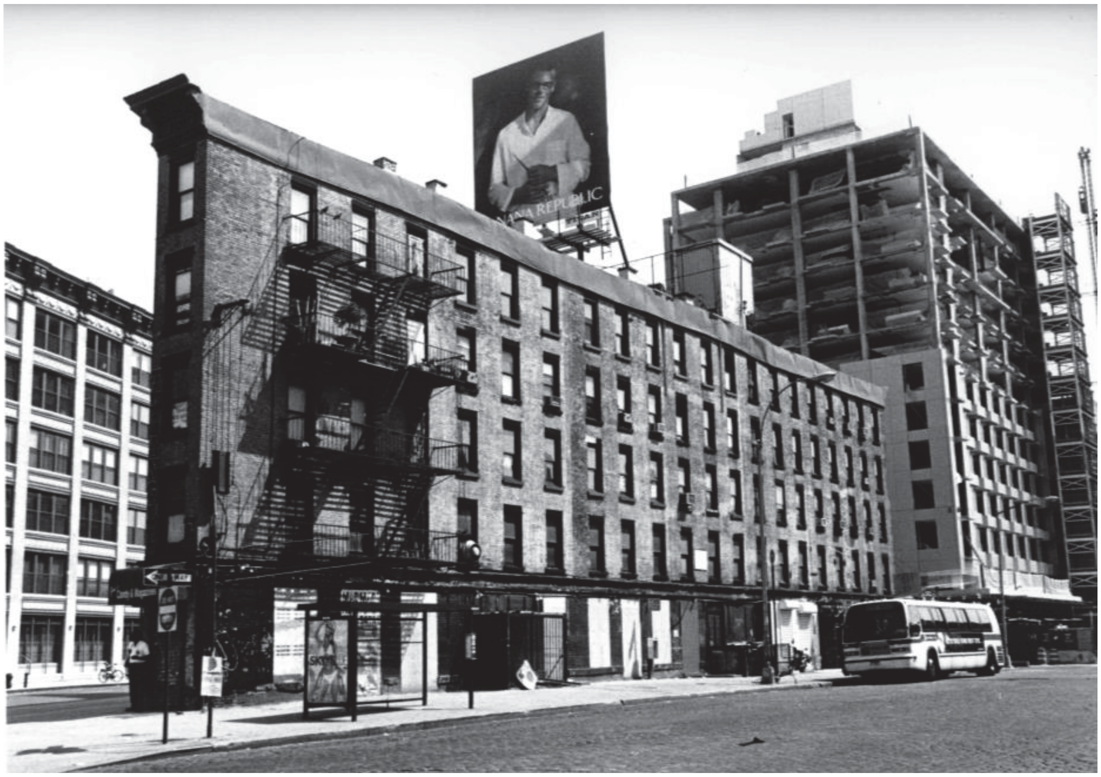


Figure 10: 669-685 Hudson Street building, New York City, New York, 2003. Courtesy of the New York City Landmarks Preservation Commission.

---

[67] It was located at 69 Gansevoort Street, in the Gansevoort Market Historic District (GMHD).

[68] The Pyramid Club is located at 101 Avenue A, and the Saint was located at 105 Second Avenue. LPC, *East Village/ Lower East Side Historic District Designation Report* (New York: City of New York, 2012), researched and written by Christopher D. Brazee.

America's most influential dance companies, was located in a penthouse of Westbeth Artists' Housing (former Bell Telephone Laboratories) along the Hudson River waterfront from 1971 until 2010.[69] Star chef James Beard and his partner, architect Gino Cofacci, purchased a house on West 12th Street in 1973. The ground-floor interior was re-designed for the kitchen, site of Beard's famous classes and cooking demonstrations, and the building later became the James Beard Foundation.[70] After the front portion of the Jaffe Art Theater was converted into apartments, residents included Jackie Curtis, drag "superstar" in Andy Warhol films, photographer Peter Hujar (1975-1987), and artist David Wojnarowicz (1980-1992).[71] The last apartment of iconic artist Keith Haring (1958-1990) was on LaGuardia Place. Author/playwright Paul Rudnick, who lived in the 1990s in the former apartment of actor John Barrymore, wrote the play I Hate Hamlet (1991), which was set in this apartment and featured the ghost of Barrymore.[72]

As New York's longest-established gay neighborhood, the Village remained the location of a number of significant institutions. From 1975 to 2016, Congregation Beit Simchat Torah, the city's first LGBTQ synagogue (established 1973), worshiped at Westbeth, led by Rabbi Sharon Kleinbaum since 1992.[73] The Lesbian & Gay Community Services Center (now Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual & Transgender Community Center) was organized in 1983 and took title to a former school building in 1984. A focal point for LGBTQ activities in the metropolitan area, each year the Center welcomes more than three hundred thousand visitors and is used by over four hundred community groups to host meetings, social and cultural events, and health-based programs. The Center witnessed the founding of GLAAD (formerly Gay & Lesbian Alliance Against Defamation, 1985) and ACT UP (AIDS Coalition to Unleash Power, 1987). The important community service group SAGE (Services & Advocacy for Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual & Transgender Elders) also met here for over twenty years. In 1988, it housed the Quilt Workshop to create panels for the Names Project AIDS Memorial Quilt. For Stonewall's twentieth anniversary in 1989, the Center presented Imaging Stonewall, a site specific installation of fifty artworks that included a mural by Keith Haring in the second floor men's room (restored 2012). In 1990, the LGBT Community Center Archive was established under the curatorship of Rich Wandel and now houses thousands of papers, periodicals, correspondence, and photographs donated by individuals and organizations. Today, the Center remains a major forum for politicians and gathering place for political groups, an important center for cultural events, and a gathering place for the LGBTQ community in times of trouble and celebration.[74] The former Rectory of St. Veronica's Roman Catholic Church was selected by the Catholic Church to become a hospice for homeless AIDS patients and the facility opened in December 1985. From 1993 to 2003, the New York City Gay and Lesbian Anti-Violence Project and Empire State Pride Agenda were located in the meatpacking district.[75]

---

[69] The Cunningham Dance Studio was located at 55 Bethune Street. LPC, *Bell Telephone Laboratories Complex Designation Report* (New York: City of New York, 2011), researched and written by Jay Shockley. Bell Telephone Laboratories was listed on the NRHP on May 15, 1975. It was listed again as Westbeth on December 8, 2009.

[70] The James Beard Foundation, at 167 West 12thStreet, is in the GVHD. OLGAD.

[71] The former Jaffe Art Theater is located at 181-189 Second Avenue. LPC, *Louis N. Jaffe Art Theater Designation Report*.

[72] Haring's and Rudnick's apartments were located in the SVHD.

[73] The synagogue was located at 57 Bethune Street. LPC, *Bell Telephone Laboratories Complex*; and LPC, PMSS, 2014.

Finally, one former restaurant location has taken on historic significance in light of the path-breaking Supreme Court decision in United States v. Windsor in 2013. Portofino (c. 1959-1975) was an Italian restaurant in the South Village that was a discreet meeting place frequented on Friday evenings by lesbians. The case that overturned the federal Defense of Marriage Act had its roots in the date here in 1963 of Edith S. Windsor and Thea Clara Spyer. The couple eventually married in

---

[74] The Center is located at 130 West 13thStreet, in the GVHD. LPC, PMSS, 2014.

[75] The Rectory of St. Veronica's Roman Catholic Church was located at 657 Washington Street. LPC, *Greenwich Village Historic District Extension Designation Report* (New York: City of New York, 2006), researched and written by Jay Shockley. The Anti-Violence Project and Empire State Pride Agenda were located at 647 Hudson Street, in the GMHD.

Canada in 2007 and Windsor challenged the act after receiving a large tax bill from inheriting Spyer's estate.[76]

Summary

New York City, the largest American city, has played a prominent role in the LGBTQ rights and other social movements, and is recognized as one of the most important centers for all aspects of American arts and culture. There are many known extant historic and cultural sites of import to the LGBTQ community and nation. Since the early 1990s, various efforts towards their documentation, recognition, and commemoration have placed New York in the forefront nationally in LGBTQ historic preservation. Greenwich Village is an example of an historic "gay" neighborhood that can be analyzed for its significant sites. However, much work remains to be done in New York—such as further research and evaluation of known sites, uncovering currently unknown ones, and, above all, representing the great diversity of all of the communities within the greater LGBTQ community of the city. The New York City LGBT Historic Sites Project, among many other efforts, will hopefully accomplish these tasks and continue to provide inspiration for other projects around the nation.

---

[76] Portofino was located at 206 Thompson Street, in the SVHD.

27

LOCATING MIAMI'S QUEER HISTORY

Julio Capó, Jr.

In the wee hours of a summer night in 1954, several Dade County deputies raided a handful of bars and nightspots throughout Miami and Miami Beach in what had popularly become known as their "pervert roundup." Local law enforcement arrested nineteen "suspected perverts" that August night. Police, politicians, and those connected to the courts often used the term "pervert" to reference those thought to be homosexual or those who challenged gender norms, particularly by wearing clothes traditionally associated with the opposite sex. They raided those places that night just as they had in the past and would continue to do in the future. This was, by no means, an anomalous occurrence. "We don't want perverts to set up housekeeping in this county," claimed Dade

---

The author would like to express his gratitude to the whole crew connected to the NPS's important initiative to promote and identify queer historical sites in the United States. Many thanks, in particular, to Megan Springate and the two anonymous reviewers for providing such thoughtful feedback on an earlier draft of this essay.

County Sheriff Thomas J. Kelly. “We want them to know that they’re not welcome.”[1]

Fast-forward sixty years to 2014, when the same county, by then renamed Miami-Dade County to capitalize on the namesake of its internationally-recognized major city, prohibited discrimination based on gender identity and expression. On December 2, 2014, the Miami-Dade County Commission voted eight to three to extend legal protections to transgender individuals in the realms of employment, housing, and public accommodation. County residents filled the County Hall in downtown Miami and offered over four hours of crucial debate on the matter.[2] Once the commissioners announced their majority vote in favor of adding the anti-discrimination clause, many of those eagerly anticipating the decision in the chambers celebrated with booming cheers and applause—even as a sizeable part of the audience expressed disappointment. In many ways, this moment represented unfinished business of a local political movement that started in earnest in the 1970s. Indeed, a lot had changed in Miami since its “pervert roundup” days.[3]

As this reveals, Miami has a long and rich queer history. That is, the city has a complex relationship with those whose gender and sexual identities, expressions, and behaviors have somehow been seen as different or against established norms. These queer representations are fluid and change over space and time. As such, these histories include “unsavory” vagrants, female and male impersonators, “mannish” women, lesbians, gays, bisexuals, and transgender individuals, as well as many others.

Here I present a cohesive narrative of Miami’s queer past that is by no means exhaustive. Rather, I seek to concisely capture snapshots of the area's diverse queer communities while remaining true and faithful to the historical record. While I highlight some better-known moments, I also seek to shed light on histories that have largely been erased from this narrative. Throughout this essay, I stress two themes that best represent Miami's significance in regional, national, and even international queer history. The first concerns questions of public struggle and visibility. In particular, this perspective factors how Miami's queer community negotiated its space in the city's social, cultural, political, and economic realms. My other major intervention highlights Miami's status as a city of the Americas. Shifting attention to Miami and its rich immigrant cultures—especially as the city's distinct ethnic groups gained greater political power in the urban center—helps reframe the general narrative of US queer history. It reveals this queer past is far less bound or dictated by national borders and far more racially and ethnically diverse than mainstream narratives generally ascribe.

---

[1] “Raiders Seize 19 in Pervert Roundup,” *Miami Daily News*, August 14, 1954; also see Fred Fejes, “Murder, Perversion, and Moral Panic: The 1954 Media Campaign against Miami’s Homosexuals and the Discourse of Civic Betterment,” *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 9, no. 3 (July 2000): 305–347.

[2] The Stephen P. Clark Government Center, or County Hall, is located at 111 NW First Street, Miami, Florida. It was built in 1985.

[3] Tony Lima, executive director of SAVE Dade, personal communication with author, August 10, 2015; and Patricia Mazzei and Douglas Hanks, “Miami-Dade Commission Bans Discrimination Based on Gender Identity,” *Miami Herald*, December 2, 2014, accessed May 11, 2015, http://www.miamiherald.com/news/local/community/miami-dade/article4249334.html.

One brief caveat: like many other metropolitan areas in the United States, the space generally perceived as "Miami" is often imprecise or misleading. In actuality, the metropolitan area of Miami represents a constellation of distinct municipalities, including Miami Beach, Coral Gables, Hialeah, and so forth. When applicable, I refer to these distinct municipalities. Otherwise, I refer to both Miami proper and Miami. The former refers to the actual City of Miami, while the latter includes parts of incorporated and unincorporated Miami-Dade County.

Incorporated in 1896 with the votes of less than 350 residents, Miami proper is, relatively speaking, a very new city. The majority of the city's early power brokers—those who controlled the city's newspapers, law enforcement, courts, and real estate—were primarily white men, and a few women, from the US Midwest, Northeast, and South. These early settlers often built their empires by exploiting the social and cultural customs of the day, particularly Jim Crow racial segregation and discrimination.[4] A lot of Miami's early laborers were "native" blacks who migrated to Miami from north and central Florida, Georgia, and South Carolina.[5]

---

[4] N. D. B. Connolly, *A World More Concrete: Real Estate and the Remaking of Jim Crow South Florida* (Chicago: University Of Chicago Press, 2014).

Equally important were the migrants who came from the Caribbean and worked building the city's infrastructure and Miami's growing agricultural and service industries. Unlike other metropolitan areas in the United States, Miami never attracted a great number of immigrant-laborers from eastern or southern Europe. Instead, Miami's early labor force was largely made up of black migrants from the then-British colony of the Bahamas.[6]

Indeed, one of Miami's greatest sources of distinction—true in both the nineteenth century and today—was its connection to the Caribbean. Miami's early labor needs found hundreds of black Bahamian men traveling to Miami in search of work during the early 1900s. Their migration was further motivated by struggling local economies in the Bahamas; the product of falling global prices on pineapples and sisal, natural disasters, drought, and a general sentiment of discontent among laborers who learned they could earn higher wages abroad.[7]

In addition to the gendering of the city's construction and agricultural work as male, US immigration policy restricted many black Bahamian women from entering Miami. The reasons for this were often sexualized, as immigration officials suspected many unmarried or single Bahamian women of being prostitutes. This unbalanced immigration policy meant that many transient Bahamian men lived in "bachelor" cultures and spaces in their new, often temporary, adoptive city. Such spaces often facilitated same-sex intimacy, including sexual acts. At this time, however, women and men did not yet organize or understand their lives the way we do today; that is, those who engaged in same-sex sexual behavior did not understand themselves as either "homosexual" or "heterosexual," as neither identity yet had formal currency. This shift did not occur fully until about World War II.[8] Meanwhile, this gender-imbalanced migration also facilitated female-dominated spaces on several of the islands in the Bahamas, particularly those in the north such as Abaco, Bimini, and Cat Island.[9]

---

[5] Marvin Dunn, *Black Miami in the Twentieth Century* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1997), 71.
[6] Melanie Shell-Weiss, "Coming North to the South: Migration, Labor and City-Building in Twentieth-Century Miami," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 84, no. 1 (Summer 2005): 79–99.
[7] Raymond A. Mohl, "Black Immigrants: Bahamians in Early Twentieth-Century Miami," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 65, no. 3 (January 1987): 271–97; and Howard Johnson, "Bahamian Labor Migration to Florida in the Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries," *International Migration Review* 22, no. 1 (Spring 1988): 84–103.

This history, then, locates Miami's early harbor as an important site of the city's queer and migrant history. In the early 1900s the port was located between Sixth and Ninth Streets on Biscayne Bay and, due to the harbor's shallow waters, new channels were dredged to allow larger vessels to pass.[10] Some of these vessels carried Bahamians trying to enter the new city. While many "sexually suspect" Bahamian women were excluded, the city's dire labor needs demanded male laborers. In particular, Miami entrepreneurs looked for young and able-bodied men to do physically demanding work. The city's early criminal records show that Miami's law enforcement policed black Bahamian migrants far more stringently than other residents; arresting them for varied crimes such as vagrancy and cohabitation. Several of the Bahamian men were charged with committing same-sex crimes, such as sodomy or a crime against nature. All of these charges marked them as sexually "perverse," transgressive, and unnatural.[11]

While the Bahamians represented a critical part of the city's early black, ethnic, and working-class sexual life, Miami's white male elites also carved out their own queer spaces in the early city. It is important to note that the city's early power brokers segregated black residents—including the Bahamians—away from their neighborhoods and into a part of the city then called "Colored Town" (today, it is known as historic Overtown, a neighborhood just northwest of downtown Miami) through Jim Crow laws and discriminatory housing policies.[12] White women and men often frequented these black, working-class spaces. In fact, they proved to be eager clients and participants in the early city's sexual economy, which thrived in Miami's Colored Town during the first few decades of the twentieth century. These white residents often "slummed" in these racialized spaces because they believed them to be more titillating and subversive; but since it occurred "over there," they upheld a pretense of security and respectability.[13]

---

[8] George Chauncey, *Gay New York: Gender, Urban Culture, and the Making of the Gay Male World, 1890-1940* (New York: Basic Books, 1994).
[9] Julio Capó, Jr., "Welcome to Fairyland" (manuscript in progress).
[10] Arthur Chapman, "'Watch the Port of Miami,'" *Tequesta* 53 (1993): 9–13.
[11] Capó, Jr., *Welcome to Fairyland*.

One of the early city's elite queer spaces was the Italian-style palazzo Vizcaya located on the shores of Biscayne Bay in the Coconut Grove neighborhood.[14] James Deering, an agricultural equipment tycoon from Chicago, chose Miami—then mostly a barren swampland—as the site for his winter villa. He ordered the villa built and ultimately lived there from

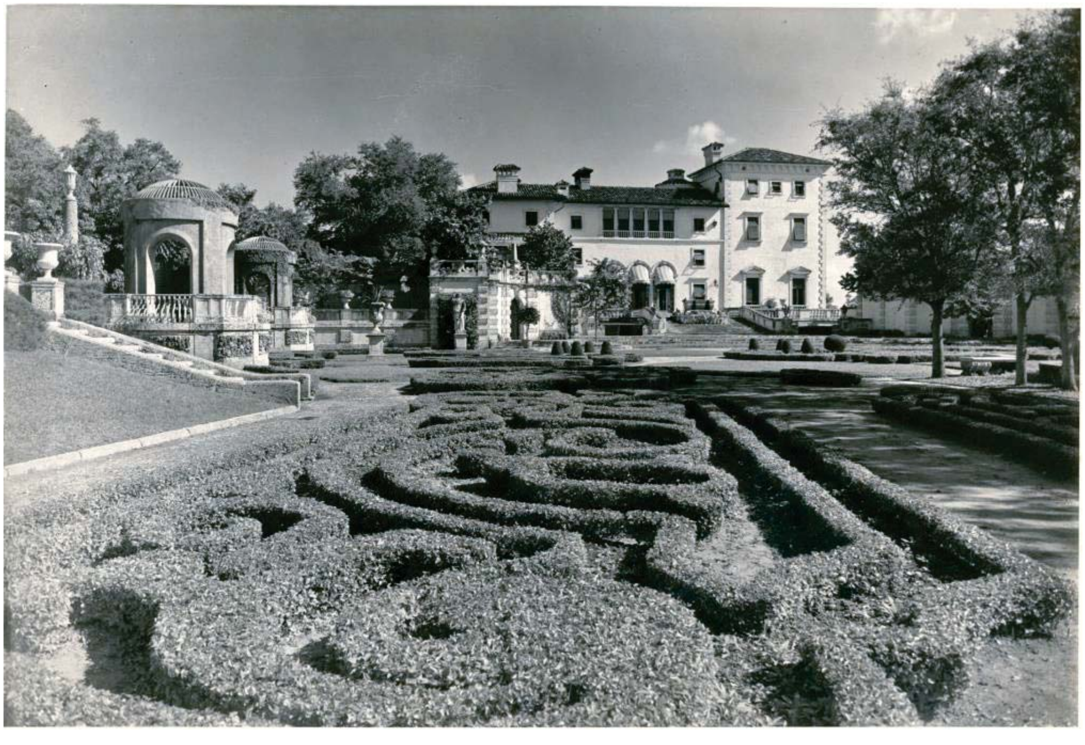


Figure 1: West Parterres of the Villa Vizcaya, circa 1934. Frank Bell Photographic Collection, courtesy of Vizcaya Museum & Gardens, Miami, Florida.

---

[12] Connolly, *A World More Concrete*.
[13] "Segregation for Lewd Women is Asked by Jury," *Miami Daily Metropolis*, November 29, 1918.
[14] Villa Vizcaya is located at 3251 South Miami Avenue, Miami, Florida. It was listed on the NRHP on September 20, 1970 (boundary increase November 15, 1978) and designated an NHL on April 19, 1994. It is currently a museum.

late 1916 until his death in September 1925. The property, which remains in pristine condition today, defined extravagance and excess (Figure 1). In addition to its fine tropical gardens, "the interior of Villa Vizcaya is the repository of a wonderful collection of art objects, antique statuary, brocades, velvets, carpets, and hangings, which centuries ago were precious possessions in Venetian palaces," noted one contemporary.[15] Much like the working-class lodges and boarding houses many Bahamians and other black and ethnic laborers lived in, Vizcaya was a predominantly male space in its early days.

All sorts of stories—many unsubstantiated or untrue—persist about Vizcaya's queer history. Rumor, perhaps closer to folklore, suggests that Deering hosted queer parties during his time there. Many take it a step further and describe Saturnalia where queer men would unleash their sexual inhibitions. None of this is substantiated by the available evidence. While there is no documentary evidence that Deering had sexual relationships with other men, that association somehow stuck with him over time. He was, for instance, often referred to in the historical record as a "bachelor"— a common euphemism for a contemporary queer, or potentially queer, man. Decades after his death, this association had spread so widely that a 1961 newspaper referred to Deering as "the prissy bachelor who preferred bourbon to women."[16] Perhaps this explains the origins of that unfounded rumor. Meanwhile, the evidence does reveal one of Vizcaya's other early residents maintained a homosexual relationship at the villa. Artist, interior decorator, and architect Paul Chalfin—who proved central to Vizcaya's aesthetic—lived openly with his male lover, Louis Koons, in the mid-1910s and early 1920s.[17]

The rendering of Vizcaya as a queer space, particularly with lavish gay parties, is more likely connected to Miami's White Party. The event was first conceived in 1984 as a modest gathering to raise funds for a local

---

[15] "Villa Vizcaya, Miami, Florida," *Harper's Bazaar*, July 1917, 41.
[16] Jim Bishop, "Jim Bishop: Reporter," *Lewiston Evening Journal (Maine)*, February 20, 1961, 4.
[17] Interview with Diego Suarez, April 20, 1965 and June 4, 1965, "James Maher Archive Series IV, Interviews - 1964-1965," Box 2, James Maher Papers, Vizcaya Museum & Gardens Archive, Miami, Florida.

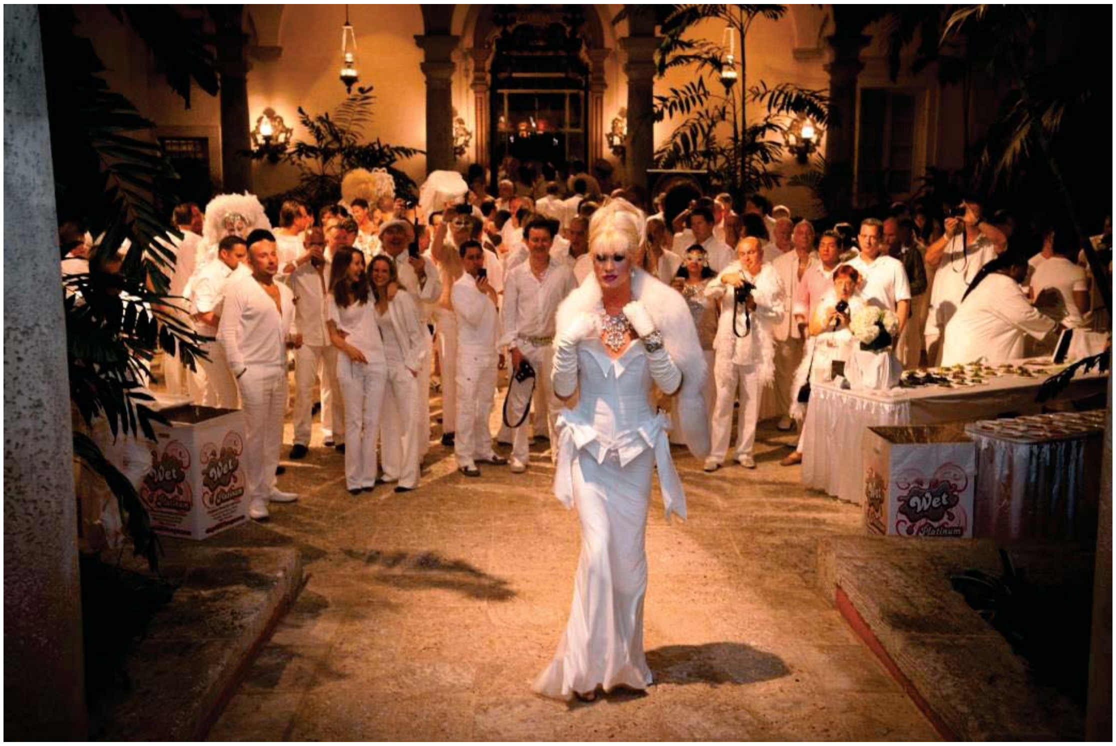


Figure 2: The main event at the 26th annual White Party Week was held at the Vizcaya Villa on November 28, 2010. Photograph by Michele Sandberg/ZUMApress.com.

HIV/AIDS organization known as Health Crisis Network (today, Care Resource), a social service organization responding to the AIDS crisis founded in 1983 by members of the local queer community. Thousands of local LGBTQ (lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and queer) and allied women and men are joined every year by thousands from across the nation and abroad. Attendees dress in white, often scantily, for a number of dance parties and celebrations. Over the years, Miami's White Party has raised millions of dollars to help provide local services with people living with HIV/AIDS, a disease that devastated the queer community.[18] Villa Vizcaya served as the site for this massive weeklong party until 2010 (Figure 2). In this and several other ways, the site has long held an important place in Miami's queer imaginary. Or, put another way, its significance to the queer community transcended the evidence substantiated in the historical archive and took on new meaning through a sort of local folklore that highlighted queer visibility and resilience.

---

[18] Luisa Yanez, "To Fight AIDS, Gays Wear White Tonight and Party at Vizcaya," *Sun-Sentinel*, December 1, 1996.

By the late 1930s and 1940s, Miami had an elaborate nightlife that prominently featured both male and female impersonators. During the World War II era, with the infusion of a rich African American and Caribbean culture—including that corresponding to the aforementioned Bahamians—Miami's Colored Town became known as the "Harlem of the South." Particularly along northwest Second Avenue, the area gained a reputation for housing one of the nation's most vibrant scenes for entertainment, nightlife, and music. This included female impersonators and a growing queer culture.[19]

One drag revue, the Jewel Box, was particularly successful, renowned, and influential in disseminating queer culture in Miami, as well as throughout the nation and parts of North America. Performances began in 1938, perhaps even earlier, at the Embassy Hotel in Miami Beach.[20] The Jewel Box Revue was formally established the following year. Danny Brown and Doc Benner, reported to be lovers, owned and ran the show, which featured over two dozen female impersonators and one male impersonator. By 1946, the two men had opened up their own club space, the Jewel Club, on the Miami side of Venetian Causeway.[21] By then, the revue had grown in popularity with its incredibly successful tour throughout North America, from Juárez, Mexico to Chatham, Ontario in Canada.[22] By this period in history a growing queer community—represented by groups of people who now largely identified as lesbian and gay, for instance—had become visible in Miami. The city's queer community had carved out their own spaces in Miami: popular nightspots where they worked or starred in revues, lesbian and gay bars, or areas near the beach where they could meet others like them. Indeed, a queer culture thrived in the city, despite efforts to suppress it.

---

[19] Dunn, *Black Miami in the Twentieth Century,* chap. 4.

[20] The Embassy Hotel was located at 2940 Collins Avenue, Miami Beach, Florida. It is currently the Hilton Garden Inn Miami. James Sears, *Lonely Hunters: An Oral History of Lesbian and Gay Southern Life, 1948-1968* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1997), 23

[21] The Jewel Club was located at 512 NE Fifteenth Street, Miami, Florida (now demolished).

[22] Program, "The Jewel Box Revue: Show Sensation of the Nation," n.d., Author's Collection; Bud Coleman, "The Jewel Box Revue: America's Longest-Running, Touring Drag Show," *Theatre History Studies*, no. 17 (1997): 79-91.

While the Jewel Box Revue only featured one regular male impersonator, women in Miami often pushed gender norms to the limits. As local politicians grew increasingly worried with what became known as the "homosexual problem" in the city, commissioners passed new laws that prohibited men from impersonating women or from wearing clothes unbecoming of the masculine ideal.[23] Miami proper, for instance, passed such an ordinance in 1952—just as the city's queer culture had become more public and visible. In January 1953, one of the most popular local entertainers and dancers, Joanne Gilbert, identified and exploited a loophole in the 1952 legislation: it did *not* apply to women. Swapping out her scanty burlesque costume for a pair of masculine britches and a shirt, Gilbert tongue-in-cheekily went on stage and thrilled her audience at the famous Clover Club.[24] Such resistance led commissioners to change the law in 1956 to include both women and men from being "in a state of nudity or in a dress not customarily worn by his or her sex."[25] Meanwhile, Miami's growing lesbian community and its queer women's culture—including several bars and nightspots, such as one called Goggie's—was featured in several pulp fiction novels and magazines during the 1950s and 1960s.[26]

In addition to frequenting bars and nightspots throughout the city, Miami's queer communities also established their own territory on the area's public beaches. The city's queer communities congregated by the sands of Twenty-Second Street in Miami Beach (Figure 3). By the early 1950s, that part of the beach attracted "men with girlish-looking hair-dos and flimsy, Bikini-type tights," as well as queer women.[27] Police records reveal that those who transgressed gender norms were particularly susceptible to arrest and harassment.

---

[23] City of Miami Commissioners Meeting Minutes, September 15, 1954, City of Miami Clerk's Office, Miami, Florida.

[24] "Miami Mish-Mash," *Miami Daily News*, January 1, 1953, 7B. The Clover Club was located at 118 Biscayne Boulevard, Miami, Florida.

[25] William N. Eskridge, Jr., "Privacy Jurisprudence and the Apartheid of the Closet, 1941 - 1961," *Florida State University Law Review* 24, no. 4 (Summer 1997): 830.

[26] Julia Penelope, *Call Me Lesbian: Lesbian Lives, Lesbian Theory* (Freedom, CA: Crossing Press, 1992), 7–8; and John Dexter, *Miami Call Girl* (United States: Nightstand Books, 1960).

[27] Stephen J. Flynn, "Turn-About Not Fair Play, Say Beach Police," *Miami Herald*, November 21, 1953, 1B; and James T. Sears, "Growing Up as a Jewish Lesbian in South Florida: Queer Teen Life in the Fifties," in *Generations of Youth: Youth Cultures and History in Twentieth-Century America*, ed. Joe Austin and Michael Nevin Willard (New York: NYU Press, 1998), 178.

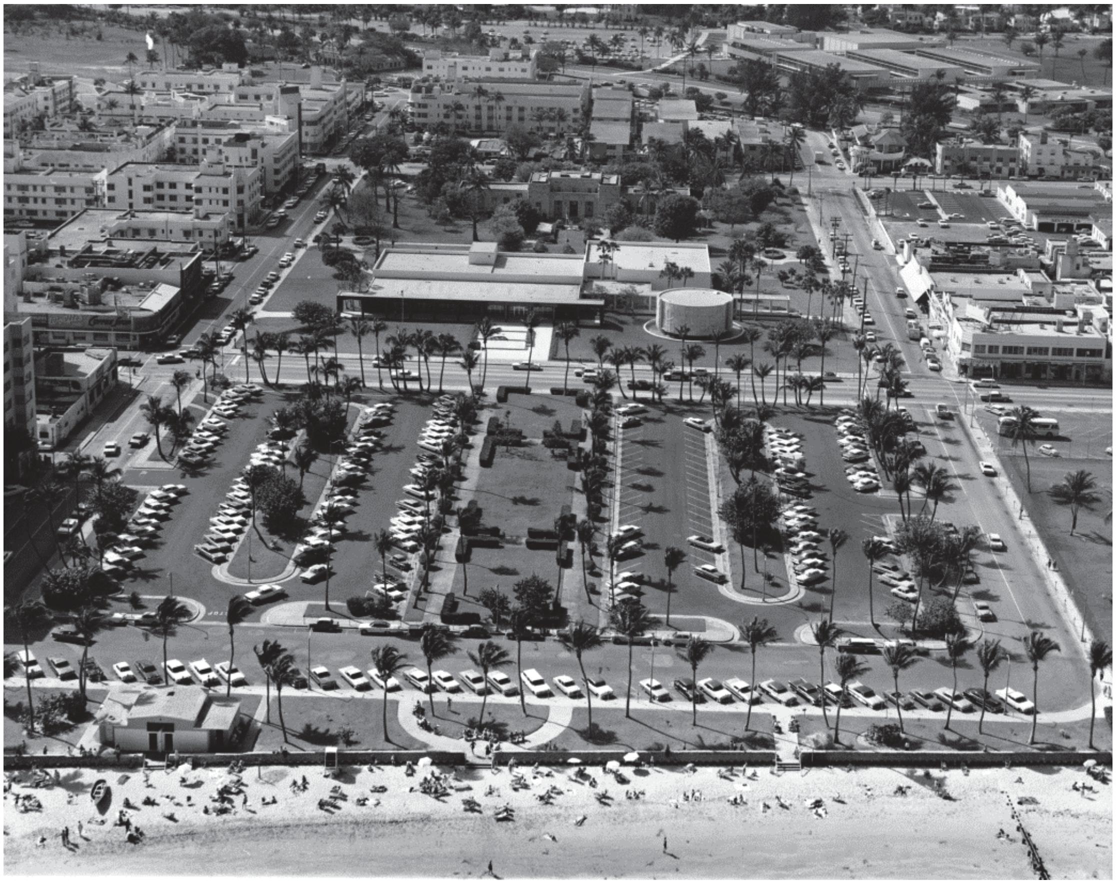


Figure 3: Mid-1950s aerial view looking west at Twenty-First (on left) and Twenty-Second (on right) Streets on Miami Beach. The busy parking lot demonstrates the area's popularity and the ease in which people could access the beach, a common nighttime hangout for the city's queer communities. Photo courtesy of the State Archives of Florida (WE050, Wendler Collection).

As that suggests, in part, this increased visible queer culture led to more aggressive and violent police crackdowns. For instance, the beach parties on Twenty-Second Street helped fuel the "pervert roundup" described in the introduction to this essay. Another major manifestation of this was the state-run body called the Florida Legislative Investigation Committee, better known as the "Johns Committee." Named after its first chairman, former State Senator and Governor Charley E. Johns, the body was created to suppress contemporary social upheaval. In particular, its origins were in dismantling successes for black civil rights. From 1956 through 1965, however, the Johns Committee also targeted homosexuals.[28] This culminated in its investigation of suspected homosexual professors and students in the state university system. The state-instituted oppression on homosexuality had a massive ripple effect on Miami, as Florida investigators worked closely with Miami's politicians, law enforcement, and civic leaders to purge suspected lesbians and gays from their posts at local schools and colleges.[29]

Despite these raids and forms of state oppression, these beaches, bars, and other spaces proved critical to creating community, combating isolation, and served as a precursor for future mobilization and political organizing. In January 1953, California-based activists who were part of the early homophile movement launched a magazine titled *ONE* to serve as a "forum where the gay minority could present its views to the public and to other homosexuals." A few months after its founding, *ONE* had a readership of over two thousand.[30] This included several in Florida. The homophile movement combated queer Miamians' sense of isolation and depression while simultaneously forging community. Homophiles often worked as a "watchdog" for homosexual oppression throughout the country. In January 1954, *ONE* published a piece titled "Miami Junks the Constitution" that condemned the recent police crackdown in the city. In addition to detailing the discriminatory practices of Miami's law enforcement, it reminded readers of their constitutional rights pertaining to arrest, detainment, and harassment.[31] Make no mistake, Miami's queer culture registered in the national imagination. For some, this was a badge of shame or notoriety. For many others, it was part of the city's appeal.

---

[28] Stacy Braukman, *Communists and Perverts Under the Palms: The Johns Committee in Florida, 1956-1965* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2012); Dan Bertwell, "'A Veritable Refuge for Practicing Homosexuals': The Johns Committee and the University of South Florida," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 83, no. 1 (Spring 2005): 410–431; and James A. Schnur, "Closet Crusaders: The Johns Committee and Homophobia, 1956-1965," in *Carryin' On in the Lesbian and Gay South*, ed. John Howard (New York & London: NYU Press, 1997), 132–163.

[29] Julio Capó, Jr., "'It's Not Queer to Be Gay'" Miami and the Emergence of the Gay Rights Movement, 1945-1995," PhD diss., Florida International University, 2011.

[30] John D'Emilio, *Sexual Politics, Sexual Communities: The Making of a Homosexual Minority in the United States, 1940-1970* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983), 73. Also see Martin Meeker, *Contacts Desired: Gay and Lesbian Communications and Community, 1940s-1970s* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006).

[31] "Miami Junks the Constitution," *ONE*, January 1954, 16–21.

As much of the above suggests, transgender individuals and gender expressions considered to be against the norm have always been central to Miami's queer history. For example, Miami residents closely followed one of the most sensational news stories of the 1950s: when an "ex-G.I." underwent sex reassignment surgery and debuted in the press as the "blonde beauty," Christine Jorgensen.[32] Upon learning about Jorgensen's transition, Charlotte F. McLeod (née Charles E. McLeod) underwent surgery in 1953. She too told the world about the "army of people who live deeply depressed, under circumstances we cannot control," a reference to how her anatomy did not represent her gender identity as a woman.[33] "I always thought, felt, and reacted like a woman," she explained. Despite her pleas for understanding, transsexuals like McLeod were thrust into the era's Cold War debates on science and psychiatry. McLeod got entangled with contemporary anxieties over nuclear warfare and homosexuality. In fact, some conservatives and traditionalists even considered transsexuality a possible solution to the growing "homosexual problem."[34]

McLeod moved to Miami a few years after the initial reports about her transition. She lived in relative obscurity in an apartment near Biscayne Bay.[35] McLeod found herself back in the spotlight—or under the microscope, as most contemporaries probed her as a curious scientific experiment—in 1959. That year, the local press reported that she had married a man at a local Baptist church. Within a month, word got out that McLeod, described in some reports as "he," had married a man.[36] Her marriage caused some in Miami to erroneously claim that the city had condoned same-sex marriage and prompted the city's first real public debate on the matter.[37]

---

[32] "Ex-GI Becomes Blonde Beauty: Operations Transform Bronx Youth," *New York Daily News*, December 1, 1952.
[33] "In Christine's Footsteps," *Time*, March 8, 1954.
[34] Joy Reese Shaw, "Her Own Story: Once G.I., Now a Bride," *Miami Herald*, November 13, 1959, 20A; and Joanne Meyerowitz, *How Sex Changed: A History of Transsexuality in the United States* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2002).
[35] Phil Meyer, "Ex-GI Changes Sex--She's Now a Miami Bride," *Miami Herald*, November 13, 1959.
[36] Karl M. Bowman and Bernice Engle, "Sex Offenses: The Medical and Legal Implications of Sex Variations," *Law and Contemporary Problems* 25, no. 2 (Spring 1960): 308.
[37] John Connors, "Nothing in Law Here to Make It a Crime," *Miami Herald*, November 13, 1959, 2A.

The marriage debate changed drastically over the next five decades. Floridians banned same-sex marriage in 2008. In 2014, however, Florida judges ruled the ban unconstitutional. A stay placed on the ruling was enacted, but then lifted, and on January 5, 2015, Miami-Dade County began issuing marriage licenses to same-sex couples. Just a few minutes after she ruled to lift the stay, Judge Sarah Zabel wed Karla Arguello and Catherina Pareto in her chambers at the Miami-Dade Courthouse (Figure 4). The two women had been partners for fourteen years.[38] Just a few months later, on June 26, the US Supreme Court ruled that the US

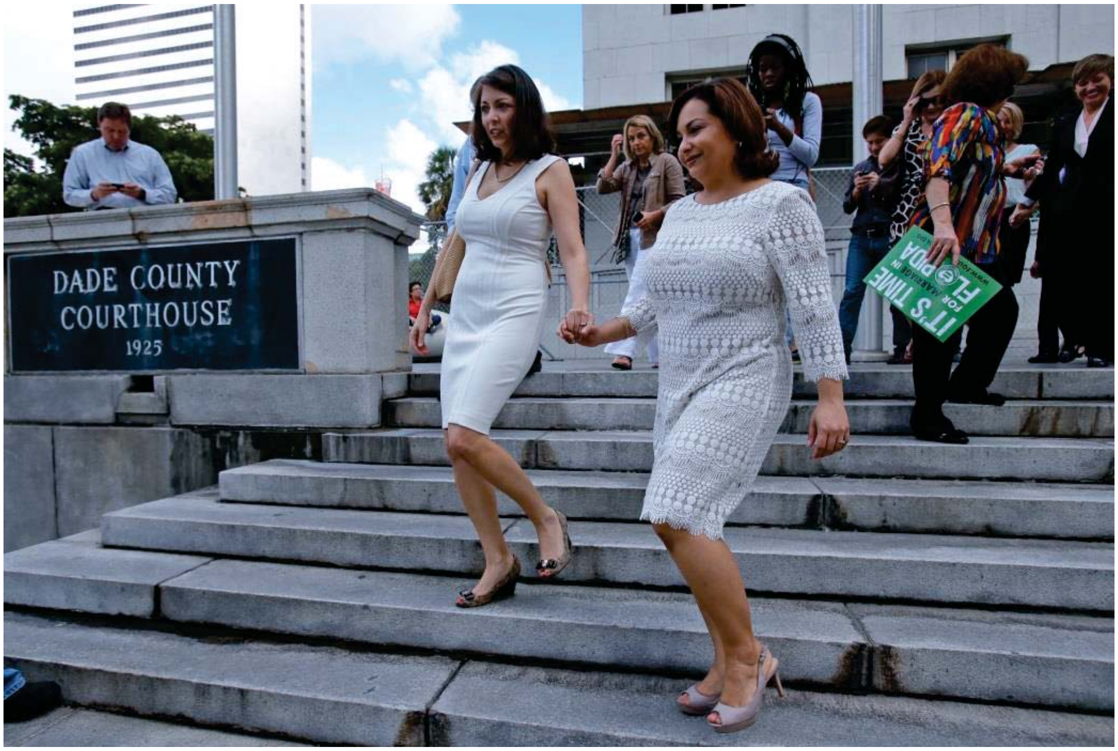


Figure 4: Karla Arguello (right) and Catherina Pareto (left) leaving the Miami-Dade County Courthouse shortly after Judge Sarah Zabel lifted the stay prohibiting same-sex marriages in the state. The women were the first same-sex couple to legally wed in Florida following the decision. AP Photo/Wilfredo Lee, January 5, 2015.

---

[38] Patricia Mazzei and Steve Rothaus, "Same-Sex Marriages Begin in Miami-Dade County," *Miami Herald*, January 5, 2015, accessed May 13, 2015, http://www.miamiherald.com/news/local/community/gay-south-florida/article5439081.html. Located at 73 West Flagler Street, the Miami-Dade County Courthouse has a long history with the city's queer communities. It was listed on the NRHP on January 4, 1989.

Constitution guarantees the right to same-sex marriage. With this historic decision, Florida's same-sex marriages would be legal and recognized throughout the rest of the nation.[39]

Across Biscayne Bay in 1972, the Miami Beach Convention Center became a critical site for queer activism.[40] By the early 1970s, years of homophile and gay liberation activism—both at the local and national level—had started to galvanize Miami's queer community. Miami became a hotbed for national politics in 1972 when the convention center hosted both the Democratic and Republican National Conventions. Gay liberationists, along with many leftists, anti-war protestors, second-wave feminists, and others, had high hopes that change was possible under the

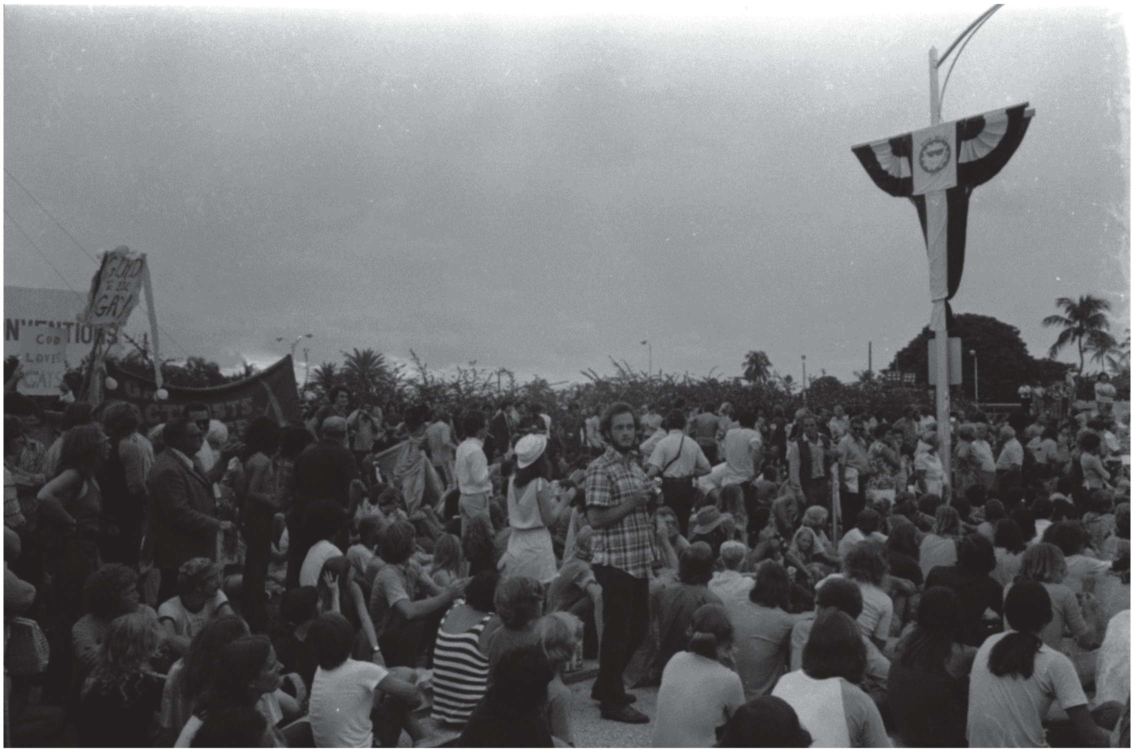


Figure 5: Protestors outside the Democratic National Convention, held at the Miami Beach Convention Center, in July 1972. On the far left, you can see signs that read "God loves gays," "Gay Activists Alliance," and "Glad to be gay." Photo courtesy of the State Archives of Florida (JB00259, John Buckley Collection).

---

[39] Katie Park, "How Same-Sex Marriage Became Legal," *Washington Post*, June 26, 2015, accessed August 11, 2015, http://www.washingtonpost.com/graphics/politics/advancements-in-same-sex-marriage.

[40] The Miami Beach Convention Center is located at 1901 Convention Center Drive, Miami Beach, Florida.

proposed leadership of George McGovern (D-SD), the Democratic Party's presidential nominee. McGovern's campaign became the first to court lesbian and gay votes throughout the country. There were plans to include an ambitious gay rights platform at the July convention (Figure 5). In the end, the platform was rejected as too radical.[41] Democratic delegates, however, had the opportunity to hear activists Jim Foster and Madeline Davis speak on behalf of the minority plan on sexual orientation. Their speeches were televised, which helped spread the word on gay liberation throughout the country.[42] The following month, the Republicans endorsed incumbent Richard Nixon in the same venue. Lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender activists attended that convention, too, staging a protest outside that resulted in at least twenty arrests.[43]

In the coming years, Miami became a popular site for lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender tourism. For instance, the community-building, political activism, and general momentum of the 1972 presidential election led to Miami's first gay pride activities that June. The events brought many queer activists from throughout the country to the city. As part of the gay pride celebration, activists demonstrated on Lincoln Road Mall in Miami Beach, just a few blocks away from where the conventions were held.[44] They protested local ordinances that barred gender nonconformity, particularly female impersonations. Several noted that this demonstration was, in part, an effort to make transgender visitors more comfortable in the city.[45] In the coming years, particularly in the 1990s, Lincoln Road and other parts of South Beach attracted thousands of lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender tourists from across the country and abroad. South Beach became the site of countless queer beach parties, bars, and nightclubs.[46] The massive growth and popularity of Miami's White Party, for instance, was similarly a product of this.

---

[41] Julio Capó, Jr., "Echoes of Miami Beach in Charlotte," *Miami Herald*, September 2, 2012.
[42] Bruce Miroff, *The Liberals' Moment: The McGovern Insurgency and the Identity Crisis of the Democratic Party* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2007), 215–218; Dudley Clendinen and Adam Nagourney, *Out for Good: The Struggle to Build a Gay Rights Movement in America* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1999), chap. 9.
[43] "At Least 20 Gays Arrested in Protests at GOP Conclave," *Advocate*, September 13, 1972, 3.
[44] Lincoln Road Mall is located at 400-1100 Lincoln Road from Washington Avenue to Alton Road in Miami Beach, Florida. It was listed on the NRHP on May 16, 2011.
[45] "Gay Pride in Miami: Dancing, Demonstrating," *Advocate*, July 5, 1972, 3.

Meanwhile, back in the late 1970s, Miami became the battleground site for a new national movement that sought to reverse predominantly lesbian, gay, and bisexual political advancements in the area. Miami housed several political organizations then, such as a Gay Activists Alliance and a Lesbian Task Force (through the National Organization of Women). One openly gay activist named Jack Campbell co-founded a new organization in 1976 called the Dade County Coalition for the Humanistic Rights of Gays. Its main objective was political reform, particularly through the ballot box. One of the politicians the group endorsed was Ruth Shack, who won a seat on the Metro-Dade County Commission. Shack followed through with her promises and on January 18, 1977, the commission passed an ordinance she spearheaded that barred discrimination based on "affectional or sexual preference" in employment, housing, and public accommodation.[47] The commission voted three to five at the historic Dade County Courthouse (today, the Miami-Dade County Courthouse).[48] These protections mirrored the language employed by civil rights legislation in the previous decade.[49] The 2014 amendment that extended legal protections to include gender identity and expression in the county was, in many ways, tending to unfinished business from this ordinance.

The bold 1977 ordinance was met with massive resistance from conservatives throughout Miami and the nation. Many of the opponents at the hearing before the vote had been bused in "from fundamental Christian churches."[50] New coalitions linked to the New Right—a conservative and moralist political movement that attacked liberal reforms—challenged many of the advances the queer community had made or sought to make. No person was more visible in this movement against the ordinance and what it represented than Anita Bryant, a locally-based, national celebrity and Florida orange juice spokeswoman. She felt particularly betrayed, as she too had personally supported Shack in her bid for the commission seat. Bryant launched her "Save Our Children" campaign to overturn the measure. In the end, she and her supporters rallied enough community opposition to the ordinance to bring the matter to referendum.[51] On June 7, 1977, county residents ultimately rescinded the progressive ordinance that shielded lesbians, gays, and bisexuals from discriminatory practices. They were, once again, susceptible to formal and legal inequity.[52]

---

[46] Kai Kenttamaa Squires, "Declining Gayborhood or Homonormative Playground in the Making? South Beach Reinvented," MA Thesis, University of Miami, 2014.
[47] Morton Lucoff, "Metro Bans Bias Against Gays," *Miami News*, January 18, 1977, 1A.
[48] The Miami-Dade County Courthouse is located at 73 West Flagler Street, Miami, Florida. It was listed on the NRHP on January 4, 1989.
[49] Gillian Frank, "'The Civil Rights of Parents': Race and Conservative Politics in Anita Bryant's Campaign against Gay Rights in 1970s Florida," *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 22, no. 1 (January 2013): 126–160; Capó, Jr., "'It's Not Queer to Be Gay'".
[50] Lucoff, "Metro Bans Bias Against Gays," 1A.

Despite that, this affair mobilized the queer communities—both within Miami and around the United States—in unprecedented ways and ushered many out of the closet and into the streets and voting booths. That is, while Miami's queer community lost a battle on June 7 when the ordinance was overturned, it eventually won the war. Many who once felt apathetic to or separate from political debates concerning their sexualities galvanized to face-off against Anita Bryant and her supporters. Jack Campbell, who co-founded the 1976 organization that helped fund politicians amenable to lesbian and gay rights, reached out to those who passed through his business. He was the founder of a national chain of gay bathhouses, Club Baths. He expanded his empire further by opening Club Miami near Coral Gables.[53] The bathhouse became a key site for community building, organizing, and fundraising, as substantial portions of the profits went to fighting Bryant and the "Save Our Children" campaign.[54]

---

[51] Anita Bryant, *The Anita Bryant Story: The Survival of Our Nation's Families and the Threat of Militant Homosexuality* (Old Tappan, NJ: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1977).
[52] Fred Fejes, *Gay Rights and Moral Panic: The Origins of America's Debate on Homosexuality* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008); Patrick McCreery, "Save Our Children/Let Us Marry: Gay Activists Appropriate the Rhetoric of Child Protectionism," *Radical History Review*, no. 100 (Winter 2008): 186–207.
[53] Club Miami was located at 2991 Coral Way, Miami, Florida. It is under new ownership as a gay sauna called Club Aqua Miami.

All of this prepared Miami's queer community to come to the assistance of their "sisters and brothers" from Cuba who sought to make the city their new home.[55] Thousands of Cubans had made Miami their new home both prior to, but especially after, the island's 1959 Revolution.[56] Since then, members of Miami's Cuban community have added richly to the city's growing queer culture. At the same time, in 1977 some conservative Cubans also worked against the queer communities. Many of the city's Cuban residents voted in support of Anita Bryant's referendum and celebrated the repeal of the ordinance as evidence, at least in part, of their arrival in urban politics.[57]

The Mariel boatlift of 1980—a massive exodus of Cubans that proved to be one of the most controversial waves of immigration in US history—complicated these tensions. This new wave of Cuban immigration found roughly 125,000 Marielitos—as they became known, since they left from the Port of Mariel—in the United States from April to October 1980. Cuban leader Fidel Castro referred to them as the "lumpen-proletariat," or the dregs of society who would never become an integral part of the island's revolutionary project. This "criminal" and "undesirable" population included several hundred women and men who identified as lesbian or gay, or engaged in homosexual behaviors on the island, or who expressed themselves in gender nonconforming ways.[58]

---

[54] William N. Eskridge, Jr., *Dishonorable Passions: Sodomy Laws in America, 1861-2003* (New York: Viking, 2008), 209–210; and Clendinen and Nagourney, *Out for Good*, 293–295.

[55] Dale Leeche, "Presence of Jesus Seen at Cuban Refugee Camp," *IN UNITY: Magazine of the Universal Fellowship of Metropolitan Community Churches*, October 1980, 4–5.

[56] María Cristina García, *Havana USA : Cuban Exiles and Cuban Americans in South Florida, 1959-1994* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996); and Alejandro Portes and Alex Stepick, *City on the Edge: The Transformation of Miami* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993).

[57] "Importante factor el voto cubano en la derrota de la ordenanza pro homosexuales," *Diario Las Américas*, June 9, 1977.

[58] Julio Capó, Jr., "Queering Mariel: Mediating Cold War Foreign Policy and U.S. Citizenship among Cuba's Homosexual Exile Community, 1978 – 94," *Journal of American Ethnic History* 29, no. 4 (Summer 2010): 78–106.

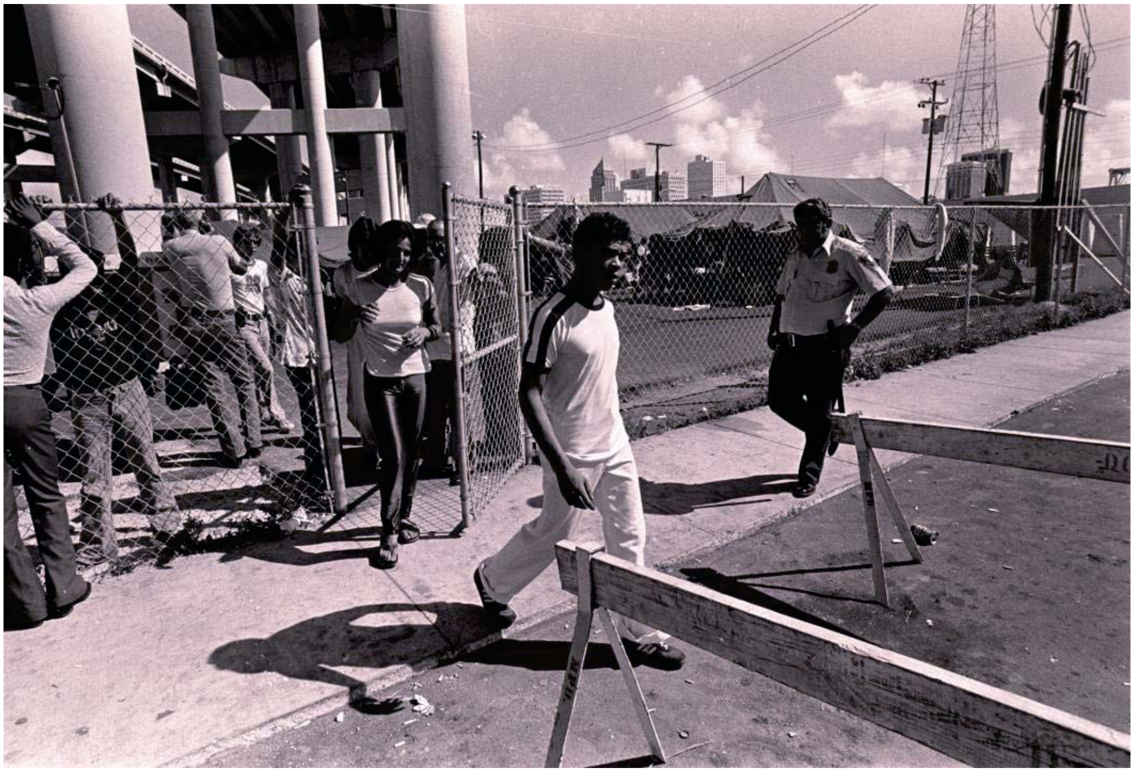


Figure 6: Typical scene in Miami's "Tent City," the temporary housing camps under I-95. Downtown Miami can be seen in the background. Bob Mack, Photographer. Courtesy HistoryMiami (Miami News Collection, 1984-214-3299-5).

With the arrival of the Marielitos, some contemporaries noted that "cruising," or the act of finding a casual sexual partner, and a growing transgender community became more visible throughout the city. Many observed how some Marielitos who had been assigned male at birth often dressed in women's clothing in public spaces or offered fashion or preening advice in department stores.[59] Two of the most significant sites for this urban transformation were the Miami Orange Bowl in the Little Havana neighborhood and the area located under the Interstate 95 overpass near downtown by the Miami River that became known as "Tent City" (Figure 6).[60] Miami's overlapping queer and Cuban communities came to the assistance of these Marielitos. The Cuban immigrants received access to many donations, such as mounds of clothing some used to transgress gender norms or to represent their gender identities. In addition, Miami's queer and Cuban communities raised funds and launched sponsorship programs to help the Marielitos find homes, jobs, and learn English. They also offered them legal advice on how to navigate the immigration process in the United States.

---

[59] Guillermo Martinez, "Tense City: Wait Is Endless, Tempers Short for Refugees," *Miami Herald*, August 21, 1980, 1B–2B; Susana Peña, *Oye Loca: From the Mariel Boatlift to Gay Cuban Miami* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2013).

[60] The Miami Orange Bowl was located at 1501 NW Third Street, Miami, Florida. It was demolished in 2008.

The Marielitos proved critical to a massive change in US immigration reform. Officially since 1952—and, through other measures, as early as 1917—the United States maintained a policy of barring homosexual foreigners from entering the country.[61] The queer Marielitos, however, posed a significant conundrum to the United States because they fled Cuba, a communist nation. In the midst of a heated Cold War, wherein the United States became a refuge for those fleeing communism and did so as an effective foreign policy tool, the US Government amended its immigration policy in part to accommodate and admit the incoming Marielitos. In this way, the United States' anti-communist imperative trumped its longstanding anti-gay immigration policy. From 1980 to 1990, the United States implemented a policy to only exclude homosexual foreigners from entering the United States upon a "voluntary submission by the alien that he or she is homosexual." In this way, the queer Marielitos proved instrumental to affecting change for many future queer migrants. The Immigration Act of 1990 statutorily removed homosexuality as a ground for exclusion from entering the United States, even though queer foreigners continued to be excluded or discriminated against at the border in other ways. Despite the state's continued sexual anxieties at the border, in the coming decades Miami became a refuge for many other queer migrants—particularly from Latin America and the Caribbean.[62]

For many of these queer immigrants, the freedom they thought they had found in their new home was complicated by an unforeseeable plague: HIV/AIDS. The disease, of course, did not only affect queer immigrants. Soon after the disease was "discovered" in 1981, many members of

---

[61] Margot Canaday, *The Straight State: Sexuality and Citizenship in Twentieth-Century America* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2009); and Eithne Luibhéid, *Entry Denied: Controlling Sexuality at the Border* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2002).

[62] Capó, Jr., "Queering Mariel," 96; and Capó, Jr., "'It's Not Queer to Be Gay'".

Miami's queer community became infected with the mysterious disease, inexplicably showing symptoms such as lesions on their skin, and were desperate for answers and medical attention.[63]

Hundreds of gay, bisexual, and queer men, in particular, found themselves in Jackson Memorial, the county's public hospital.[64] So too did sympathetic queer and allied women, serving as caretakers and advocates for their sick or dying friends. One newspaper reported, "AIDS victims have poured into Jackson Memorial over the past two years, and many have died there."[65] Jackson Memorial Hospital opened up its South Florida AIDS Network (SFAN) in 1986, the first county-run organization to provide services to people infected with HIV or living with AIDS. Despite the dire need for treatment and service providers, lack of resources and funds forced SFAN to only open a few short hours a week at first.[66] Even as late as 1988, new adult AIDS patients waited an average of three to four months before being seen at the hospital's AIDS clinic. So many who were gravely ill often could not wait that period of time and, instead, had to seek treatment at the hospital emergency room.[67]

As in other cities, many people in Miami grew increasingly hostile towards and discriminated against those infected, or those suspected of being infected, with the deadly disease. One of the greatest distinctions of this urban space, however, was the city's large Haitian community, which endured some of the most egregious forms of discrimination. From the beginning of the epidemic, Haitians were listed as a high-risk group for the disease. In a July 1982 report, the Centers for Disease Control (CDC) revealed that twenty Haitians residing in Miami had shown evidence of

---

[63] Lawrence K. Altman, "Rare Cancer Seen in 41 Homosexuals," *New York Times*, July 3, 1981; and Maurice Miller, "AIDS Cases in Florida Jump 27%," *Miami Daily News*, August 11, 1983.
[64] Jackson Memorial Hospital is located at 1161 NW Twelfth Avenue, Miami, Florida.
[65] Strat Douthat, "Miami Hospital Is a Haven for AIDS Victims," *Gainesville Sun*, September 20, 1985, 8A.
[66] Jeffrey Laign, "Group Donates $1.6 Million for AIDS Programs," *Sun-Sentinel*, October 24, 1986.
[67] Michael Lasalandra, "New AIDS Patients Waiting Months for Jackson Clinic," *Miami News*, January 8, 1988, 1A, 4A; and *The Day It Snowed in Miami,* Directed by Joe Cardona (Miami Herald/WPBT2, 2014), DVD.

"opportunistic infections."[68] Haitians, including some whom engaged in same-sex acts, became erroneously associated with what had become known as—also erroneously—a "gay disease." This spread the misconception that Haitians were somehow naturally prone to HIV and, as a result, many were refused work, a place to live, or admission to schools. Meanwhile, consistent with the city's longstanding history with the Caribbean—particularly the Castro regime in Cuba—some Miami lesbian and gay activists openly criticized the Haitian government's treatment of its own queer communities.[69]

In the following years, new immigrant groups—including Nicaraguans, Colombians, Venezuelans, and Brazilians—entered Miami in large numbers and added greatly to its vibrant queer community.[70] By the 1990s, Miami had become known as a refuge for queer exiles throughout Latin America and the Caribbean.[71] These Latin American and Latina/o communities played integral roles in new LGBTQ political campaigns. On December 1, 1998, Miami-Dade County commissioners prohibited discrimination based on sexual orientation, and again, as in 1977, there was an effort to repeal the ordinance. Many in Miami feared that overturning the amendment would have grave effects on the city's lucrative LGBTQ tourism industry. Local politicians and celebrities, such as Cuban-born singer Gloria Estefan, voiced their pro-gay rights stance and their opposition to repeal. Miami-Dade County's Cuban American Mayor Alex Penelas voiced his commitment to upholding the anti-discriminatory measure: "We're trying to build an image of international metropolis, a bridge among cultures, but we would be saying 'By the way, it's OK to discriminate based on sexual orientation."[72] On September 10, 2002, fifty-three percent of those who showed up at the polls voted to uphold the amendment, marking a pivotal achievement for the LGBTQ community nearly thirty years in the making.[73] It took over a decade longer for the commission to include gender identity and expression in the anti-discrimination statutes.[74]

---

[68] Centers for Disease Control (CDC), "Opportunistic Infections and Kaposi's Sarcoma Among Haitians in the United States," *Morbidity and Mortality Weekly Report (MMWR)* 31, no. 26 (July 9, 1982): 353–354; LB Moskowitz et al., "Unusual Causes of Death in Haitians Residing in Miami - High Prevalence of Opportunistic Infections," *JAMA: The Journal of the American Medical Association* 250, no. 9 (September 2, 1983): 1187–1191.

[69] Karen Payne, "Haiti Jails Homosexuals in AIDS Fear," *Miami Daily News*, August 10, 1983, 1A; Paul Farmer, *AIDS and Accusation: Haiti and the Geography of Blame* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992).

[70] Andrea Elliott, "Hispanic Gay Immigrants Come Out in U.S.--But Not to Mom, Dad," *Miami Herald*, June 17, 2002.

[71] Johnny Diaz, "More Gay Immigrants Seeking Refuge in U.S.," *Miami Herald*, February 4, 2001, 1B.

Miami's geography and social makeup offer a distinct—and important—narrative of the United States' rich and diverse queer past. It is a borderland at the intersection of numerous identities: it is both south of the US South and, as Ecuadorian President Jaime Roldós Aguilera noted in 1979, the "capital of Latin America."[75] This overview barely scratches the surface of the city's long and textured relationship to those whose gender and sexuality did not conform to contemporary standards or established norms. Since its inception, queer individuals and communities carved out their own spaces in this international city. They have left an indelible mark and transformed the city in most significant ways.

---

[72] Dana Canedy, "Miami to Vote on Repeal of Gay Rights," *New York Times*, September 5, 2002.
[73] "Victory in Miami-Dade," *The Advocate*, October 15, 2002, 16.
[74] Mazzei and Hanks, "Miami-Dade Commission Bans Discrimination Based on Gender Identity."
[75] Raymond A. Mohl, *South of the South: Jewish Activists and the Civil Rights Movement in Miami, 1945-1960* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2004); and "Cuban Victory in Miami Example for Other Cities," *Milwaukee Sentinel*, November 15, 1985, 18.

28

QUEEREST LITTLE CITY IN THE WORLD: LGBTQ RENO

John Jeffrey Auer IV

Introduction

Researchers of LGBTQ history in the United States have focused predominantly on major cities such as San Francisco and New York City. This focus has led researchers to overlook a rich tradition of LGBTQ communities and individuals in small to mid-sized American cities that date from at least the late nineteenth century and throughout the twentieth century. From Buffalo to St. Louis and beyond, there are many examples of small but thriving communities from this time period.[1] In the midst of these overlooked and under-researched places stands Reno,

---

[1] See, for example, the 1930s-1960s lesbian community of Buffalo, New York documented in Madeline D. Davis and Elizabeth Lapovsky Kennedy, *Boots of Leather, Slippers of Gold: The History of a Lesbian Community* (New York: Routledge, 1993). For an example of a homosexual man living in St. Louis at the turn of the century and his experiences with seeking out other gay men, see Claude Hartland, *Claude Hartland: The Story of a Life: For the Consideration of the Medical Fraternity* (San Francisco: Grey Fox Press, 1985). Mid-sized cities in the south including Atlanta, Miami, and New Orleans are covered in James T. Sears, *Rebels, Rubyfruit and Rhinestones: Queering Space in the Stonewall South* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers Press, 2001); see also Capó (this volume). For a history of Minneapolis and Saint Paul, see the Twin Cities GLBT History Project, *Queer Twin Cities* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2010). For an extensive history of Seattle, see Gary L. Atkins, *Gay Seattle: Stories of Exile and Belonging* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2003).

Nevada. Reno has historically prided itself on being different from other cities in the United States especially since becoming the divorce capital of the US in the 1910s and legalizing gambling in 1931 when it was illegal in every other state in the Union.[2]

People with minority sexual and gender expressions lived in the American West well before European colonization. Native American two-spirit people lived and continue to live in the American West.[3] Written accounts from California in the 1700s describe two-spirit people's interactions with colonists and missionaries.[4] Ethnographic accounts give several terms used by the Northern Paiute (who currently and historically have lived in the Reno area) to describe two-spirit people.[5] As recently as the mid-1990s, a two-spirit person who grew up in the area found it largely intolerant.[6]

With the California Gold Rush of 1849 came an explosion of growth into the far western states through the early 1860s. During this time, western states were not involved in heavily regulating the behavior of their citizens, as was increasingly the case in the east. With this lack of regulation came more opportunities for same-sex relationships and dress-based gender transgressions. In the days following the Gold Rush, there were often significantly more men than women in the west. For example, the ratio of men to women in California in 1860 was twenty-three to one; in Colorado at the same time, it was thirty-four to one.[7] This imbalance led to men engaging in same-sex dancing, men dressed as women dancing with other men in masculine dress, women dressing as men, and speculation of same-sex sexual activity as well. Early European inhabitants of the Reno, Nevada area had appeared as early as the 1850s. In 1868, with the coming of the transcontinental railroad, the city was established.[8]

---

[2] Alicia Barber, *Reno's Big Gamble: Image and Reputation in the Biggest Little City* (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 2008).
[3] See Roscoe (this volume) for more information on two-spirit people and history.
[4] See Ramón Gutiérrez, *When Jesus Came the Corn Mothers Went Away: Marriage, Sexuality, and Power in New Mexico, 1500-1846* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1991) and Sue-Ellen Jacobs, Wesley Thomas, and Sabine Lange, eds., *Two Spirit People: Native American Gender Identity, Sexuality, and Spirituality* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1997).
[5] Terms include *t'ūbás* and *moronic noho*. Will Roscoe, *Changing Ones: Third and Fourth Genders in Native North America* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1998), 220.
[6] Sandra Faiman-Silva, "Anthropologists and Two Spirit People: Building Bridges and Sharing Knowledge," *Anthropology Faculty Publications*, Paper 23 (Bridgewater, MA: Bridgewater State University Virtual Commons, 2011), accessed September 19, 2015, http://vc.bridgew.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1020&context=anthro_fac
[7] More information about LGBTQ activity in the West can be found in Susan Lee Johnson, *Roaring Camp: The Social World of the California Gold Rush* (New York: WW Norton, 2000); Mary Ann Irwin and James F. Brooks, eds., *Woman and Gender in the American West* (Albuquerque: University of New

References to individuals that we would now think of as LGBTQ appear as early as 1882 in the local paper, the *Reno Evening Gazette,* which warned men that a Nevada statute banning cross-dressing would be enforced from that point forward by automatic arrest.[9] As Peter Boag writes, "the adoption and popularizing of a law prohibiting men from donning female attire on the streets suggests that the practice had become noticeable."[10] As the American West was increasingly settled and its cities grew, the freewheeling attitude of the past gave way to a tightening mindset leading western states to implement stricter regulations of same-sex sexuality and cross-dressing. This included anti-sodomy laws targeted predominantly as a means to punish homosexual behavior in the context of both Chinese Exclusion and the rapid state-building that was underway.[11] In 1863, San Francisco was granted powers by the state to curb what was seen as "problem bodies."[12] The groups by the city at this point were: "cross-dressers, prostitutes, disabled beggars, and Chinese immigrants."[13] Nevada's growth as a state during the late 1800s and early 1900s fueled considerable legislation that focused on reigning in what was seen as transgressive racial and gendered behavior.

Mexico Press, 2004); and Peter Boag, *Same-Sex Affairs: Constructing and Controlling Homosexuality in the Pacific Northwest* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003).

[8] Barber, *Reno's Big Gamble,* 14.

[9] "Look Out," *Reno Evening Gazette*, September 9, 1882.

[10] Boag, *Same-Sex Affairs,* 67.

[11] A comprehensive analysis of anti-sodomy laws in the United States is covered in detail in William N. Eskridge Jr., *Dishonorable Passions: Sodomy Laws in America, 1861-2003* (New York: Viking Press, 2008); see also Stein, (this volume).

[12] Clare Sears. *Arresting Dress: Cross-Dressing, Law, And Fascination in Nineteenth-Century San Francisco* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2015).

[13] Sears, *Arresting Dress,* 67.

For example the Nevada Territorial Legislature was the first law banning whites and “Chinese” from marrying in 1861.[14]

Reno has long prided and promoted itself as a city distinct from others. First it was as a western railroad town and then, during the 1910s and 1920s, it became known as the “divorce capital of the world,” due to its lax residency laws. Gradually, Reno developed a worldwide image and reputation as a city that did not (and does not) abide by more broadly accepted moral codes. By 1931, with the Great Depression and the city in financial crisis, Reno turned to legalizing gambling.[15] This helped cement Reno’s identity as a city where “anything goes,” and where people could escape the social, gender, and sexual-normative pressures common in other, older cities. Much of this was an image promoted to draw tourists versus reality for those living day to day; however, Reno has a long standing history of live-and-let-live libertarianism that has allowed more space for those who chose (and choose) to live outside society’s norms.[16]

From the 1940s through the 1990s, Reno’s LGBTQ community and geography shifted from isolated places of performance and audience to more permanent places of business and tourism. Reno as a city has remained relatively small but has an outsize reputation in relation to its actual size. Its moniker, “The Biggest Little City in the World,” actually does reflect people’s perceptions of Reno. Yet Reno, like many small cities, does not have as large an LGBTQ population as that found in big cities. As a result, these smaller cities tend to have had, and continue to have, more integrated LGBTQ communities.

Reno, like Nevada, has a long history in the twentieth century of not being ethnically diverse. Some of this is a result of the extreme policing and segregation that went on in the state before the casinos deregulated in 1960.[17] According to the 1960 census, only 3,466 (4.1 percent) of metropolitan Reno's 84,743 residents were black and otherwise nonwhite.[18] A decade later, the proportion of white to nonwhite residents had barely shifted: 5,144 (4.2 percent) of the city's 115,924 residents were enumerated as black and otherwise not white.[19] These African American and other nonwhite populations include people living in Reno's Chinatown and the Reno-Sparks Indian Colony which is located in the center of the city.[20] These demographics are consistent with other smaller to midsize cities in the West, and resulted in these cities having overwhelmingly white LGBTQ communities at the time.[21]

---

[14] Peggy Pascoe, *What Comes Naturally: Miscegenation Law, and the Making of Race in America* (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2009), 81.
[15] Barber, *Reno’s Big Gamble*.
[16] For an in-depth analysis, see Don W. Driggs and Leonard E. Goodall, *Nevada and Politics: Conservatism in an Open Society* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1996).

A longtime resident of the city, Keith Ann Libby, who moved to Reno in 1962, recalls different racial and ethnic groups being accepted in the Reno gay bars. He did remember issues related to transphobia and some discrimination against lesbians, but he countered that the gathering places were always about the bottom line; ultimately those groups were served, even if not welcomed, at the bars. In general, Libby's memories are of Reno's LGBTQ community being mixed in all senses of the word: racially and ethnically, lesbians, bisexuals, transgender, and queer people as well as some straights mixing and socializing together, with no major problems.[22]

Historically, Reno is part of a larger geographic and cultural area that includes Lake Tahoe and San Francisco. From its earliest days, it has been a transportation hub connecting the West to the Midwest and East. First, it was a growing stop on the transcontinental railroad, and later became an important city along Interstate 80 that connects San Francisco and New York City. The growth of Reno's LGBTQ community was fueled in part by its proximity and easy transportation to San Francisco, which after World War

---

[17] Michael W. Bowers, *The Sagebrush State: Nevada's History, Government, and Politics,* Wilbur S. Shepperson Series in Nevada History (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1996).
[18] *Demographic Trends for Metropolitan Areas, 1960-1970*, Final Report PH(2)-1 United States (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1971).
[19] *Demographic Trends for Metropolitan Areas.*
[20] Reno-Sparks Indian Colony website, accessed September 29, 2015, http://www.rsic.org
[21] *Demographic Trends for Metropolitan Areas.*
[22] Keith Ann Libby, in phone interview with the author, September 21, 2015.

II saw an explosion in LGBTQ residents.[23] This chapter looks at the history of Reno's LGBTQ communities through its performance spaces, bars and baths, events, groups, and organizations.

Performance Spaces

Performances in Reno from the 1930s through the 1980s were the first inklings of a highly visible presence of cross-dressing, drag queens, and transgender members in the community. From the first show in a small out-of-the-way saloon in 1935 to a major show at a casino in 1975 the performances that took place in Reno helped bring a wider queer visibility to Reno.

Belle Livingstone's Cow Shed

Emerging out of 1920s and 1930s New York City were "Pansy Craze" theatrical cabaret shows. Performers pushed gender boundaries by dressing as different genders, and by singing songs and making jokes about homosexual life. These shows were so popular that, as George Chauncey notes, "In 1930-1931, clubs with pansy acts became the hottest in town."[24] This movement gained national importance: it was the first time in American history that LGBTQ people participated in the broader American culture by appearing on cabaret stages in large numbers.[25]

In the early 1930s, police began to crack down on these performances especially in places such as New York City, where city leaders became

---

[23] To see how San Francisco, and Reno by extension, was situated spatially and temporally in the American West, see Nan Alamilla Boyd, *Wide-Open Town: A History of Queer San Francisco to 1965* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005).

[24] George Chauncey, *Gay New York: Gender, Urban Culture, and the Making of the Gay World 1890-1940* (New York: Basic Books, 1995), 314.

[25] For documentation about this period of American history, see chapter fifteen of Laurence Senelick, *The Changing Room: Sex, Drag and Theatre* (New York: Routledge, 2000).

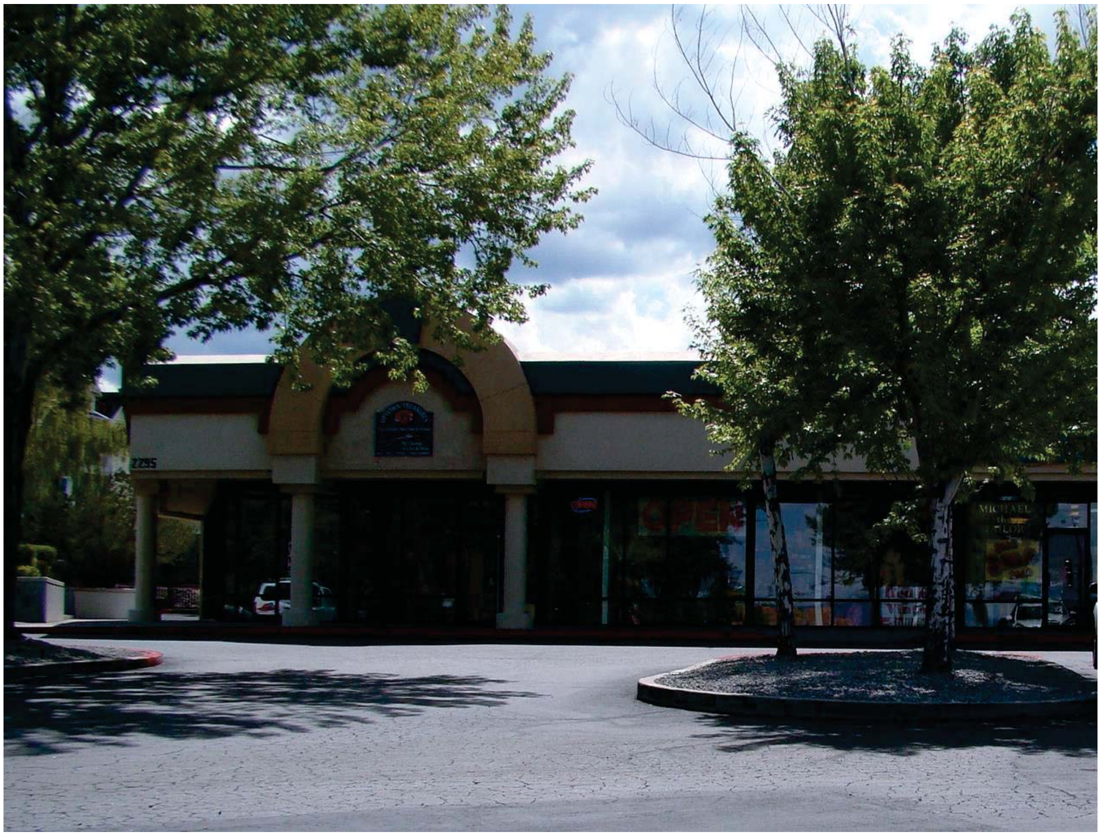


Figure 1: Former location of Belle Livingstone's Cow Shed (now demolished), July 2015. Photo courtesy of Nicholas-Martin Kearney.

more conservative as the Great Depression wore on.[26] As a result of this crackdown, performers took their shows on the road to escape the harassment. In 1935, famed cross-dressing performer Ray/Rae Bourbon (stage name of Ramón Ícarez) played at Belle Livingstone's Cowshed (Figure 1).[27] The Cowshed was located on a small ranch, and offered a casino and live entertainment.[28] Despite its reputation as the emerging divorce capital during the 1910s, Reno was very small in population and was not part of the vaudeville circuit where there was a long history of cross-dressing performances. By the 1920s and into 1932, Reno's population was growing, and venues—working to draw customers from the divorce trade—expanded their performance options in nightclubs and casinos. Despite an exhaustive search of nightlife advertisements, the first cross-dressing performance or pansy act in Reno appears to have been by Bourbon in 1935, despite the fact that the Nevada papers covered the pansy craze performances in New York in the 1930-1932 period.

---

[26] For example, George Chauncey covers this period of time and the crackdown in New York City, *Gay New York,* 331-354.

[27] On Bourbon, see Don Romesburg, "Longevity and Limits in Rae Bourbon's Life in Motion," in Trystan Cotten, ed., *Transgender Migrations: The Bodies, Borders and Politics of Transition,* New Directions in American History (New York: Routledge, 2011). The date of Bourbon's performance is based on an email correspondence between Bourbon scholar Don Romesburg and the author on March 28, 2015. The Cowshed was located at 2295 South Virginia Street, Reno, Nevada.

[28] Kling, *Biggest Little City,* 9.

From Bourbon's 1935 performance on, Reno has had a history of cross-dressing acts appearing in casino showrooms. By 1937, the Black Derby in Reno[29] featured a young female impersonator named Billy Givens who earned rave reviews; her act did not follow Bourbon's older, more risqué style.[30] Bourbon's performance rises to national significance level as an example of "Pansy Craze" acts featuring members of the LGBTQ communities appearing and spreading across the country into smaller and midsize cities in the 1930s. Bourbon's performance is similarly groundbreaking at the state level as one of the first "pansy craze" performances in Nevada. The Cowshed was in business on and off from 1931 through 1937. It subsequently burned down, and is currently the site of a shopping mall.[31]

Riverside Hotel and the Jewel Box Revue Controversy: First Controversy over Drag Acts in the State of Nevada

The Riverside Hotel (Figure 2), located along the banks of the Truckee River, was built in 1927 to cater to the booming divorce trade that emerged in Reno in the 1900s. Divorce hotels, divorce apartments, and divorce ranches have a long association in community lore with lesbians.[32] As places where women lived for up to six months at a time in order to meet residency requirements for their divorces, strong networks of women developed. The mythology of these places has over time become powerful in national lesbian feminist networks.[33]

---

[29] The Black Derby was located at 1410 East Fourth Street in Reno, Nevada.

[30] "Black Derby Has New Show for Coronation Week," *Nevada State Journal*, May 8, 1937. Ray Bourbon was noted for his especially vulgar shows. They were so risqué that he was banned from playing the famous Garden of Allah female impersonator club in Seattle the 1950s. See Don Paulson and Roger Simpson, *An Evening at the Garden of Allah: A Gay Cabaret in Seattle* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996), 38.

[31] Kling, *Biggest Little City,* 110.

[32] There is very little written on these places and their association with lesbians. For an article on the general divorce trade in Reno, see Mella Rothwell Harmon, "Getting Renovated: Reno Divorces in the 1930s," *Nevada Historical Society Quarterly*, Spring 1999. The Riverside Hotel is located at 17 South Virginia Street, Reno, Nevada.

In February 1962, the Riverside had scheduled a performance of Doc Benner's and Danny Brown's touring Jewel Box Revue, which had its home base in Miami, Florida.[34] The Jewel Box Revue was a popular cabaret act of female impersonators that began in 1939, just as "pansy craze" shows were changing their billing to female impersonator or drag shows."[35] By the 1950s, amid Cold War homophobia, transphobia, and "sex panics," these shows faced an increasing police clampdown. Pressure grew

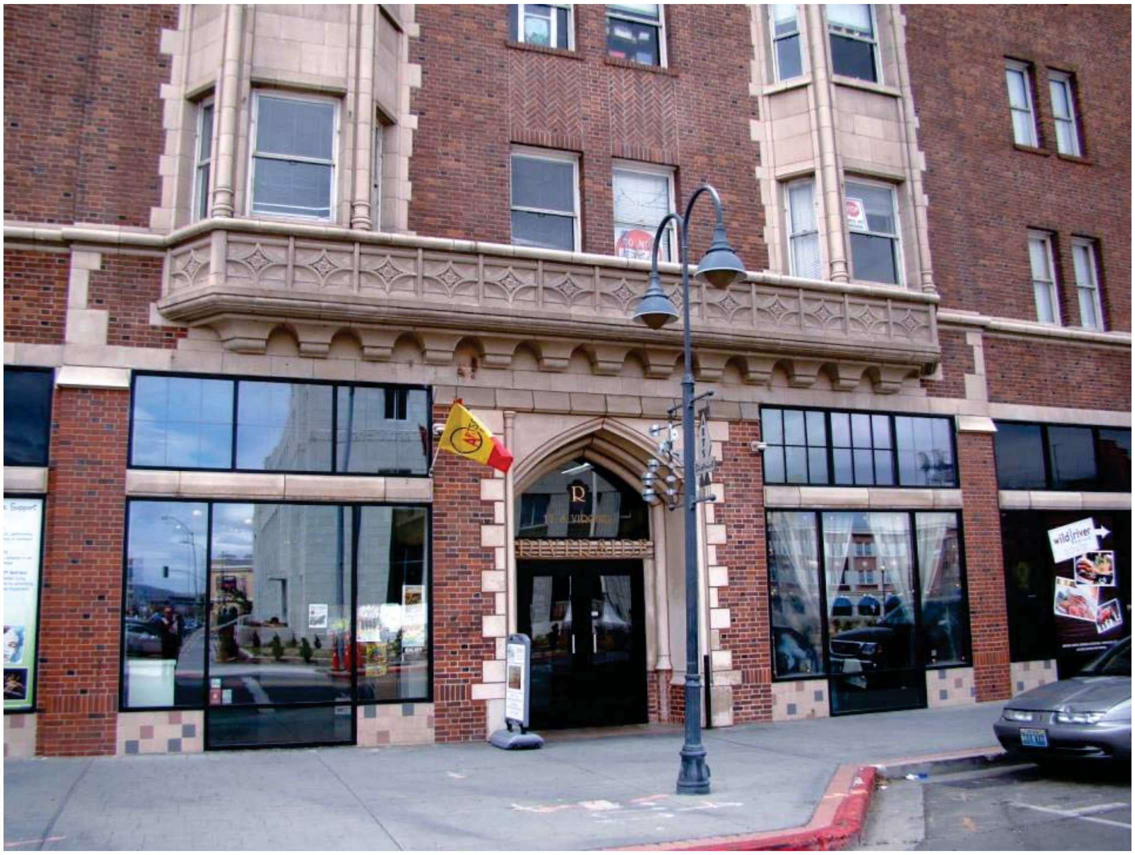


Figure 2: Riverside Hotel, July 2015. Photo courtesy of Nicholas-Martin Kearney.

---

[33] The film, *Desert Hearts,* directed by Donna Deitch (Los Angeles: Samuel Goldwyn Company, 1985), is set in 1959 Reno, and is an example of this.
[34] See Capó (this volume).
[35] "The Jewel Box Revue," Queer Music Heritage website, accessed April 19, 2015, http://queermusicheritage.com.

specifically on city and state leaders to ban cross-dressing performances.[36]

The Revue opened its run at the Riverside, but from the beginning there was trouble. The Reno City Council cited calls from people complaining about the show as a reason for closing it. On February 26, 1962, the council passed an ordinance that made it unlawful for establishments with liquor licenses to present floor shows featuring impersonations of the opposite sex.[37] This fit into national patterns of LGBTQ retreat from the public sphere during the Cold War.[38] Clearly, Cold War restrictions "trickled down" to the state and local levels, playing out dramatically in venues driven by aggressive tourism and bold entertainment. The Cold War in Nevada accelerated the military presence in the state especially with the opening of the Nevada Test Site in 1951, which would be the site of atomic bomb testing throughout the Cold War.[39] Nevada Senator Patrick McCarran was an active Cold War participant who played a key role in passing a bill in 1952 that banned homosexuals from immigrating to the United States.[40]

Harrah's Casino – Frisco Follies – First Major Drag Show at Major Nevada Casino

In 1974 William Harrah, owner of Harrah's Casino (Figure 3), saw the "Frisco Follies Grand Illusion" drag show starring Jamie James in San Francisco.[41] Harrah opened his first casino in Reno in 1937. Over the decades he expanded his operation, and the growth of his casino along with other entertainment venues including the Riverside, brought celebrities and audiences in increasing numbers to town from the 1930s

---

[36] Senelick, *The Changing Room,* 382-384.

[37] "Council Holds Stand to Ban Local Revue," *Reno Evening Gazette*, February 26, 1962.

[38] For example, during this time, the federal government was engaging in periodic purges of homosexual men and lesbians from civil service jobs. See David K. Johnson, *The Lavender Scare: The Cold War Persecution of Gays and Lesbians in the Federal Government* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006).

[39] A. Constandina Titus, *Bombs in the Backyard: Atomic Testing and American Politics,* Nevada Studies in History and Pol Sci (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 2001).

[40] Eskridge, *Dishonorable Passions,*102.

[41] Harrah's Casino is located at 219 North Center Street, Reno, Nevada.

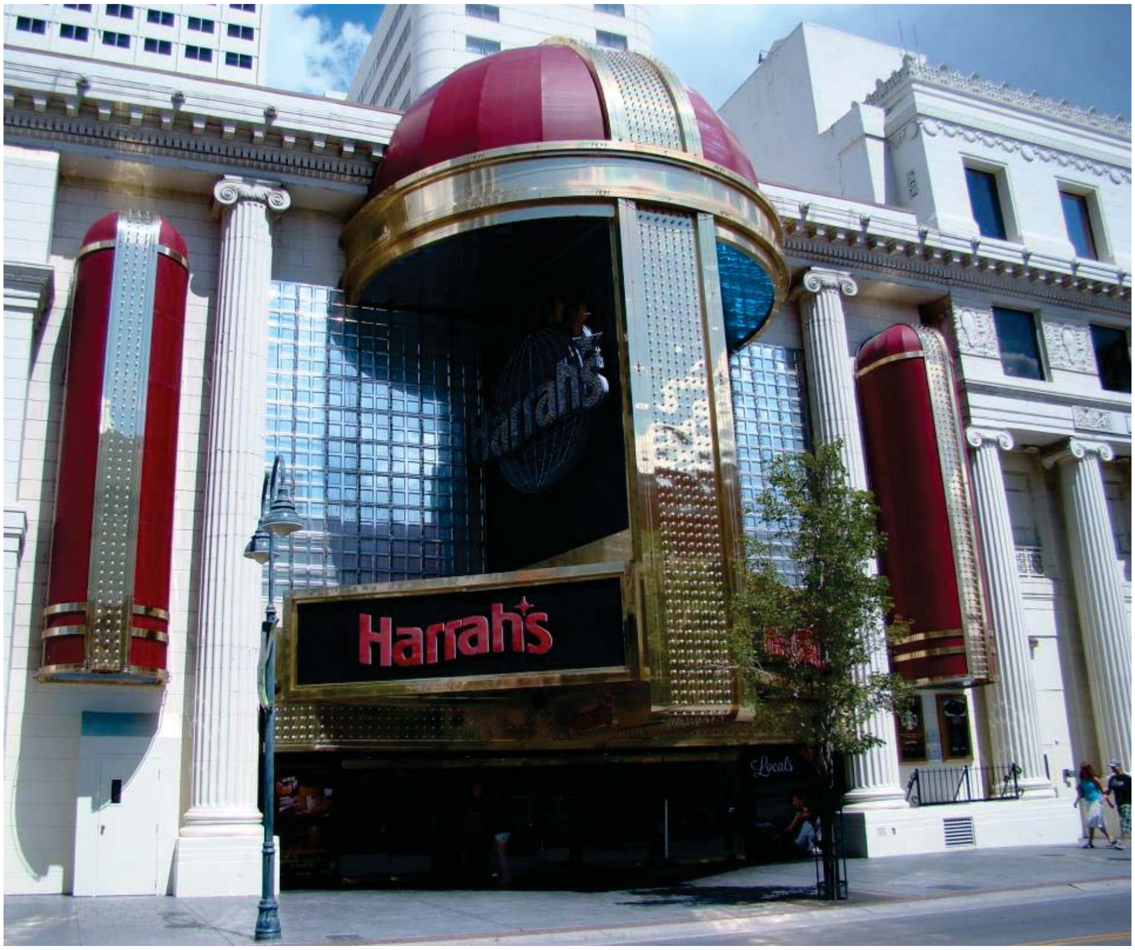


Figure 3: Harrah's Casino, July 2015. Photo courtesy of Nicholas-Martin Kearney.

through the 1940s. Unlike neighboring states such as California, which banned gambling, Nevada embraced it. By 1974, Reno had become a gambler's paradise with top-notch entertainment.

Harrah was so impressed with the Follies that he brought them to his casino at Lake Tahoe in January 1975.[42] The show was so well received there that Harrah booked them into his Reno location the following month.[43] The Follies was popular with casino patrons and ran at the Reno casino through 1981. Many members of Reno's white gay male community performed in the show along with straight female chorus girls. The men in the show identified as gay men in drag.[44] Symbolically, the success of the Follies indicates a revived acceptance of cross-dressing in Reno after the many years of its prohibition since the Jewel Box Revue controversy of the early 1960s. This shift was part of a larger transition away from the Cold War homophobia of the 1950s and 1960s and the forcing of drag shows off of main stages in the late 1930s and 1940s.[45]

---

[42] Bob Alessandrelli, "Frisco Follies Grand Illusion Taking Tahoe By Storm," *Reno Evening Gazette*, January 17, 1975.

[43] "Entertainment," *Reno Evening Gazette*, March 21, 1975.

[44] Jack Edwards, in phone interview with the author, September 30, 2015.

The success of the Frisco Follies at Harrah's indicates a gradual reversal and redirection of attitudes toward the LGBTQ community. By 1974, Frisco Follies' popularity led to its booking in a prime theater of one of the major casinos in Reno, putting the act on a national stage. Frisco Follies became the first transgender act to be booked in a leading casino in Nevada.[46] Frisco Follies is a trendsetter among the many new heralded mainstream drag shows appearing throughout the United States in the 1970s. It brought added attention to and appreciation of Nevada and Reno as the first celebrated mainstream drag show to play a major casino in the state. This is important as the event of Frisco Follies took place at Harrah's Casino in Reno.[47]

Bars and Baths

Reno bars were the nucleus of social networks for the LGBTQ community in Reno from the 1960s through the 1990s. It wasn't until the 2000s that non-bar based social organizations were formed in the city. Bars and baths were both incredibly important, providing relatively safe places for meeting and socializing at a time when the broader community was hostile towards the LGBTQ community.

---

[45] For the trajectory of drag show bookings, see Senelick, *The Changing Room*.

[46] Although it would have been considered a drag act from the point of view of the casino and audiences, many of the performers that worked shows like this in the 1970s and 1980s would now be considered transgender.

[47] Jonnie Clasen, "Among the Stars," *Harrah-Scope,* January 1976, 12; and Edwards.

The Reno Bar – Oldest Mixed Bar in Reno

Known today as Abby's Highway 40 (Figure 4), in the 1960s and 1970s this was the Reno Bar.[48] The building was originally constructed in 1900 as a single-family home.[49] By 1964, it housed a mixed bar that served mostly heterosexual people during the day and an LGBTQ clientele of predominantly gay men in the evenings. It was referenced in 1970 as being the oldest gay bar in Reno.[50] In 1970, two gay men traveling from San Francisco to Reno described the Reno Bar as "… an old bar and clean.

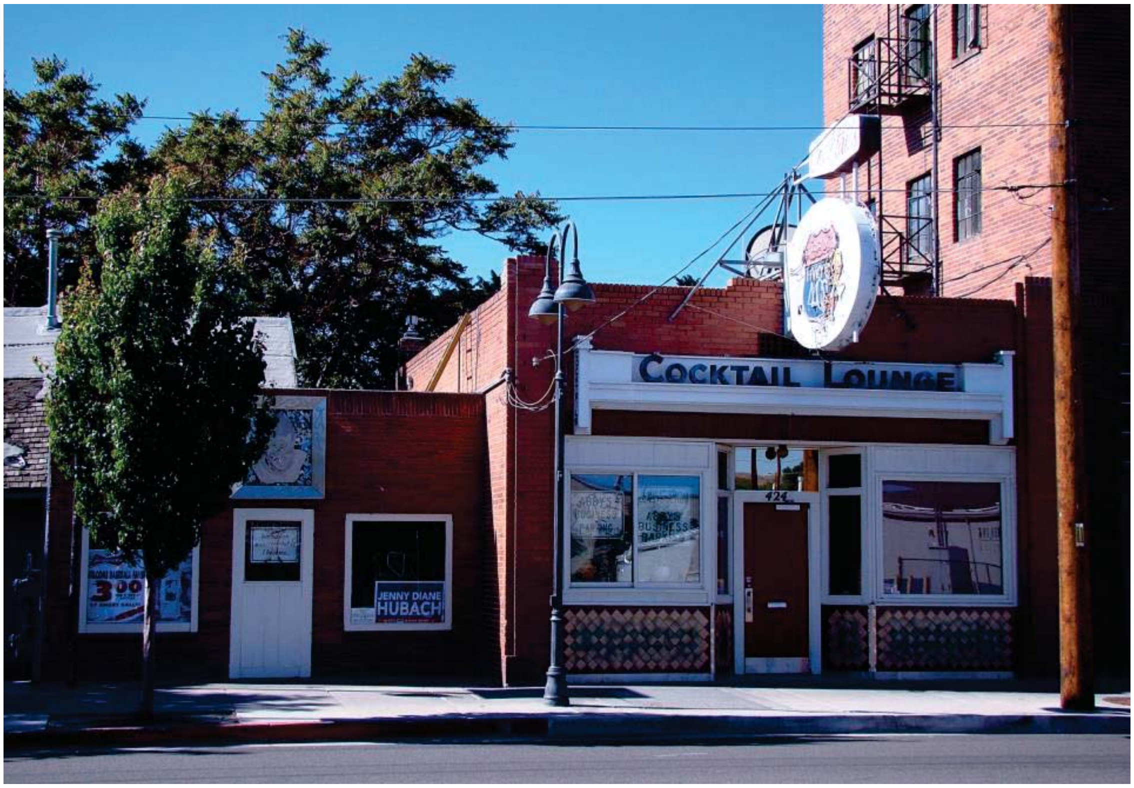


Figure 4: Former location of the Reno Bar, now Abby's Highway 40, July 2015. Photo courtesy of Nicholas-Martin Kearney.

---

[48] The bar is located at 424 East Fourth Street, Reno, Nevada.

[49] "Real Property Assessment Data," Washoe County website, accessed April 1, 2015, http://www.washoecounty.us/assessor/cama

[50] Don Collins, "Doing Reno on $17," *Vector*, March 1970, 19. The Reno Bar is consistently listed in gay guides of the time as a "mixed" bar. Due to prevailing sexism and racism during the 1960s and 1970s, gay guides rarely specifically mention the presence of nonwhite, transgender people, or lesbians in their listings. The only times they are referenced is if the place is uniquely patronized by that group. For example, lesbians are listed as a clientele for Kaye's Happy Landing in Phoenix in *Barfly '73* (Los Angeles: Advocate Publications, 1973).

But it has a certain charm all its own. In addition to being the only gay bar in Reno to have a pool table, we also found it to be the campiest. When the dancing on the bar started, there was LeRoy dodging glasses with the best."[51] This location has housed a straight bar since the 1980s.

Before the 1960s, it was rare to find bars in America outside major cities such as New York that catered exclusively to an LGBTQ clientele.[52] Until the 1970s, most bars in the United States that served LGBTQ communities did so as gay-friendly, but predominantly heterosexual bars. LGBTQ constituents chose bars to patronize in small groups, pretending to be straight and fitting in with whatever circumstances and prudence required of them. These became known as "mixed" bars.[53] As the 1960s progressed, more and more mixed bars appeared in urban areas around the country; influenced by the emerging gay liberation movement, an increasing number of these began to be patronized exclusively by LGBTQ people.[54] The Reno Bar is a good example of "mixed" bars in the pre-gay liberation era, and is of national importance as a representative of such bars in smaller American cities as well as state and local importance as the oldest "mixed" bar in Reno and one of the earliest in the state.

Club Baths

The Club Baths (Figure 5) opened on May 17, 1964.[55] Owned by local gay man Dale Bentley, the Club Baths was the first exclusively gay bathhouse in Reno. Opened at a time when sex acts between men were illegal in every state in the Union except Illinois,[56] this place provided a

---

[51] Collins, Ibid.

[52] For examples of pre-1960s gay bars in New York City, see Charles Kaiser, *The Gay Metropolis: The Landmark History of Gay Life in America* (New York: Grove Press, 1997), 106-107.

[53] This is explained in detail in James Lord, *My Queer War* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2010).

[54] For more on this, see Eric Marcus, *Making Gay History: The Half-Century Fight for Lesbian and Gay Equal Rights* (New York: Harper Perennial, 2002).

[55] "New Reno Firms Receive Licenses," *Nevada State Journal*, May 17, 1964. Club Baths first appears in gay city guides in the 1965 International Guild Guide, and appears every year in the *Bob Damron's Address Book* (San Francisco: Bob Damron Enterprises, 1966-1993) from 1966-1989. The Club Baths is located at 1020 West Second Street, Reno, Nevada.

[56] Eskridge, *Dishonorable Passions,* 124-127.

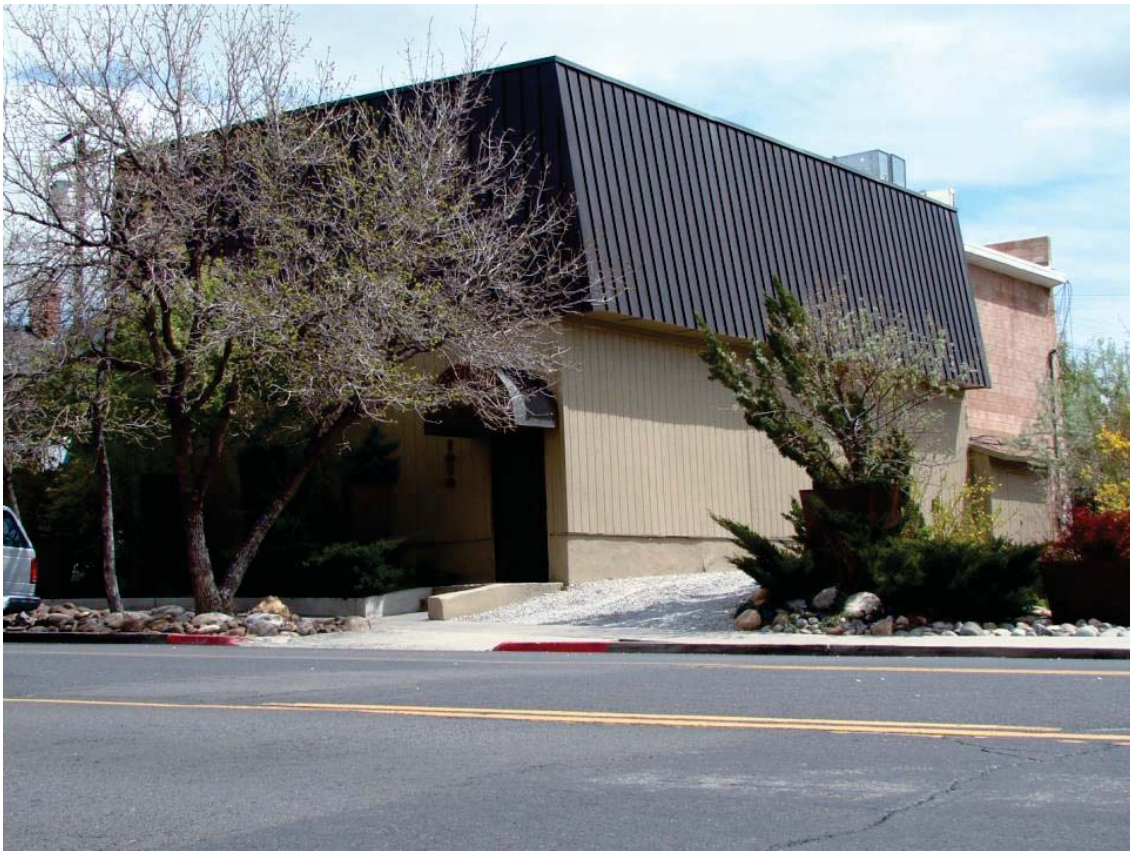


Figure 5: Former location of Club Baths, now Steve's, July 2015. Photo courtesy of Nicholas-Martin Kearney.

safe environment for gay men to meet each other away from straight society, and an alternative to public cruising which could (and did) lead to arrest and harassment. Beginning in the 1970s, Club Baths advertised in gay publications including the magazines *California Scene* and *Data Boy*, and in the 1979 program for the Reno Gay Rodeo.[57]

Commercial bathhouses first appeared in American cities in the 1890s and provided the general populace—who otherwise may not have had access to bathing facilities—a place to bathe in a safe, gender-segregated environment. Shortly after bathhouses appeared, some became known as covert meeting grounds for men seeking sex with one another. Which became sites of same-sex encounters and which ones did not seemed to rest purely on the whims of whether or not the owners and management of the baths decided to look the other way or to tolerate this activity to gain revenue. By the 1920s and 1930s, many gay bathhouses were permitting sex "in closed and locked cubicles."[58]

---

[57] *California Scene,* June 1974, 40; *Data Boy,* December 15, 1977, 19; and *Reno Gay Rodeo Program,* 1979.

The Club Baths was located in what was previously a single-family residence. For the first decades of existence it looked like a single-family home. Why Bentley chose to open the bathhouse in a private residence is unknown. One likely scenario is that at the time, the house was not within the city limits of Reno and thus fell under the relatively lax policing of the county sheriff and not the more stringent policing by the city police.[59] During the 1980s, a new roof and siding changed the façade of the building to its current, more industrial appearance.

The bathhouses at this location have always operated as private clubs. This designation allows more activities and less strict clothing requirements than if it was a public business. This is a common legal strategy for "alternative" businesses that would otherwise get shut down for indecency. The club allowed men to register as members using false names to help protect their privacy in a climate where being known (or thought) to be gay was grounds for loss of jobs, housing, and children, among other forms of discrimination. While bathhouses (and bars) offered some protection from discrimination and harassment on one hand, they themselves were also sites of exclusion and discrimination. In the 1970s and 1980s, gay bathhouses and bars around the country were sites of protest for their racial and gender discrimination (requiring men of color and effeminate men/transgender men to provide more identification than other patrons, or excluding them altogether). There are no written records of these kinds of protests against the Club Baths. On trips during the 2000s there were a wide mix of race/ethnicities patronizing the place as well as effeminate/transgender people being represented as opposed to their being absent at Los Angeles bathhouses during the same period.[60]

---

[58] For more in-depth analysis on bathhouses becoming places where gay men congregated, see Allan Bérubé, "*The History of Gay Bathhouses*," *Journal of Homosexuality* 44, no. 3/4 (2003).

[59] A similar pattern appeared elsewhere, as in Los Angeles, where the unincorporated area of West Hollywood emerged as a gay enclave as it was policed by the county sheriff. See Lillian Faderman and Stuart Timmons, *Gay L.A.: A History of Sexual Outlaws, Power Politics, and Lipstick Lesbians* (New York: Basic Books, 2006).

Club Baths was renamed Jeff's Gym in 1989, and became Steve's (no "gym") in the early 1990s.[61] Advertisements for Jeff's Gym and Steve's are found in the local *Gay Life Reno* magazine, the Reno Gay Rodeo Programs from 1980-1984, and Nevada-based *Bohemian Bugle*.[62] The bathhouse remains in business as Steve's, and is the second oldest still-operating gay bathhouse in the United States.[63] Club Baths is also the first exclusively gay bathhouse in the state of Nevada and in the local Reno area.

Dave's VIP – The Longest Operating LGBTQ Bar in the State of Nevada

Located at 3001 West Fourth Street, Dave's VIP was a motel and gay bar complex (Figure 6). In 1950, a motel was built at this location; at the time, what is now West Fourth Street was part of US 40, the main highway connecting Reno and Las Vegas.[64] The motel catered to the increasing number of tourists traveling by car by offering affordable lodging options. The development of Dave's at this location is part of the growth of gay tourist destinations in the West in general but also general tourism in the western United States.[65]

In 1962, construction started on Interstate 80, which pulled traffic off of US 40 and caused many businesses along it (including the motel) to decline and fail. In 1965 Dave Kirkcaldy and Rex Allen reopened the motel

---

[60] Based on informal conversations between author and patrons between 2005 and the present.
[61] *Bob Damron's Address Book*.
[62] *Gay Life Reno,* November 1984, 8; *Reno Gay Rodeo Programs,* 1980-1984; *Bohemian Bugle,* June 1987, 20; and *Bohemian Bugle*, May 1989, 19.
[63] Based on a survey of bathhouses listed online as of October 18, 2015.
[64] "Real Property Assessment Data".
[65] For a broader context regarding the growth of non-LGBTQ tourism in the American West in the twentieth century, see David Wrobel and Patrick Long, eds., *Seeing and Being Seen: Tourism in the American West* (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 2001); and Susan Sessions Rugh, *Are We There Yet? The Golden Age of American Family Vacations* (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 2008).

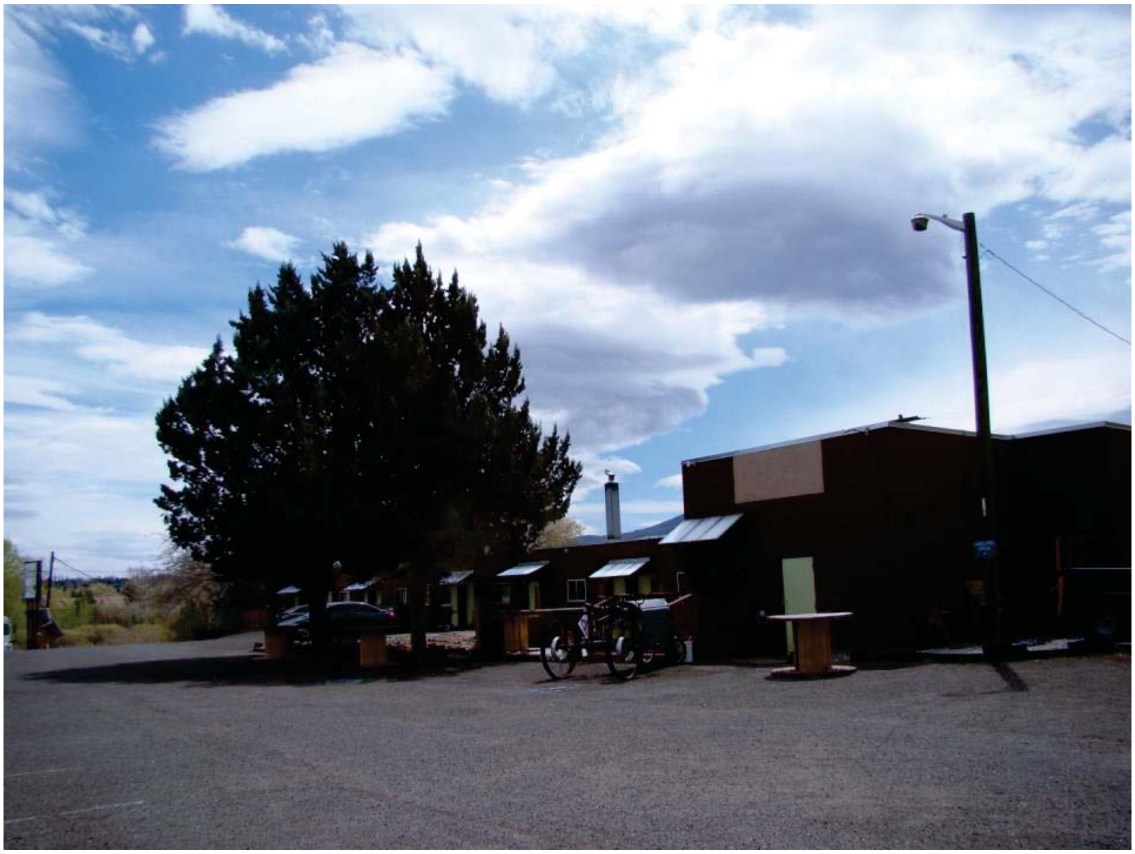


Figure 6: Former location of Dave's VIP, July 2015. Photo courtesy of Nicholas-Martin Kearney.

as the Westside Motel, specifically as a place for gay and other same-sex seeking men to stay on their travels.[66] This was part of a larger trend in the United States that began in the 1960s.[67] In 1966, they opened a mixed bar for gay men, lesbians, bisexuals, drag queens and others, and called the complex Dave's VIP Resort.[68] They advertised in gay travel guides and in gay magazines including the popular San Francisco publication, *Vector*.[69] It was Reno's first gay-owned and operated hotel.[70]

---

[66] *International Guild Guide* (Washington, DC: Guild Press, 1965).

[67] For a history of this phenomenon, see Amin Ghaziani, *There Goes the Gayborhood?* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2014).

[68] While Dave's VIP was ostensibly open to all members of the LGBTQ community, there are accounts of discrimination against lesbians and transgender people in the 1960s and 1970s. A transgender man who was a patron during this time had harsh words for the co-partner Rex Allen, who he characterized as disliking lesbians and transgender people yet they would be allowed entry because he always wanted to keep the business afloat and couldn't turn away customers. He also remembers Dave's being racially mixed as all other places, specifically that he would attend Dave's with a group of Native American friends. Keith Ann Libby, in interview with the author, July 3, 2015.

[69] *Bob Damron's Address Book*; and *Vector* issues March – December 1967. Bob Damron Guides played an important role in gay tourism from the 1960s-1990s. During this period, LGBTQ travelers

A 1969 article references Dave's "famous V.I.P. room," and describes the expansion of the business: "The motel, long popular with the Reno crowd and visitors from Northern and Southern California, is taking on the appearance of a resort."[71] Amenities included a disco, a pool, and a Jacuzzi. By 1975, Dave's had expanded to include a bathhouse on premises, and was promoting itself nationally in advertisements in the glossy gay magazine, *Mandate*.[72] It was also profiled that year in the new gay travel magazine, *Ciao,* as "The Number One spot."[73] The profile describes the clientele as, "All types – butch cyclists, queens, gals, drags, cowboys, gamblers and the like. The average age is about 22. Although it isn't a large bar, it can get very crowded at night…Incidentally, some of the friendliest and most beautiful people in Reno go here."[74]

By 1988, Dave's VIP Resort had been sold and reconfigured. While the motel continued to let rooms to LGBTQ travelers, the bar, renamed Visions, became the focus of the business. They continued to receive national attention, and in 1989 national gay glossy magazine *In Touch* described Visions as having "a very nice bar and good size dance floor. But it also has a nice comfortable 'living room' section to have a quiet drink, and an outdoor pool where parties are held in warm weather."[75] The motel closed in the 1990s, and units were turned into private apartments. The bar went through many owners and name changes until, known as Reflections, it closed in 2009. At that time it was the oldest continuously-open gay-owned and operated bar in Reno.

Dave's VIP made it possible for the gay male community to stay safely when travelling in and around Reno, which in turn, encouraged the growth

---

faced outright discrimination when travelling and needed information on safe places to go, and the Damron Guides filled this role, much as the Green Guides did for African American travelers from the 1930s through the early 1960s.

[70] For an in-depth discussion of LGBTQ travel history, see Gordon Waitt and Kevin Markwell, *Gay Tourism: Culture and Context* (New York: Haworth Press, 2006); and Stephen Clift, Michael Luongo, and Carry Callister, *Gay Tourism: Culture, Identity, and Sex* (London: Continuum, 2002).

[71] "Dave's Reno," *Vector,* July 1969, 25.

[72] *Mandate,* October 1975, 68.

[73] Bill Josephs, "Gay Reno," *Ciao*, June 1975, 16.

[74] Ibid.

[75] Ron Thomas, "Reno: Biggest Little City," *In Touch*, 88.

of gay male tourism in the area. It was one of the early members of the San Francisco-based Tavern Guild, the first gay business organization that formed and bound together to combat police corruption in Northern California and Northern Nevada.[76] This place is a national reminder of how LGBTQ tourism began to prosper in the United States during the 1960s. Further, it stands as one of the first three gay-owned and operated LGBTQ bars in the state of Nevada, and as the very first gay-owned and operated LGBTQ bar in the history of Reno.

Club 99 – The Second-Longest Operating Gay Bar in the State of Nevada

Club 99 (Figure 7) opened in 1971.[77] During this period, which followed the Stonewall Riots, many mixed clubs of previous generations, like the Reno Bar and low-profile gay bars like Dave's VIP, were replaced by higher-visibility venues bars in urban areas. Club 99 was one of these, located on Virginia Street, one of downtown Reno's main thoroughfares. This location in the heart of the Midtown District reflected a newly-confident, much less-guarded LGBTQ community starting to socialize openly in public places. During this transition to more visible clubs after Stonewall, many bars across the country became more gender specific in their clientele, geared towards gay men or women, and were more likely to exclude gender nonconforming people.[78] In Reno, this separation of clientele did not occur until the 1990s.

The business was known as Pop's 99 in 1980 and 1981, Club 99 from 1982 through 1984, and the Ten99 Club from 1985.[79] By 1989, photographs show renovations to Club Ten99, its name painted in large

---

[76] Boyd, 223-224.

[77] Bob Damron, "Travel Tips," *California Scene,* January 1972. Club 99 opened at 1099 South Virginia Street, Reno, Nevada.

[78] For examples of how this played out in cities across the US, see Donald F. Reuter*, Greetings from the Gayborhood: A Look Back at the Golden Age of Gay Neighborhoods* (New York: Abrams Image, 2008). Lesbian separatism emerged in the early 1970s. For the beginning of the lesbian separatist movement, see Del Martin, "Is That All There is?" *The Ladder*, December 1970, 4-6.

[79] *Bob Damron's Address Books,* 1980-1993.

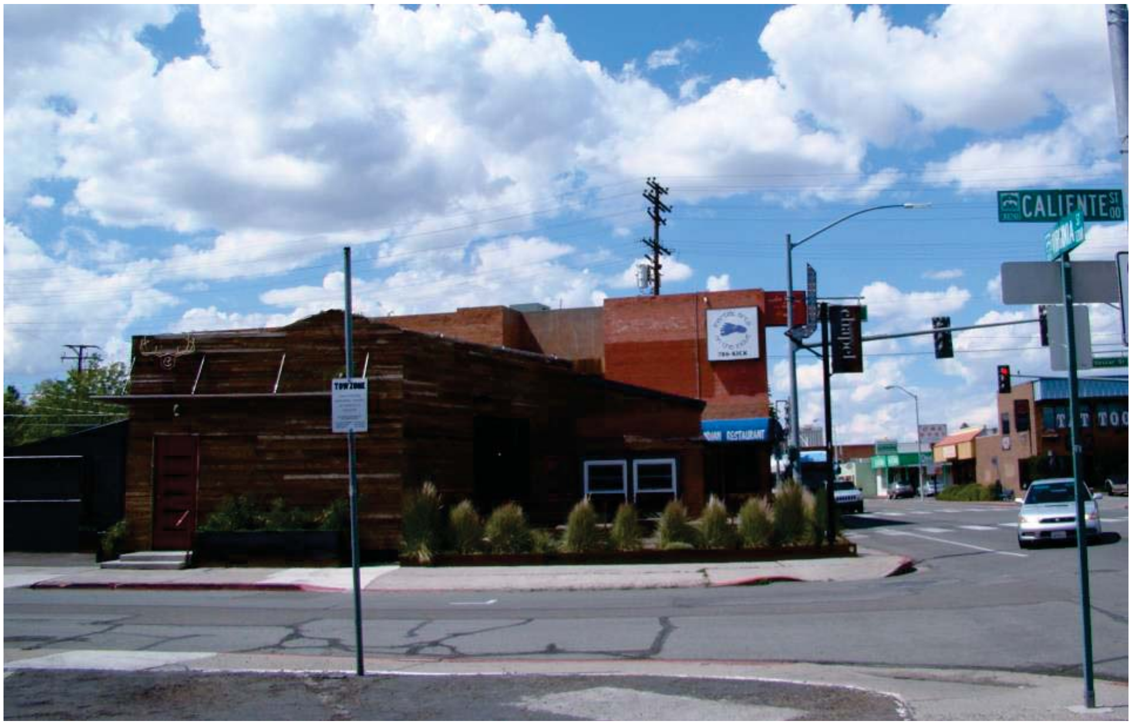


Figure 7: Former location of Club 99, now the Ten99 Club, July 2015. Photo courtesy of Nicholas-Martin Kearney.

graphic lettering on the windowless sides of the building and a sign hanging from a nearby utility pole.[80] In 2010, the author visited Club Ten99, which appeared to have not changed much, if at all, since 1989. Dark and enclosed inside, the club had no windows open to the outside. This is not unusual for early bars that had covered windows and discreet entrances to help protect their clientele from gawkers and harassment. In 1972, the Twin Peaks Tavern in San Francisco became the first gay bar to have open plate glass windows.[81] In 2011, the Ten99 Club closed, and was replaced by straight bar called Chapel. Renovations by Chapel included open windows and a patio.[82]

This location was an LGBTQ bar for forty years, making it one of the longest-operating gay/LGBTQ bars in the state of Nevada. When it closed in 2011, it was the oldest continuously-available such bar in Reno. It warrants national note as an example of the increasing LGBTQ visibility sweeping larger and smaller cities across the United States post-Stonewall.

---

[80] Thomas, Ibid.

[81] Marisa Lagos, "Twin Peaks Tavern – gay bar, historic landmark," *SF Gate,* January 19, 2013, accessed September 6, 2015, http://www.sfgate.com/politics/article/Twin-Peaks-Tavern-gay-bar-historic-landmark-4208442.php

[82] The date of the club's closing is based on "Tronix closes after 11 years as Reno joins national trend," *TheRenoGayPage*, February 26, 2015, accessed September 5, 2015, https://therenogaypage.wordpress.com/2015/02/26/tronix-closes-after-11-years-as-reno-joins-national-trend. Current description based on visit by the author on August 1, 2015.

5 Star Saloon – Oldest Continuously Operating Gay/LGBTQ Bar in the State of Nevada

The 5 Star Saloon (Figure 8) is the oldest continuously operating LGBTQ bar in the state of Nevada.[83] It opened in 1974 as a mixed bar called Paul's Lounge. Originally built in 1919 as a retail space, its use as a gay bar beginning in the 1970s further exemplifies the spread of high-visibility bars in the post-Stonewall 1970s.[84] Paul's Lounge was located downtown, close to the tourist areas of the casinos, and across the street from the First United Methodist Church. This level of visibility would have been unthinkable five years earlier but shows how gay/LGBTQ public presence, in Reno and in general, was becoming more accepted, even expected, in urban environments. Paul's Lounge proved so popular that it expanded in 1980 from a bar to a full disco, open twenty-four hours a day. In 1984, it was sold to a group of five owners and, accordingly, renamed the 5 Star Saloon. It has retained this name for over thirty years.[85]

The 5 Star Saloon remains open as an LGBTQ club, and consistently wins local awards for being the best gay bar in Reno.[86] In 2005, the Saloon appeared to have not upgraded any of its décor since the 1980s. In 2006, the bar changed ownership, and upgrades to the interior were made.[87] With an aggressive marketing campaign geared towards a younger demographic, the Saloon became the primary gay bar in Reno over the next couple of years. It is open to different classes and races as well as having activities centering on drag.[88]

---

[83] The 5 Star Saloon is located at 132 West Street, Reno, Nevada.

[84] "Washoe County Real Property Assessment Data".

[85] The first mention of Paul's Lounge appears in an advertisement in the 1974 *Apollo's Swinger's Guide,* which was a magazine devoted to gay male personal ads. No publisher or page number available, clipping of ad in possession of the author.

[86] 5 Star Saloon website, accessed September 27, 2015, http://5starsaloon.net.

[87] Visits by the author, 2005 and 2006.

The 5 Star Saloon is one of the nation's most persistent LGBTQ bars founded in the immediate post-Stonewall era. Many others failed financially during the Great Recession of 2007-2008.[89] Statewide and citywide, the Saloon remains the oldest LGBTQ post-Stonewall bar still in operation.

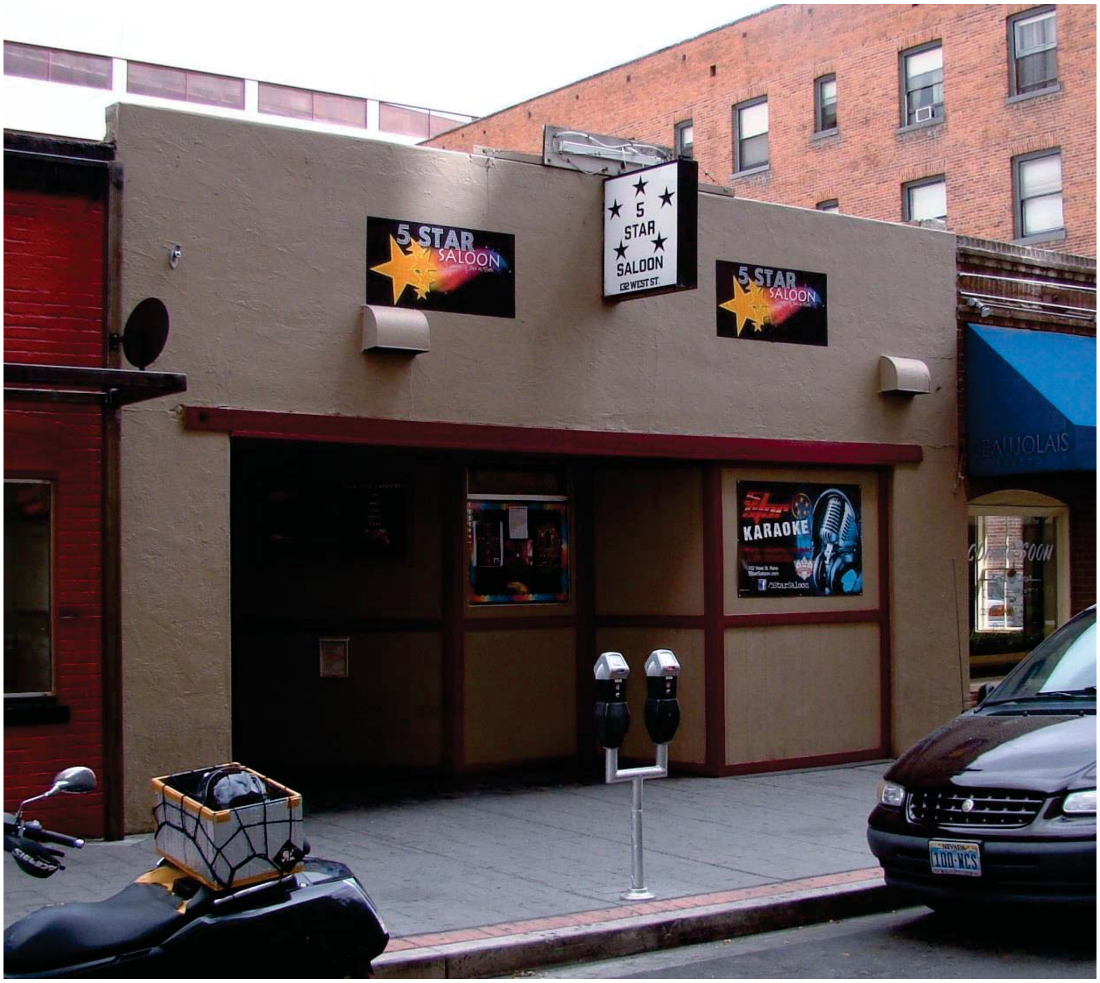


Figure 8: The 5 Star Saloon, July 2015. Photo courtesy of Nicholas-Martin Kearney.

---

[88] "Disco Divas Drag Show 2015," 5 Star Saloon website, accessed September 27, 2015, http://5starsaloon.net/photo/disco-divas-drag-show-2015.
[89] Based on survey of bars listed in *Reno Outlands* and *Reno Out* magazines from 2007-2009.

Bad Dolly's – Reno's First Lesbian Bar

Bad Dolly's (Figure 9) was Reno's first lesbian bar.[90] The building opened in 1930 and was a popular local grocery store from the 1940s through the 1960s. By 1992, local lesbian Shelly Palmer, who had moved to Reno in the 1980s, opened a lesbian bar called Bad Dolly's in the space. Until then, Reno's LGBTQ community was unable to support a fully lesbian bar, so lesbian and bisexual women went to more gender-mixed LGBTQ bars. One reason given for this delay was that Reno's lesbian community wasn't ready for a visible public presence like the one in San Francisco.[91]

Bad Dolly's became an important site not just for socializing, but political mobilizing as well. For example, in January 1994 a statewide anti-gay initiative was proposed that would have made it legal to deny housing

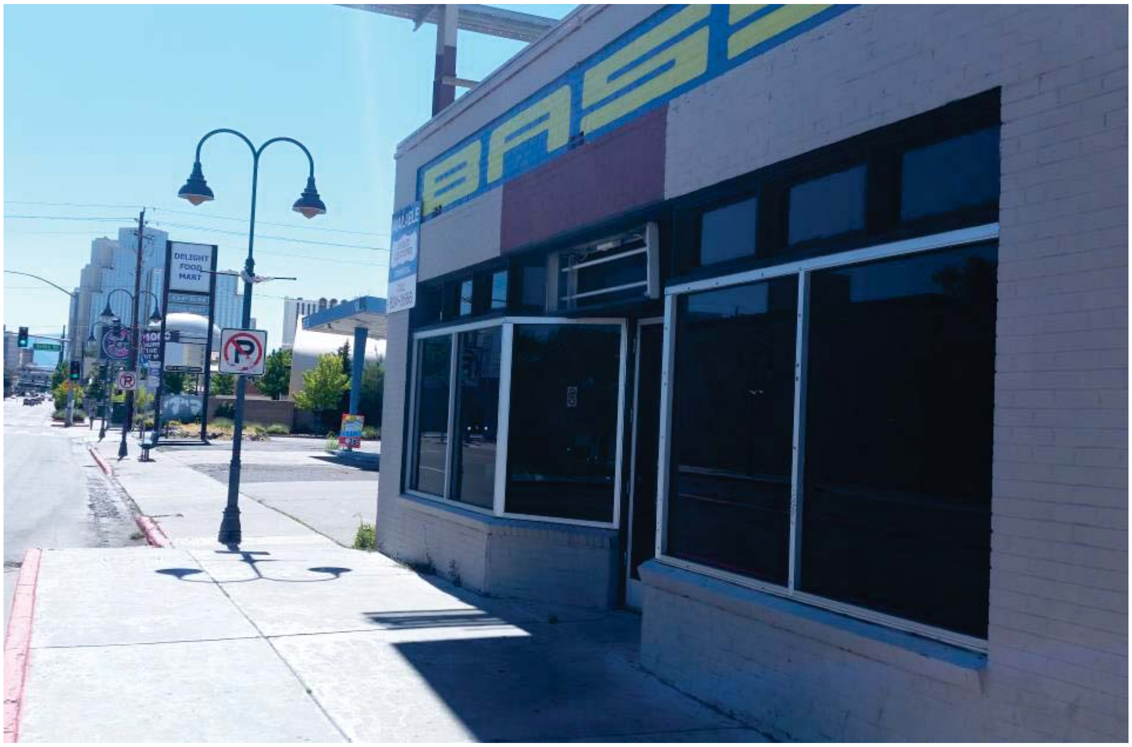


Figure 9: Former location of Bad Dolly's, August 2015. Photo courtesy of Nicholas-Martin Kearney.

---

[90] Bad Dolly's is located at 535 East Fourth Street, Reno, Nevada.
[91] Adrienne Rice, "The Other Gay Community: Local Women Talk about Living as Lesbians in Northern Nevada," *Reno News and Review,* October 11, 2001.

or to fire someone based on their sexual orientation.[92] Bad Dolly's hosted a rally against the initiative attended by then-governor Bob Miller and Las Vegas Mayor Jan Jones.[93] Unlike the mixed and gay bars which had long histories, Bad Dolly's closed by 1999. It was not until 2001, when the Blue Cactus Bar and Nightclub opened that Reno had another lesbian bar.[94] The history and struggles of Bad Dolly's are representative of those faced by lesbian bars in many small to mid-sized American cities.

Events, Groups and Organizations

LGBTQ Events and organizations in Reno ran the gamut from the first stirrings of gay consciousness raising on the University of Nevada, Reno (UNR) campus in 1969, through the move of the publication of the national lesbian organization, the Daughters of Bilitis to the area, through the success of the Reno Gay Rodeo. All of these were important as they not only brought awareness of the LGBTQ community in Reno to a national level, but an international one.

University of Nevada Reno – "Sex Week" Inclusion of Talk on Lesbianism and Formation of the Gay/Queer Student Union

In 1969, from October 6 through 9, the Associated Women Students at UNR sponsored an event called "Sex Week."[95] This was during the broader sexual revolution, which played an important role in the history of the modern LGBTQ rights movement.[96] "Sex Week," which was such a groundbreaking event that it brought the university international attention, featured a discussion about lesbianism by Rita LaPorte, a local out lesbian, and then-president of the Daughters of Bilitis.[97] "Sex Week" at UNR is an event of national, state, and local import as an example of how the sexual revolution was enacted across the country.[98]

---

[92] A far right extremist group called the Oregon Citizens Alliance tried to get the initiative on the November ballot. They failed to gain the number of petition signatures to make this happen, and political leaders were broad based in their condemnation of the initiative. For more, see Maria L. LaGanga, "Anti-Gay Initiative Fails to Make Nevada Ballot," *Los Angeles Times,* June 22, 1994.
[93] "Around the Nation," *The Advocate*, April 5, 1994, 22.
[94] The Blue Cactus was located at the former site of Dave's VIP.
[95] Associated Press, "U of Nevada to Observe 'Sex Week,'" *Edwardsville Intelligencer*, October 1, 1969.
[96] David Allyn, *Make Love, Not War: The Sexual Revolution: An Unfettered History* (New York: Little, Brown and Company, 2000).

Sixteen years later, in 1985, the Gay Student Union was formed at UNR, both despite and in response to the conservative national politics and "culture wars" of the 1980s. The Gay Student Union became the Queer Student Union during the 2000s and remains active on campus. UNR's Queer Student Union is part of a broad trend, especially in smaller cities, of institutions of higher learning as sites for LGBTQ activism in the 1980s.[99] During this same period, LGBTQ groups at larger universities, which had formed in the 1970s, were expanding in size.

The experience of students in Nevada's two largest cities, Reno and Las Vegas, showcase the inclusion and visibility for LGBTQ college and university students, as well as faculty and their allies—an important development in the last four decades that most contemporary observers likely take for granted as unexceptional. Educational institutions help not only create an informed citizenry but also serve as valuable sites for community formation and diversity.

The Ladder – *First Nationally-Distributed Lesbian Magazine*

The first nationally distributed lesbian magazine in the United States, *The Ladder*, was published by the Daughters of Bilitis. Founded in San Francisco in 1955, the Daughters of Bilitis was the first American organization working for lesbian civil rights. They began publishing *The Ladder* in October 1956.[100]

---

[97] "1969 Year of 'Firsts' in Education," *Nevada State Journal*, January 1, 1970.
[98] For a good comparison of how the sexual revolution at the University of Kansas played out, see Beth Bailey, *Sex in the Heartland* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2002).
[99] For another Nevada example, the University of Nevada, Las Vegas was the site of even earlier LGBTQ organizing, including the formation of the Gay Academic Union in 1983; see Dennis McBride, "Gay Academic Union," *OutHistory.org*, accessed September 30, 2015, http://www.outhistory.org/exhibits/show/las-vegas/articles/gau.

In the 1960s, members of the Daughters of Bilitis were split between those who wanted the organization to embrace a more radical feminism and those who were still operating in the older mode of acceptance by conformity, which had been the cornerstone of groups formed in the 1950s.[101] The founders Phyllis Lyon and Del Martin quit being involved in the group in 1966 as a result of the turmoil within the organization.[102] The internal differences came to a head at the 1968 national Daughters of Bilitis convention in Denver. It was here that, unlike previous conventions, only about twenty members showed up.[103] As a result, final decisions on formal issues were tabled until the 1970 convention in New York City. At the 1968 convention, San Francisco-based lesbian activist Rita LaPorte was elected president, and Kansas City-based member Barbara Grier was elected editor of *The Ladder*.[104] With these elections there would be a major shift in the focus of the organization and *The Ladder* towards more radical feminism.

Marguerite Augusta LaPorte was born September 30, 1921 in New York City.[105] Her parents were Cloyd LaPorte and Marguerite Roeder. Her father was a successful lawyer who was elected president of the New York Bar in 1956.[106] In 1943 she enrolled in the army in Philadelphia, as a Women's Army Corps Aviation cadet.[107] By the 1960s she was a vocal and out lesbian activist living in San Francisco going by the name Rita.

---

[100] For a comprehensive history of the Daughters of Bilitis and an account of this time in the organization, see Marcia M. Gallo, *Different Daughters*: *A History of the Daughters of Bilitis and the Rise of the Lesbian Rights Movement* (New York: Carroll & Graf, 2006).

[101] The gay men's Los Angeles-based organization, ONE, followed a similar trajectory as the Daughters of Bilitis, as chronicled in C. Todd White's *Pre-Gay L.A.: A Social History of the Movement for Homosexual Rights* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2009).

[102] Gallo, 142.

[103] Gallo, 143.

[104] Gallo, 143.

[105] *Harvard Alumni Bulletin* XXUV, no. 1 (September 29, 1921): 226-227.

[106] *American Bar Association Journal* 42, no. 61 (July 1956): 674.

[107] John D'Emilio, *Sexual Politics, Sexual Communities: The Making of a Homosexual Minority in the United States 1940-1970* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983).

In the spring of 1970, LaPorte and Grier decided to take the mailing addresses and printing plates for *The Ladder* to suburban Reno, where LaPorte was living with her girlfriend.[108] They planned that, by taking *The Ladder* out to San Francisco and away from the interference of the old guard of the organization, they could represent a more radical form of lesbian feminism. Many members of the Daughters of Bilitis saw this as a major betrayal; despite this, the magazine continued being published. The magazine launched bimonthly publication out of Reno in June/July 1970 and continued publication until a lack of funding caused production to cease in 1972.[109] Rita LaPorte passed away in San Francisco on October 28, 1976.[110]

Washoe County Fairgrounds – Site of the Reno Gay Rodeo

The Washoe County Fairgrounds (Figure 10) was the location of the Reno Gay Rodeo from 1976 through 1984.[111] The rodeo was created by Philip Lane Ragsdale, a native of California, who grew up on farms there and loved participating in rodeos. He moved to Reno in the early 1970s and, strongly motivated to serve others, worked for such organizations as the Muscular Dystrophy Association, and various other local charities. While volunteering at a Thanksgiving dinner in 1975, he was inspired, imagining rodeo as a way to bring pride to the gay community, and to combat negative stereotypes about gay men—all while raising money for charities.[112] Although created primarily as a small men's event with 150

---

[108] They lived at 154 Stanford Way, Sparks, Nevada (now demolished).
[109] Ibid, 180.
[110] "Rita Laporte," Find A Grave website, accessed October 18, 2015, http://www.findagrave.com/cgi-bin/fg.cgi?page=gr&amp;GRid=87717943&amp;ref=acom.
[111] For a comprehensive history of the Reno Gay Rodeo, visit the International Gay Rodeo Association website, accessed September 30, 2015, http://www.igra.com. For a timeline of the Reno Gay Rodeo, see "Time Line of Interesting Facts and Events," Gay Rodeo History website, accessed May 4, 2015, http://gayrodeohistory.org/timeline.htm. The Washoe County Fairgrounds are located at 1001 Wells Avenue in Reno, Nevada.
[112] "The History of Gay Rodeo," Gay Rodeo History website, accessed April 21, 2015, http://gayrodeohistory.org/GayRodeoHistory.htm.

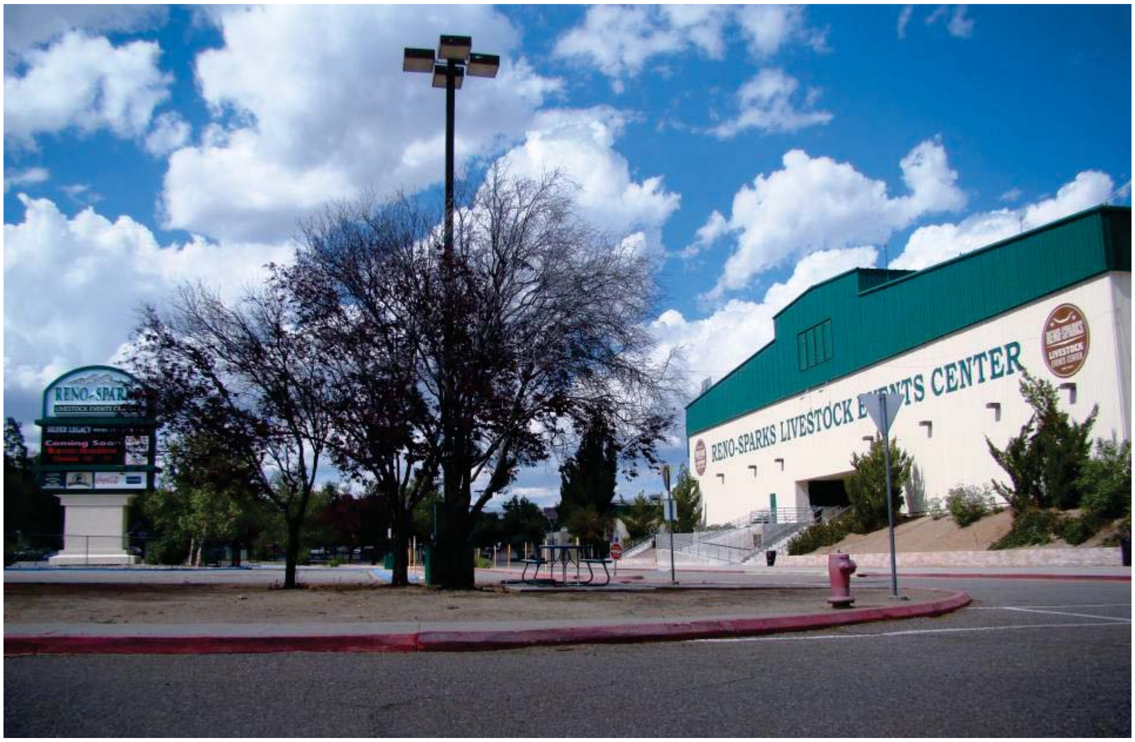


Figure 10: Washoe County Fairgrounds, July 2015. Photo courtesy of Nicholas-Martin Kearney.

people attending in 1976, lesbians and both men and women in drag were included by 1977.[113]

The rodeo quickly became an international event, drawing LGBTQ people as audiences and participants from all over the globe by 1980.[114] Approximately ten thousand people attended the rodeo that year, and forty thousand showed up for nightlife festivities.[115] The popularity of the event provoked a homophobic backlash by the Reno City Council and various elected officials, who tried to shut it down in 1981.[116] On March 16, 1981 newly elected Washoe County Commissioner Belie Williams said during a caucus meeting that "he did not want the annual Gay Rodeo to be held in Reno and would review its contract with Nevada State Fair officials."[117] He continued, "I personally don't condone the acceptance of the thing. It may be good for business, but I don't think it's business our community needs…I think they [homosexuals] have their rights, but I don't think our community needs to endorse those rights."[118] Fairgrounds general manager David Drew responded that he would confer with the fairgrounds attorneys.[119]

---

[113] Gary Pedersen, "Frivolity Reigns at Gay Rodeo," *Nevada State Journal,* August 21, 1977, 40. The rodeo can be seen as a reflection of the hypermasculinity embodied by gay men beginning in the 1970s. This includes the "Castro Clone," a style of dress that played up images of masculinity. See Michael Flood et al., eds., *International Encyclopedia of Men and Masculinites* (New York: Routledge, 2007).

[114] Mark Crawford, "Gay Rodeo: The Competition is Just as Tough," *Nevada State Journal*, August 4, 1980. An assessment of pictures, from the Gay Rodeo History website, of the 1979 and 1980 rodeos shows a majority male and white audience with a few, if any, people of color.

[115] "The History of Gay Rodeo".

[116] The attack on the Reno Gay Rodeo in 1981 was started by a councilman; it was covered in newspapers state-wide, including the *Reno Evening Gazette* and the *Las Vegas Sun*.

The Reno Gay Rodeo weathered the storm, and had its best year in 1982 in terms of finances and number of attendees. The rodeo of that year was so popular that comedian Joan Rivers served as a grand marshal; 22,000 people attended the rodeo itself.[120] More trouble was not far off. In 1983, people argued that government property (the fairgrounds) should not be used for a gathering that would lead to the spread of AIDS.[121] Unable to survive the economic recession of the early 1980s and increasing AIDS hysteria, the last Reno Gay Rodeo was held in 1984.[122]

The Reno Gay Rodeo was a pioneering transnational LGBTQ event that brought the idea of a "gay" rodeo to the American mainstream. It was the first rodeo created by and participated in by LGBTQ individuals in both Reno and Nevada, and is significant for the controversies surrounding the rodeo's use of government space. Not only did the Reno Gay Rodeo lead to the international expansion of a gay sport as a recreational and philanthropic enterprise, but it founded the gay rodeo circuit that continues on an international scale.

---

[117] Rodney Foo, "Commissioner Objects To Gay Rodeo in Reno," *Nevada State Journal*, March 9, 1981.

[118] Ibid.

[119] Ibid.

[120] Mark Crawford, "National Reno Gay Rodeo: And in the Saddle," *The Advocate*, September 16, 1982.

[121] Wayne Melton, "Arguments Focus On AIDS Issue," *Nevada State Journal,* July 26, 1983, 12A; "Foes of gay rodeo seek ban," *Las Vegas Sun,* July 28, 1983, 17; and "AIDS Epidemic Casts Pall over Reno Rodeo," *Las Vegas Review-Journal,* August 8, 1983, 8B.

[122] "Unpaid Bill May End Gay Rodeo," *Las Vegas Review Journal,* November 6, 1984, 2B. A comeback was attempted in 1988, but was unsuccessful.

Conclusion

This overview of Reno, Nevada highlights the contributions that it, and other smaller cities and tourist destinations have made to broader LGBTQ history. Many of the places of local, state, and national significance in and around Reno remain extant, and some, including Steve's Bathhouse and the 5 Star Saloon, are still in operation. While serving as a case study of small and mid-sized American cities, Reno's laws around divorce and gambling have uniquely shaped its LGBTQ history.

29

CHICAGO: QUEER HISTORIES AT THE CROSSROADS OF AMERICA

Jessica Herczeg-Konecny

Chicagoans live at the crossroads of America. As an urban center, the city has drawn people from all over the Midwest, the country, and the world. It is a city of many firsts in national LGBTQ history.[1] The city has a long history of people who experienced same-sex desire and gender transgression who lived—and live—all over the city, from Bronzeville to Boystown, and in neighborhoods within what grew to 234 square miles. This is a story of everyday people making their lives: fighting discrimination and homophobia, coming together for pleasure and protest, and creating communities. These are sites of resistance, pain, celebration, community building, or all of the above. This chapter is not encyclopedic, but offers assistance in the issues involved when thinking about completing a nomination for a Chicago-based historic site, as well as highlighting places important in the LGBTQ history of the Windy City.

---

[1] Chicago was the site of the first group advocating for homosexual rights in America. Henry Gerber founded the Society for Human Rights in 1924. His home was designated a National Historic Landmark on June 19, 2015. Jonathan Farr, et al., Draft National Historic Landmark Nomination: Henry Gerber House. University of Michigan Public History Initiative, 2014. On file, National Park Service, Washington, DC. In addition, Dr. James Kiernan delivered the first-ever lecture on homosexuality in the United States (titled “Perverted Sexual Instinct”) on January 7, 1884, at a meeting of the Chicago Medical Society. *Minute book of the Chicago Medical Society*, 1884, Gift of the Chicago Medical Society, Chicago History Museum, 1913.0091. Also, Margaret Anderson started the famous literary periodical *Little Review* in Chicago in 1914. In 1915, she wrote, “Mrs. Ellis’s Failure,” which is considered the first essay arguing for homosexual rights in the United States. Margaret Anderson, “Mrs. Ellis’s Failure,” *Little Review* 2:1 (1915), 16-19.

Queer History is Chicago History

Since the nineteenth century, people have immigrated from all over the world and migrated from all over the country (especially from the South and Midwest) into Chicago. Cities like Chicago provided space for people to explore different expressions of sexuality and gender identity, freer from familial and/or religious oversight. The city allowed for increased anonymity, but also enabled people to find each other, come together, and develop communities of people like themselves.[2] In 1851, the city's Common Council enacted a number of laws to police behavior, especially "offenses against public morals and decency."[3] Ordinances included rules prohibiting swimming in the river, gambling, and public nudity.[4] One of the ordinances criminalized people who "appear[ed] in a dress not belonging to his or her sex, or in an indecent or lewd dress."[5] Laws such as these were part of morality campaigns across the country; Chicago was one of the first cities with a ban on cross-dressing, but not the only. The fine was to be "not less than twenty dollars nor exceeding one hundred dollars." Twenty dollars is approximately equivalent to $600 and $100 is approximately equal to $2,300 in 2014 dollars.[6] This punitive fine well exceeded the average for the time which was five dollars.[7]

---

[2] See Jill Austin and Jennifer Brier, "Out in Chicago: Exhibiting LGBT History at the Crossroads," in *Out in Chicago: LGBT History at the Crossroads*, ed. Jill Austin and Jennifer Brier (Chicago: Chicago History Museum, 2011), 1-22. See also John D'Emilio, "Capitalism and Gay Identity," *Making Trouble* (New York: Routledge, 1992), 5. Reprinted from Ann Snitow, et al., *Powers of Desire: The Politics of Sexuality* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1983), 100-113.

[3] City Council of Chicago, Records of Ordinances vol. 2 7/0030/01, Illinois Regional Archives Depository, Northeastern Illinois University, 51.

[4] *Ibid.* 51-53.

[5] 1851 ordinance, City of Chicago book of ordinances, 1856. Chicago History Museum F38.FA 1856.

Between 1850 and 1920, the *Chicago Tribune* reported hundreds of sensationalized stories of gender crossers and people whose experiences might be understood through a transgender lens had they been alive today: male-bodied people who dressed and/or lived as women, female-bodied people who dressed and/or lived as men, and others who violated normative gender categories.[8] People expressed their gender identity differently from their sex for a variety of reasons, and according to historians Jennifer Brier and Anne Parsons, the newspaper articles provided "a sense that the actions taken by transgender people were deliberate and often strategic."[9] The actual sites of these so-called "transgressions" may not ever be known, and the people who were arrested were taken to different jails and different courts throughout the city. Without knowing the locations, can we situate the people and events on a map? One way to remember these histories might be to talk about them at City Hall at 121 North LaSalle Street (completed in 1911). Since 1853, this location has marked the boundaries of the sites of all city halls and a courthouse.[10] At this place, we can talk about a history of policing and the state in Chicago, as well as the importance of bodies, comportment, and clothing in LGBTQ history.

---

[6] *Ibid.* As for an inflation calculator, see Samuel H. Williamson, "Seven Ways to Compute the Relative Value of a U.S. Dollar Amount, 1774 to present," *Measuring Worth*, 2015, http://www.measuringworth.com/uscompare/relativevalue.php.

[7] Jennifer Brier and Anne Parsons, "Gender Crossroads: Representations of Gender Transgressions in Chicago's Press, 1850-1920," in *Out in Chicago: LGBT History at the Crossroads*, ed. Jill Austin and Jennifer Brier (Chicago: Chicago History Museum, 2011), 27.

[8] *Ibid.*, 23-40.

[9] *Ibid.*, 23.

[10] David Garrard Lowe, "Public Buildings in the Loop," in *The Encyclopedia of Chicago*, eds. Jannice L. Reiff, et al. (Chicago: Chicago Historical Society, 2005), http://www.encyclopedia.chicagohistory.org/pages/1019.html. See also *AIA Guide to Chicago*, third edition, eds. Alice Sinkevitch and Laurie McGovern Petersen, (Champaign, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2014), 74. Many other important events in Chicago's queer history have taken place at City Hall, especially ones involving political activists. For example, on December 21, 1988, the City Council passed the Chicago Human Rights Ordinance to prohibit discrimination based on sexual orientation in areas such as employment and housing. It was amended in 2002 to include the phrase "gender identity." The 2012 ordinance reads, in part, "that behavior which denies equal treatment to any individual because of his or her race, color, sex, gender identity, age, religion, disability, national origin, ancestry, sexual orientation, marital status, parental status, military discharge status, source of income, or credit history (as to employment only) undermines civil order and deprives persons of the benefits of a free and open society." City of Chicago Commission on Human Relations, "Chicago Human Rights Ordinance," in *Ordinances Administered by the City of Chicago Commission on Human Relations*, 2012, PDF at 7.

The police and court system continued to play a large role in regulating gender and social norms throughout the twentieth century. In January 1943, Evelyn "Jackie" Bross and Catherine Barscz were arrested and brought to the Racine Avenue police station (Figure 1).[11] Nineteen-year-old Bross (of Cherokee descent) worked as a machinist at a World War II defense plant. On her way home from work, police arrested Bross for dressing as a man. At the Women's Court, Bross informed the judge that she wore men's clothing because it was "more comfortable than women's clothes and handy for work." The judge ordered Bross to see a court psychiatrist for six months. As a result of the case, the Chicago City Council amended the 1851 ordinance to exclude those people who did not intend to use clothing to conceal their sex. According to the *Tribune*, Alderman William J. Cowhey proposed an amendment to the city ordinance as a direct result of this case.[12] Police practice of arresting gender crossers persisted through the rest of the post-World War II period, and the ordinance against cross-dressing was finally repealed in 1973.[13]

---

https://www.cityofchicago.org/content/dam/city/depts/cchr/AdjSupportingInfo/AdjFORMS/OrdinanceBooklet2012. City Hall has also been the site of protests such as the one in November 1989. One hundred demonstrators led by ACT UP/Chicago leader Danny Sotomayor marched from the Daley Center to City Hall. They staged a sit-in to protest Mayor Richard M. Daley's slow response to the AIDS crisis and fifteen activists - including Sotomayor - were arrested. "15 arrested at City Hall during gay rights sit-in," *Chicago Tribune* (Chicago, IL), Nov. 22, 1989, D2.

[11] 731 North Racine Avenue; site only.

[12] "Council Group Urges an O.K. on Women's Slacks," *Chicago Daily Tribune* (Chicago, IL), Jan. 21, 1943, at 3. Rita Fitzpatrick, "Parity in Pants Issue Stirs Up Feminine Ire," *Chicago Daily Tribune* (Chicago, IL), Jan. 8, 1943. Fitzpatrick described Bross as "A petite, dark-haired miss, whose placidity was inherited from a full-blooded Cherokee father" and also described her "mannish haircut." The Women's Court was located at 1121 South State Street.

[13] Marie J. Kuda, "Cross-Dressing Law Struck Down," in *Out and Proud in Chicago: An Overview of the City's Gay Community*, ed. Tracy Baim (Chicago: Surrey Books, 2008), 91. See also John D'Emilio, "Chicago Gay History: Who Wears the Pants?" Online edition of *Windy City Times* (Chicago, IL), Sept. 9, 2009 http://www.windycitymediagroup.com/gay/lesbian/news/ARTICLE.php?AID=22829.

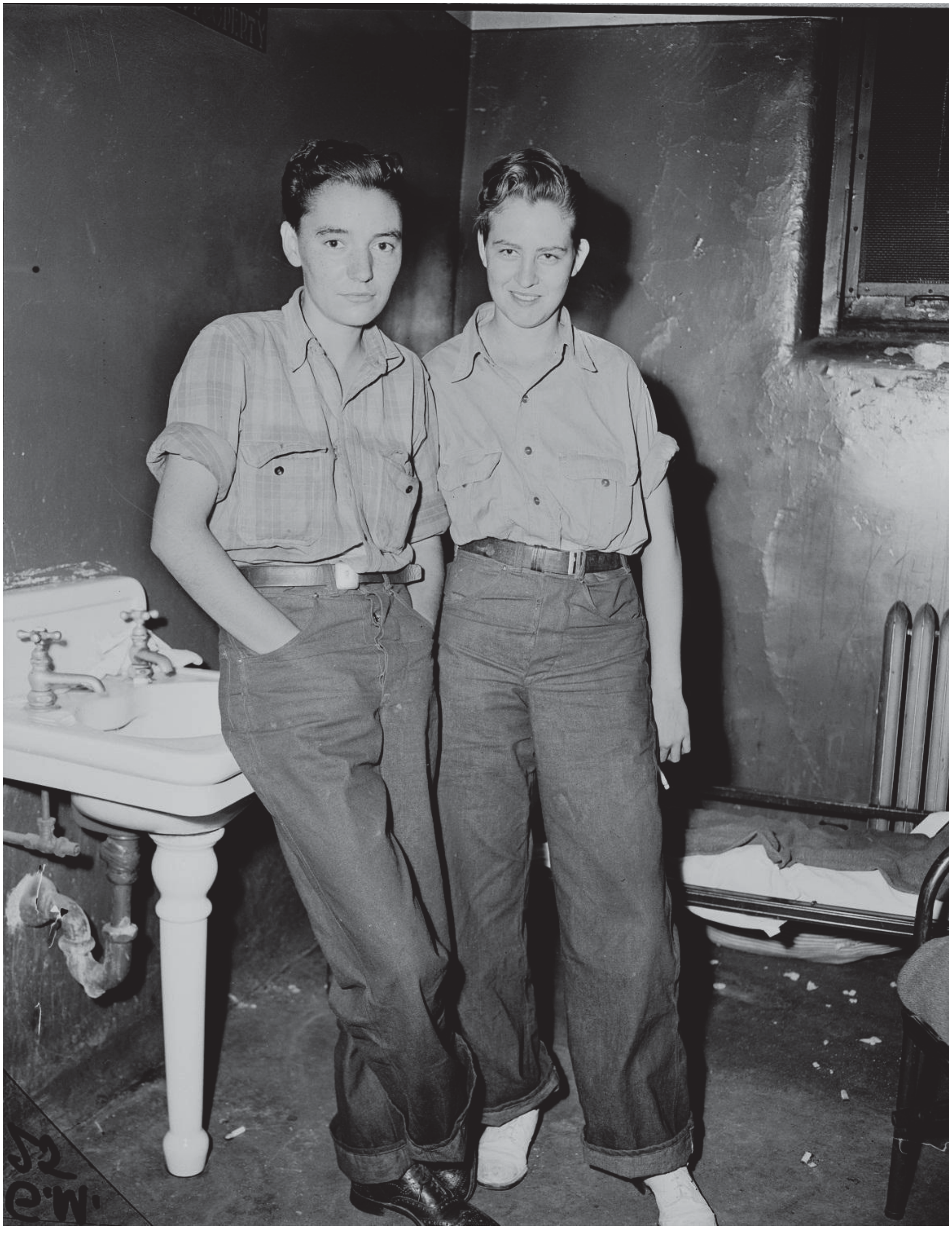


Figure 1: Evelyn "Jackie" Bross (left) and Catherine Barscz (right), Racine Avenue Police Station, January 1943. Courtesy of The Chicago History Museum (*Chicago Daily News* negatives collection, ICHi-63143).

Building Communities

At first glance, places of entertainment such as bars and clubs may appear only to be about recreation. However, these gathering spaces had profoundly political impacts that shaped the course of LGBTQ struggles against homophobia and for equality. In the first half of the twentieth century, queer residential and commercial life thrived in the working-class neighborhoods that ringed Chicago's central business district known as the Loop: the neighborhood known as Bronzeville on the South Side, the West Side, and the Near North Side. During the 1920s and 1930s, the neighborhood around Rush and Clark Streets on the Near North Side was called Towertown, named for the nearby city Water Tower. It was an area full of rooming houses: single units for workers living and sometimes loving together. In this district was Washington Square Park, also known as "Bughouse Square"; "bughouse" was slang referring to mental health facilities.[14] The park was a popular spot for people to give radical speeches and also for cruising. During the Prohibition era Towertown emerged as a bohemian as well as a lesbian and gay enclave where politics and entertainment intermingled. Nearby was the Dill Pickle Club, in Tooker Alley off of Dearborn Street. The doorway had a sign: "Step High, Stoop Low, Leave Your Dignity Outside." The club was founded in 1914, and by the 1920s, it had become a nightspot popular with writers, intellectuals, socialists, anarchists, poets, artists, gay men, and lesbians where lecturers spoke about diverse and taboo topics such as homosexuality and sexual freedom.[15] The hotspot also held popular masked balls and anti-war dances. Crowds included hobos, gangsters, prostitutes, and college students.[16] Towertown held other attractions as well, including clubs catering to lesbians such as the Roselle Inn and Twelve-Thirty Club; both clubs were closed by the police in 1935.[17] There were many more speakeasies and cabarets, such as the Ballyhoo Café, catering to gay men known as "pansy parlors" featuring effeminate men or female impersonators as entertainment.[18]

---

[14] Washington Square Park was listed on the NRHP on May 20, 1991. For historical information about Bughouse Square see Franklin Rosemont, "Bughouse Square," in *The Electronic Encyclopedia of Chicago*, eds. Janice L. Reiff, et al., (Chicago: Chicago Historical Society, 2005), http://www.encyclopedia.chicagohistory.org/pages/178.html.

[15] Speakers included radicals such as Ben Reitman and Dr. Magnus Hirschfeld (who spoke specifically on homosexuality in 1931). Other lectures during the 1920s included "Is Monogamy a Failure," "Nymphomaniacs in Modern Literature," and Elizabeth Davis's lecture, "Will Amazonic Women Usurp Man's Sphere." Information from the Newberry Library, Dill Pickle Collection, Box 1, Folder 71; Box 2, Folder 154; and Box 3, Folder 228.

Towertown drew the attention of social scientists including Ernest Burgess, a founder of the "Chicago School" of Sociology at the University of Chicago, and Alfred Kinsey from Indiana University. Burgess's work on Towertown began in the 1920s. He charged his students to investigate social and sexual underworlds. The research provides invaluable glimpses into the intimate lives of Chicagoans.[19] In June 1939, Kinsey met a gay man who introduced him to Chicago's queer community in Towertown. During that and subsequent trips, Kinsey stayed at the Harrison Hotel and conducted sex-history interviews out of his room. The research in Chicago helped inform the research that led to Kinsey's groundbreaking book, *Sexual Behavior in the Human Male* (1948).[20] The work of Burgess, Kinsey, and their research assistants documented stories about Chicago's nightlife that otherwise might have been lost. They reported on citywide sexual subcultures whose members often crossed racial and class lines at clubs, bars, and at parties. Their findings documented that Chicago was a significant haven for same-sex sexuality and revealed LGBTQ people as an underacknowledged American population, paving the way for other research that followed.

---

[16] "The World of the Dill Pickle Club," Newberry Library, http://publications.newberry.org/frontiertoheartland/exhibits/show/perspectives/dillpickle. 1916 Masked Ball handbill, Newberry Library Dill Pickle Club collection, Box 2, Folder 88. 1920s Halloween Masque Ball handbill, Newberry Library Dill Pickle Club collection, Box 2, Folder 199. 1920s Anti-War Dance handbill, Newberry Library Dill Pickle Club collection, Box 1, Folder 33.

[17] The Roselle Inn was at 1251 North Clark Street; The Twelve-Thirty Club at 1230 Clybourn Avenue. See Lucinda Fleeson, "The Gay '30s," in *Out and Proud in Chicago: An Overview of the City's Gay Community*, ed. Tracy Baim (Chicago: Surrey Books, 2008), 45.

[18] The Ballyhoo Café was located at 1942 North Halsted Street. Chad Heap, *Slumming: Sexual and Racial Encounters in American Nightlife, 1885-1940* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009), 87-88. See also Fleeson, "The Gay '30s," 42 and Schwanda Schweik, "Chicago World's Fairies," *Brevities* 3-6, December 7, 1931, 1.

[19] Chad Heap, *Homosexuality in the City: A Century of Research at the University of Chicago* (Chicago: University of Chicago Library, 2000); Chad Heap, "The City as a Sexual Laboratory: The Queer Heritage of the Chicago School," *Qualitative Sociology* 26:4 (Winter 2003), 457-487.

[20] Letter from Alfred C. Kinsey to Ralph Voris, October 1939. Kinsey Institute for Research in Sex, Gender, and Reproduction. See James H. Jones, *Alfred C. Kinsey: A Public/Private Life* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1997), 371. See also John D'Emilio, "Chicago Gay History: Kinsey in Chicago," *Windy City Times* (Chicago, IL), Aug. 26, 2009, http://windycitymediagroup.com/gay/lesbian/news/ARTICLE.php?AID=22651. The Harrison Hotel was on Harrison Street at Michigan Avenue.

After World War II and into the 1960s, many queer people lived and socialized in the area further north of Towertown, centered at Dearborn and Division (dubbed “Quearborn and Perversion”).[21] In the 1950s, a number of gay-friendly male spaces sprung up in the area including the Haig and the Hollywood Bowl, and the Lincoln Street Bath continued in popularity.[22] In 1958, Chuck Renslow opened the country’s first known gay leather bar, the Gold Coast (Figure 2).[23] The Gold Coast began holding the Mr. Gold Coast leather competition in the 1970s. In 1979, the competition was moved to a larger venue and renamed International Mr. Leather (IML). IML continues to draw thousands of people from around the world to Chicago each May.

City officials targeted this neighborhood on the Near North Side as part of the federal urban renewal programs. After World War II, federal policies (such as the development of the Interstate Highway System as well as the federal government providing favorable housing loans for white male heads-of-household), prompted the movement of many white, middle-class families out of American cities.[24]

---

[21] See, for example, Ron Pajak’s documentary *Quearborn & Perversion* (2009). http://www.quearbornandperversion.com/

[22] The Haig was located at 800 North Dearborn Street; the Hollywood Bowl at 1300 North Clark Street (See “2 Captains Face Quiz Today” *Chicago Daily Tribune* (Chicago, IL), Jan. 30, 1953, 1. Police testified in front of members of the City Council that the Hollywood Bowl “was full of male degenerates. They were sitting close and holding hands.”) The Lincoln Street Bath was built in 1918 at 1019 North Wolcott Street. There are too many notable bars and nightclubs to name in this essay, but two notable ones include Tiny and Ruby’s Gay Spot at 2711 South Wentworth Avenue during the 1950s. See the documentary *Tiny and Ruby: Hell Divin’ Women* (1989) by filmmakers Greta Schiller and Andre Weiss. Another South Side hot spot is the Jeffery Pub at 7041 South Jeffery Boulevard. See Kathie Bergquist and Robert McDonald, *A Field Guide to Gay and Lesbian Chicago* (Chicago: Lake Claremont Press, 2006), 6 and 155.

[23] The bar was located at 501 North Clark Street at Rush Street. The Gold Coast closed in 1988 and the building was demolished in 2011. Owen Keehnen, “Renslow: Leather Man,” in *Out and Proud in Chicago: An Overview of the City’s Gay Community*, ed. Tracy Baim (Chicago: Surrey Books, 2008), 72.

[24] White families increasingly lived in the suburbs that sprouted up alongside the government-funded interstate highway system. Federal housing policies further powered the explosive growth of suburbs.

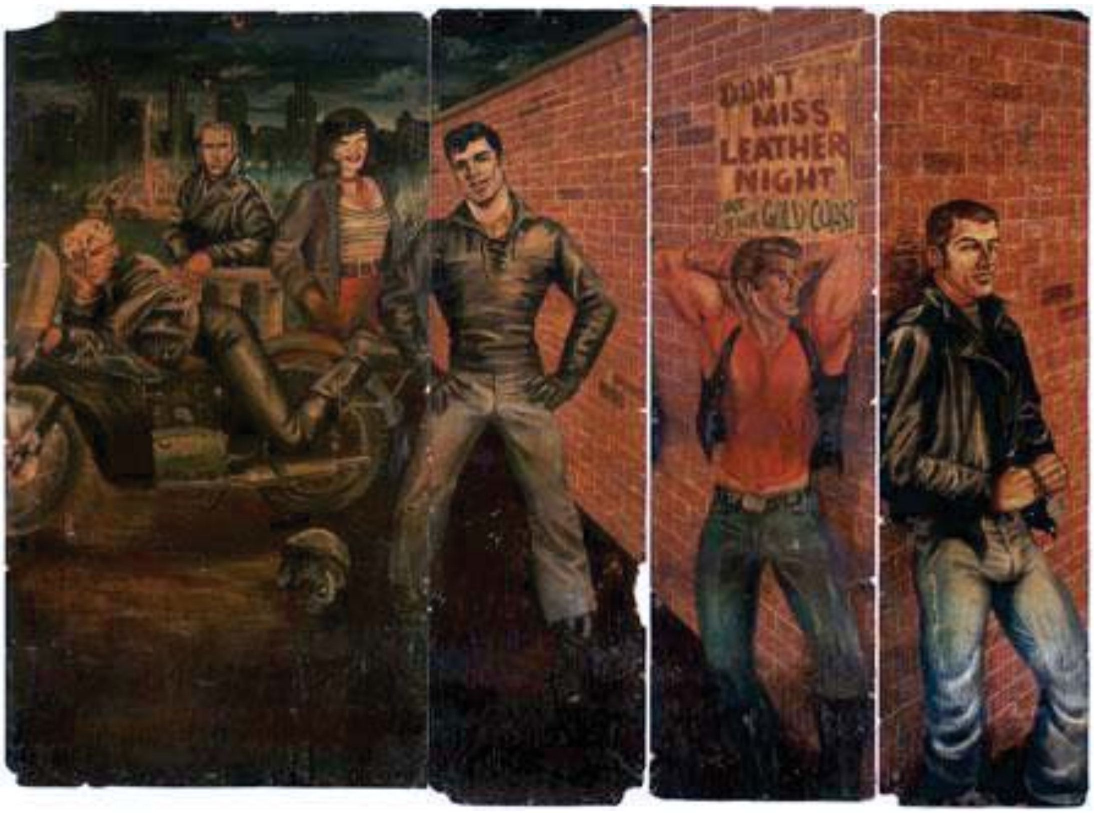


Figure 2: This painting is one of a series that hung in the Gold Coast bar. The artist, Dom Orejudos (artist name Etienne), was owner Chuck Renslow's lover of forty-three years, beginning in 1955 when the two met at Oak Street Beach. This painting is courtesy of the Chicago History Museum (Gift of Mr. Allen Schuh, 2007.80.1.a-d); the other paintings in the series hang in the Leather Archives and Museum.[25]

Federal mortgage assistance through the Federal Housing Administration (FHA) and Veterans Administration (VA) loaned money for new suburban construction that favored white, single-family homes for male-headed households. Buying oftentimes became less expensive than renting. Furthermore, during the 1950s and 1960s, FHA or VA financing helped in some way with almost half of all housing in the United States. Thomas W. Hanchett, "The Other 'Subsidized Housing': Federal Aid to Suburbanization, 1940s-1960s," in *From Tenements to the Taylor Homes: In Search of an Urban Housing Policy in Twentieth-Century American*, ed. John F. Bauman, et al. (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2000), 163-79. See also Kenneth T. Jackson, *Crabgrass Frontier: The Suburbanization of the United States* (New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985), 205 and 215. The federal government also provided subsidies for the construction of freeways through the Interstate Highway Acts of 1944 and 1956. The 1956 Act in particular provided that the federal government would pay 90 percent of the construction. In part President Eisenhower was keen to have the Federal Highway System in order to evacuate cities during an atomic attack. The federal government also subsidized suburban sewer construction and provided tax incentives for suburban homeowners and commercial development. Jackson, *Crabgrass Frontier*, 249. See also Hanchett, "The Other 'Subsidized Housing,'" 163-79.

[25] For more information about the Leather Archives and Museum at 6418 North Greenview Avenue, see their website at http://www.leatherarchives.org/. For more information about Chuck Renslow, see Tracy Baim and Owen Keehnen, *Leatherman: The Legend of Chuck Renslow* (Chicago: Prairie Avenue Productions, 2011).

Cities such as Chicago decided against rehabilitating some existing neighborhoods and housing in favor of clearing them out and starting over.[26] Officials hoped developments would protect business in the Loop, fight decentralization, and transform the city center into a safe and "family-oriented" area for white middle and upper classes. In partnership with private developers, city officials cleared spaces for public housing, but also middle-class housing such as Carl Sandburg Village (buildings date to 1960-1975).[27] In a proposal for the Village, developer Arthur Rubloff and Company clearly spelled out the types of people they were building for: "If Chicago wants to attract middle income families with children back to the city, we must… create a beautiful environment of residential 'neighborhood' character."[28] John Cordwell, one of the chief architects of the Village project and the director of planning for the Chicago Plan Commission (1952-1956), said "Sandburg Village was like a military operation…to go in there and push the enemy back. Coldly, like D-Day."[29] Once again, LGBTQ people of all races were caught in the crosshairs of this sweeping urban reorganization.

---

[26] The federal government used a 1949 urban redevelopment bill and 1954 urban renewal bill to clear the neighborhoods, but more often than not, did not provide for low-income housing for the people displaced. Roger Biles, "Public Housing and the Postwar Urban Renaissance, 1949-1973," in *From Tenements to the Taylor Homes: In Search of an Urban Housing Policy in Twentieth-Century American*, ed. John F. Bauman, et al. (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2000), 143-44. It should be noted, however, that many grassroots community groups were part of urban renewal programs such as those in the Lincoln Park neighborhood. These projects renovated and revitalized housing stock in the name of historic preservation. As historian Amanda Seligman stated, after urban renewal, Lincoln Park had a "status as one of the city's most appealing residential neighborhoods for young white professionals." Amanda Seligman, *Block by Block: Neighborhoods and Public Policy on Chicago's West Side* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005), 78.

[27] The development area is bounded by North Avenue, LaSalle Street, Division Street, and the half-block east of Clark Street. Carl Sandburg Village entry in *AIA Guide to Chicago*, 3rd edition, ed. Alice Sinkevitch and Laurie McGovern Peterson (Champaign, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2014), 185. See Seligman, Block by Block, 77-78. An example of an Urban Renewal project for public housing was the Cabrini Green high rises. Cabrini Green was bounded by Clybourn Avenue, Larrabee Street, Chicago Avenue, and Halsted Street. Both the Cabrini Extension (built 1958, now demolished) and William Green Homes (built 1962, now demolished) were part of this development. Amanda Seligman, "Cabrini-Green," in *The Electronic Encyclopedia of Chicago*, eds. Janice L. Reiff, et al. (Chicago: Chicago Historical Society, 2005), http://www.encyclopedia.chicagohistory.org/pages/199.html.

[28] Arthur Rubloff and Company, *Proposal for the Redevelopment of the Chicago Land Clearance Commission North-La Salle Project: Carl Sandburg Center, A Joint Venture*, 1962. Gift of Arthur Rubloff and Company, Chicago History Museum, F38.HH.R9 FOLIO.

[29] Steve Kerch, "Sandburg Village: Winning a Battle in Urban Renewal," *Chicago Tribune*, Sept. 14, 1986, 01. The article stated that Cordwell's vision was to separate the tony Gold Coast neighborhood from the Cabrini Green public housing development.

As the city's urban renewal programs altered existing neighborhoods, such as the one demolished for Carl Sandburg Village, it pushed many LGBTQ people north into "New Town" in the 1970s and then further north into the Lakeview neighborhood, transforming part of it into what many Chicagoans call Boystown.[30] As historian Curtis Winkle points out, "Urban planners shaped the Near North in ways that, probably incidentally, helped create opportunities for a thriving gay commercial area."[31] In November 1998, the city designated North Halsted Street as an official gay neighborhood; most likely the first district designated as such in the world. This was a controversial act. Many felt that it would be alienating or harm property values. Others believed it to be exclusionary because LGBTQ people lived all over the city, not just in one neighborhood. Regardless, the yearly Pride Parade and Northalsted Market Days events still draw crowds to the district.[32]

Queers Mobilize Chicago

Struggles with the law continued to be a fact of life in LGBTQ communities throughout the mid-twentieth century. At bars and clubs, police targeted same-sex dancing and women who wore front-fly pants. When they could not arrest patrons for cross-dressing, officers twisted the slightest gestures of friendliness into charges of solicitation of prostitution. Raiding queer bars galvanized people in LGBTQ communities to start protesting for justice. For example, after a raid on a lesbian bar in February 1961, during which police arrested 52 people, Del Shearer started the Chicago chapter of the Daughters of Bilitis.[33] In another incident, on April 25, 1964, Cook County sheriff's deputies raided a bar just outside the city limits popular among gay men called the Fun Lounge and arrested 109 people. The following day the *Chicago Tribune* included the names (and in most instances addresses) of eight teachers and four municipal employees, among others.[34] Many in the gay and lesbian community responded by organizing as part of the homophile and gay-rights group the Mattachine Society; the Chicago chapter was called Mattachine Midwest.[35]

---

[30] Boystown is officially marked as an area bounded by Lake Michigan, Diversey, Clark Street, and Irving Park Road.

[31] Curtis Winkle, "Gay Commercial Districts in Chicago and the Role of Planning," in *Planning and LGBTQ Communities: The Need for Inclusive Queer Spaces*, ed. Petra L. Doan (New York: Routledge, 2015), 31.

[32] Tracy Baim, "Halsted Gets Official," in *Out and Proud in Chicago: An Overview of the City's Gay Community*, ed. Tracy Baim (Chicago: Surrey Books, 2008), 201. Another major enclave is the neighborhood of Andersonville, even further north. It features the Women and Children First bookstore. This women-owned, queer-friendly feminist bookstore opened in 1979 and is now located at 5233 North Clark Street.

[33] Marcia M. Gallo, *Different Daughters: A History of the Daughters of Bilitis and the Rise of the Lesbian Rights Movement* (Emeryville, CA: Seal Press, 2007), 70-71. See also St. Sukie de la Croix,

Gay and lesbian Chicagoans started many different community centers for themselves throughout the second-half of the twentieth century. These functioned as gathering spaces for educational programs, lending libraries, helplines, and entertainment. One of these organizations was Gay Horizons. In 1973, Gay Horizons opened to provide mental health and social services to LGBTQ communities.[36] The organization was renamed the Horizons Community Services in 1985. Horizons partnered with the Howard Brown Memorial Clinic (founded as the Gay VD Clinic in 1974; it later became the Howard Brown Health Center) to respond to the AIDS epidemic through the AIDS Action Project. This work included support groups and an AIDS hotline.[37] In 2003 the organization became the Center on Halsted, and in 2007, it moved to its current location.[38] Today, the center continues to offer community resources in a safe environment

---

Chicago Whispers: A History of LGBT Chicago before Stonewall (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 2012), 269.

[34] "Teacher, 1 of 8 Seized in Vice Raid," Quits," *Chicago Tribune* (Chicago, IL), Apr. 26, 1964, 1.

[35] John D. Poling, "Mattachine Midwest: Standing up for Gay Rights," in *Out and Proud in Chicago: An Overview of the City's Gay Community*, ed. Tracy Baim (Chicago: Surrey Books, 2008), 62-63. The Fun Lounge was located at 2340 North Mannheim Road. Poling, "Mattachine Midwest," 62. One of the instrumental leaders in Mattachine Midwest was attorney Pearl Hart. Hart devoted her life to defending civil rights and to social justice. Her home was on North Pine Grove Avenue. Marie J. Kuda, "Legal Pioneer: Pearl M. Hart, 1890-1975," in *Out and Proud in Chicago: An Overview of the City's Gay Community*, ed. Tracy Baim (Chicago: Surrey Books, 2008), 26-27. Raids on bars continued through the twentieth century across the city.

[36] The 1973 location was 2440 North Lincoln Avenue. The group moved around many times during its history including to 3225 North Sheffield Avenue in 1979. The group was also located at 3519 ½ North Halsted Street (1974); 2745 North Clark Street (1975); 920 West Oakdale Avenue (1977). The group moved again to 961 West Montana Street in 1990. Information about Horizons from Tracy Baim, "The 'Center' of the Gay Community," *Out and Proud in Chicago: An Overview of the City's Gay Community*, ed. Tracy Baim (Chicago: Surrey Books, 2008), 104.

[37] "History," *Center on Halsted*, http://www.centeronhalsted.org/history.html.

[38] 3656 North Halsted Street.

with a vision of "a thriving lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender and queer community, living powerfully in supportive inclusive environments."[39]

Chicago hosted numerous sites of protest by the Chicago chapter of the AIDS Coalition to Unleash Power (ACT UP) including a twenty-four hour candlelight vigil April 21-22, 1990, in a park across the street from Cook County Hospital (Figure 3).[41] Two hundred and fifty national and local activists protested the Hospital's Board and administration (in the words of demonstrator Debbie Gould) "for [their] inadequate response to the AIDS epidemic. We're in a crisis."[42] On Monday, April 23, protesters marched through the streets of downtown Chicago. Demonstrators had the following demands: 1) expanded health care for people with AIDS at Cook County Hospital, including admittance of women to the AIDS ward, 2)

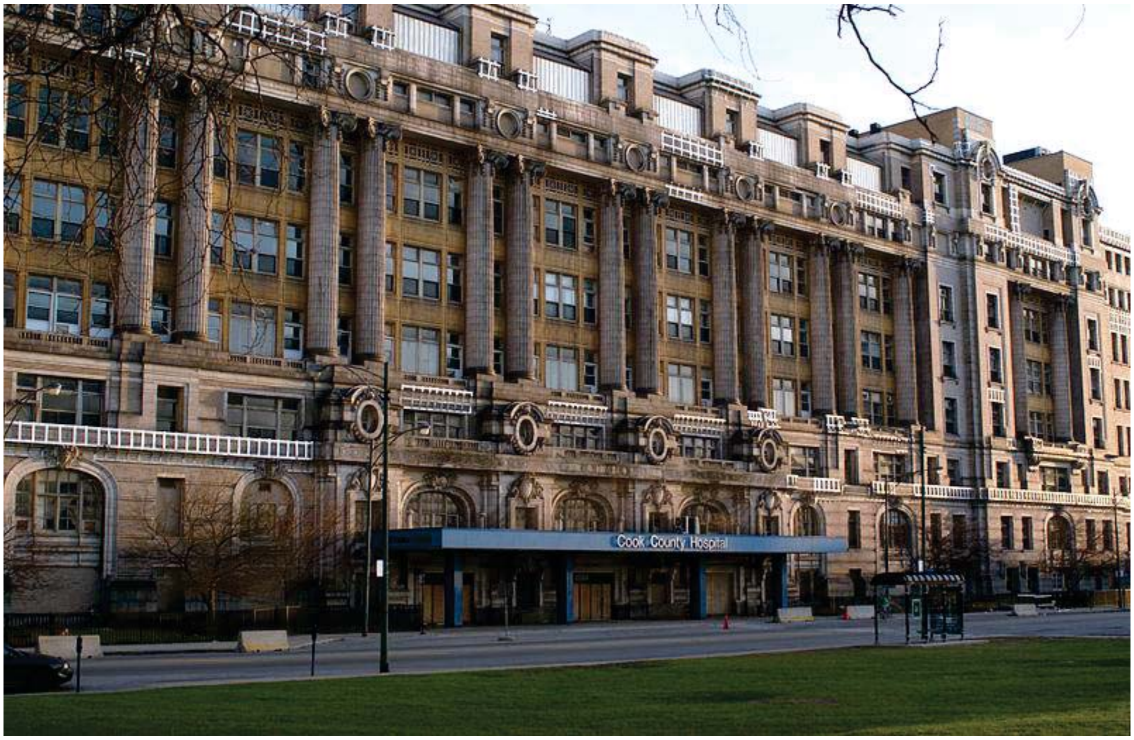


Figure 3: Cook County Hospital, site of ACT UP protests in 1990. Photo by Jeff Dahl, 2008.[40]

---

[39] "About," *Center on Halsted*, http://www.centeronhalsted.org/cohoverview.html.

[40] License: CC By-SA 4.0. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Cook_County_Hospital.jpg

[41] 1835 West Harrison Street. It was added to the NRHP on November 8, 2006. In 1983, the hospital was the site of the Sable-Sherer Clinic, the first AIDS clinic in Chicago·

[42] John W. Fountain, "AIDS group protests at County Hospital," *Chicago Tribune* (Chicago, IL), Apr. 22, 1990, C2A.

national health insurance, and 3) for insurance companies to make health insurance more available to people with AIDS.[43] ACT UP announced that one thousand people participated in the march. Women threw mattresses into the intersection of Randolph and Clark Streets to protest the exclusion of women from the AIDS ward. Others threw red paint and stuck stickers onto buildings. They marched to the Prudential Building, Blue Cross Blue Shield Association offices, and police arrested protesters during a "die-in" outside the American Medical Association headquarters.[44] Demonstrators made it to the second floor of the Cook County Building and draped a banner over the balcony that said "We Demand Equal Healthcare Now!" The police arrested 129 activists in all.[45] Activists made formal complaints against the police for excessive force. Shortly after the protests, Cook County Hospital did open the AIDS ward to women.[46]

Around two hundred national and local members of ACT UP also protested a meeting of the American Medical Association outside the Chicago Hilton and Towers Hotel on June 24, 1991. A woman interrupted a speech by Vice President Dan Quayle by calling for national health care for people with AIDS; other activists spray painted "Fight the AMA" on mailboxes and storefronts.[47] This protest faced police violence including excessive force and arrests. [48] The city "paid tens of thousands of dollars to settle a lawsuit brought by members of ACT UP… against the Chicago Police Department for brutality during this demonstration.”[49]

---

[43] Jean Latz Griffin, "City braces for AIDS protests," *Chicago Tribune* (Chicago, IL), Apr. 20, 1990, S4.

[44] The Prudential Building was located at 130 East Randolph Street, the Blue Cross-Blue Shield Association offices at 676 North St. Clair Street, and the American Medical Association headquarters at the corner of Grand and State Streets.

[45] Jack Houston and Jack Kass, "129 arrested in AIDS protest," *Chicago Tribune* (Chicago, IL), Apr. 24, 1990, D1. Deborah B. Gould, *Moving Politics: Emotion and ACT UP's Fight Against AIDS* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009), 406. The Cook County Building is at 118 North Clark Street.

[46] Regarding complaints against the police: "Metropolitan Report," *Chicago Tribune* (Chicago, IL), Apr. 25, 1990, S3. Charles Mount, "AIDS ward is opened to women," *Chicago Tribune* (Chicago, IL), Apr. 27, 1990, NA7.

[47] Michael L. Millenson and Keith L. Alexander, "AIDS group in clash with the police," *Chicago Tribune* (Chicago, IL), Jun. 25, 1991, 1.

[48] Brett C. Stockdill. *Activism Against AIDS: At the Intersection of Sexuality, Race, Gender, and Class* (Boulder, CO: Lynne Reinner Publishers, 2003), 138. Deborah B. Gould, *Moving Politics: Emotion and ACT UP's Fight Against AIDS*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009), 406.

Bronzeville and the South Side

Critical stories in the history of Chicago come out of the Great Migration. This movement of African Americans from the South into places like Chicago during most of the twentieth century dramatically changed life in the urban center. The black population in Chicago rose from approximately forty thousand in 1915 to more than one million by the 1970s.[50] Specifically relegated to the West and South Sides, African Americans created neighborhoods such as the one that came to be known as Bronzeville.[51] Bronzeville was the home to many Prohibition-era African-American jazz clubs, blues clubs, cabarets, and drag balls where the lines of sexuality and gender were blurred. This music and entertainment scene provided social space for LGBTQ people as patrons but also as performers including people such as blues musicians Tony Jackson and Bix Beiderbecke and cabaret singer Rudy Richardson. LGBTQ themes began to be represented artistically such as in Gertrude “Ma” Rainey’s, “Prove It on Me Blues” and Jackson’s “Pretty Baby.”[52] Hotspots included the Plantation Café, the Pleasure Inn, the Cabin Inn, Club DeLisa, and Joe’s Deluxe.[53]

Chicago’s African-American press, notably the *Chicago Defender* and Johnson Publishing’s *Ebony* and *Jet*, reported positive accounts of gender crossing and same-sex desire. The *Defender* began its coverage as early as the 1910s, and features in *Ebony* and *Jet* started in the late 1940s. African-American female impersonators entertained integrated audiences on the South Side as early as the 1920s into the 1960s. The *Defender* published many articles documenting Chicago's long history of interracial drag performance at locations such as the Cabin Inn or Finnie's Halloween Ball. Alfred Finnie staged his first ball in 1935 in the basement of a tavern on the corner of Thirty-Eighth Street and Michigan Avenue, and it was held in various places over the years. *Ebony* documented the 1953 ball which was held at the Pershing Ballroom.[54] All of these places and sites can tell stories of people finding each other and coming together, but also reveal exclusions, especially in terms of race, class, and gender. After World War II, queer people of color continued to face discrimination on the North Side, such as demands to present many more pieces of identification than white revelers to gain entrance into a club.[55]

---

[49] Deborah Gould, *Moving Politics*, 269.

[50] Isabel Wilkerson, *The Warmth of Other Suns*, (New York: Random House, 2010), 11.

[51] State Street to Cottage Grove Avenue, along 43rd and 47th Street.

[52] Jonathan Ned Katz, “Ma Rainey’s ‘Prove It on Me Blues, 1928,” *OutHistory*, http://www.outhistory.org/exhibits/show/rainey/rainey2 . Tim Samuelson, “Tony Jackson: Music Legend,” *Out and Proud in Chicago: An Overview of the City’s Gay Community*, ed. Tracy Baim (Chicago: Surrey Books, 2008), 30-31.

[53] Plantation Café (35th Street and Calumet), *The Electronic Encyclopedia of Chicago*, eds. Janice L. Reiff, et al. (Chicago: Chicago Historical Society, 2005), http://www.encyclopedia.chicagohistory.org/pages/3491.html. Pleasure Inn (505 East 31st Street), Cabin Inn (3119 Cottage Grove), Club DeLisa (5516 South State Street), *OutHistory*, http://www.outhistory.org/exhibits/show/queer-bronzeville/part-1/queer-nightlife; Joe’s Deluxe (5524 South State Street), *OutHistory*, http://www.outhistory.org/exhibits/show/queer-bronzeville/part-2/joe-hughes.

Throughout the city's history, Chicagoans have experienced *de facto* and *de jure* segregation along racial and class lines. Legal and cultural norms regarding housing affected LGBTQ people in Chicago in different ways. Important sites exist such as the home of Lorraine Hansberry, author of the play *A Raisin in the Sun* (1959), in the Woodlawn neighborhood on the South Side.[56] The home had a covenant on it restricting ownership based on race. When Hansberry's parents bought the home in 1938 and moved their family into the neighborhood, this action resulted in court cases that went all the way through to the United

---

[54] "Kicking at Cabin," *Chicago Defender* (Chicago, IL), Nov. 7, 1936; "'Imps' at Cabin Inn," *Chicago Defender* (Chicago, IL), May 28, 1938; "Prize Winning Hallowe'en Impersonators," *Chicago Defender* (Chicago, IL), Nov. 9, 1957. See also "Drag Balls and Tearooms," *Out and Proud in Chicago: An Overview of the City's Gay Community*, ed. Tracy Baim (Chicago: Surrey Books, 2008), 29. Tristen Cabello, "Drag Balls," *Queer Bronzeville* exhibition, *OutHistory*, http://www.outhistory.org/exhibits/show/queer-bronzeville/part-2/drag-balls

[55] Chad Heap, "Gays and Lesbians in Chicago: An Overview," *Out and Proud in Chicago: An Overview of the City's Gay Community*, ed. Tracy Baim (Chicago: Surrey Books, 2008), 9. Tristan Cabello, *OutHistory* exhibit.

States Supreme Court. The win in favor of the Hansberrys was important in changing segregation covenants toward open housing.[57]

Chicago's urban history is queer history. It's a history of individuals and communities and their relationship to the state, to their fellow Chicagoans, and to each other. There are sites of individual resistance at police stations, court houses, City Hall, and in their own homes. People enjoying themselves in Towertown and Bronzeville in the Prohibition era and exploring the political possibilities at the same time. Activists fighting discrimination and homophobia facing the AIDS epidemic. They make communities, coming together for pleasure and protest. Chicago, a queer crossroads at the heart of America.

---

[57] The Supreme Court case was Hansberry v. Lee 311 U.S. 32 (1940). In 1950, after spending two years at the University of Wisconsin, Hansberry moved to New York City, where she married and worked as a writer. Hansberry drew on her family's experience fighting housing discrimination in her seminal play *A Raisin in the Sun* (1959), set in Chicago. *A Raisin in the Sun* won the Drama Critic's Circle Award for best play; Hansberry was the youngest American, first woman, and first African-American to win this award. See Lorraine Hansberry House, Chicago Landmarks, http://webapps1.cityofchicago.org/landmarksweb/web/landmarkdetails.htm?lanId=13024. Steven R. Carter, "Hansberry, Lorraine Vivian," in *American National Biography Online*, Feb. 2000; http://www.anb.org/articles/18/18-01856.html. In 1957, after separating from her husband, Hansberry began exploring same-sex sexuality. This same year she wrote to *The Ladder*, a periodical published by the Daughters of Bilitis, a lesbian-led organization with chapters in cities across the country. Her letter to the editor stated: "I'm glad as heck that you exist… I feel that women, without wishing to foster any strict *separatist* notions, homo or hetero, indeed have a need for their own publications and organizations." See letters to the editor from "L.N.H." in *The Ladder* 1:8 (May 1957) and 1:11 (August 1957).

LEGACY

People engage with history in many ways, not just through reading books and reports. The chapters in this section are designed as resources for NPS interpreters, museum staff, teachers, professors, parents, and others who do applied history work and who wish to incorporate LGBTQ history and heritage into their programs, lessons, exhibits, and courses.

30

NOMINATING LGBTQ PLACES TO THE NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES AND AS NATIONAL HISTORIC LANDMARKS: AN INTRODUCTION

Megan E. Springate and
Caridad de la Vega

The National Register of Historic Places (NRHP) and the National Historic Landmarks (NHL) program are two of the many ways that historic places can be identified, remembered, and preserved. Both of these programs are overseen by the National Park Service (NPS), and to be added to these lists properties (sites, buildings, structures, objects, districts) must meet certain criteria.[1] This chapter provides an introduction to the NRHP and NHL programs as well as a discussion about evaluating and listing LGBTQ places that will be of use both to those interested in nominating properties as well as those in the various State Historic Preservation Offices, Tribal Historic Preservation Offices, and Federal Historic Preservation Officers who will be evaluating LGBTQ nominations. It does not replace registration requirements or any of the official guidance published by the NPS on nominating places to these programs.[2]

The Effects of Designation and Listing

Many people have misconceptions about the implications of designating a property as an NHL or having it listed on the NRHP.

What the NHL and NRHP Do

The NHL program and the NRHP are preservation tools that help recognize and preserve significant places and stories. It is important to understand how these tools work, that is, the effects of NHL designation and NRHP listing.

The NHL program was established to identify potential historic units for inclusion in the National Park System; although still a part of its mandate, the scope of the program has since evolved. The NRHP was created as a reaction to urban renewal and Federal projects in the 1960s and to expand the Federal government's role in historic preservation.[3]

---

[1] The term "property" is used when referring collectively to sites, buildings, structures, and objects, and is also used to refer generically to sites, buildings, structures, or objects. Other ways of recognizing historic places include site preservation, local or state historic markers, walking tours, public talks, museum and historical society exhibits, preservation of archival materials and artifacts, and publications.

[2] Information on the NPS website and bulletins published by the NPS contain much more extensive and complete information, and should be referred to when writing nominations or nomination amendments. https://www.nps.gov/nr/publications/index.htm.

[3] For a full history of the National Historic Landmarks Program see Barry Mackintosh's *The Historic Sites Survey and National Historic Landmarks Program: A History*, available online at https://www.nps.gov/nhl/learn/pubs/NHLHistoricSitesSurvey.pdf. For a history of both programs within the larger historic preservation movement see John H. Sprinkle, Jr., *Crafting Preservation*

Designation as an NHL ensures that stories of nationally important historic events, places, or persons are recognized and preserved for the benefit of all citizens. Designation may also provide the property's historic character with a measure of protection against any adverse effect by a project initiated by the Federal government; nominations serve as preservation planning documents. Additionally, NHLs may be eligible for grants, tax credits, and other opportunities to maintain a property's historic character.

Listing in the NRHP provides formal recognition of a property's historical, architectural, or archeological significance. There are many benefits that come with listing:

- Becoming part of the NRHP Archives, a public, searchable database that provides a wealth of research information;[4]
- Encouraging preservation of historic resources by documenting a property's historic significance;
- Providing opportunities for specific preservation incentives, such as:
    - Federal preservation grants for planning and rehabilitation
    - Federal investment tax credits
    - Preservation easements to nonprofit organizations;
- International Building Code fire and life safety code alternatives;
- Possible state tax benefits and grant opportunities; and
- Involvement by the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation when a Federally funded project may affect a historic property.[5]

Criteria: The National Register of Historic Places and American Historic Preservation (New York: Routledge, 2014).

[4] National Register of Historic Places, National Park Service, accessed June 13, 2016, https://www.nps.gov/nr/research/.

[5] Advisory Council on Historic Preservation, accessed June 13, 2016, http://www.achp.gov/index.html.

What the NHL and NRHP Do Not Do

Designation of a property as an NHL does not give ownership of the property to the Federal government in general or to the NPS in particular; nor does it require that the public have access. NHLs are owned by private individuals; by all levels of government (federal, state, and local); by tribal entities; by non-profit organizations; and by corporations.

Similarly, NRHP listing places no obligations on private property owners. There are no restrictions on the use, treatment, transfer, or disposition of private property. Listing does not lead to public acquisition or require public access. A property will not be listed or designated if, for individual properties, the private property owner objects; or for districts, if a majority of private property owners object. Listing on the NRHP does not automatically invoke local historic district zoning or local landmark designation.

Theme Studies

Theme studies can be thought of as tools to encourage the preservation of places of value to communities nationwide and our collective history. A theme study like this one provides the necessary historic context so that significance may be evaluated for properties that are related to a specific area of American history.[6] Theme studies are thematically, geographically, and temporally linked and describe the patterns, themes, or trends in history by which a specific property is understood. In other words, historic contexts provide a basis for judging a property’s significance and eligibility under the relevant NRHP or NHL criteria, may provide important background information for other research efforts, and can be used to educate the public about the nation's heritage through interpretive and educational programs. Theme studies exist for a

---

[6] A theme study is a research document that can be used to help identify potential new NHLs and properties that may be eligible for listing on the NRHP as well as potential new units of the NPS.

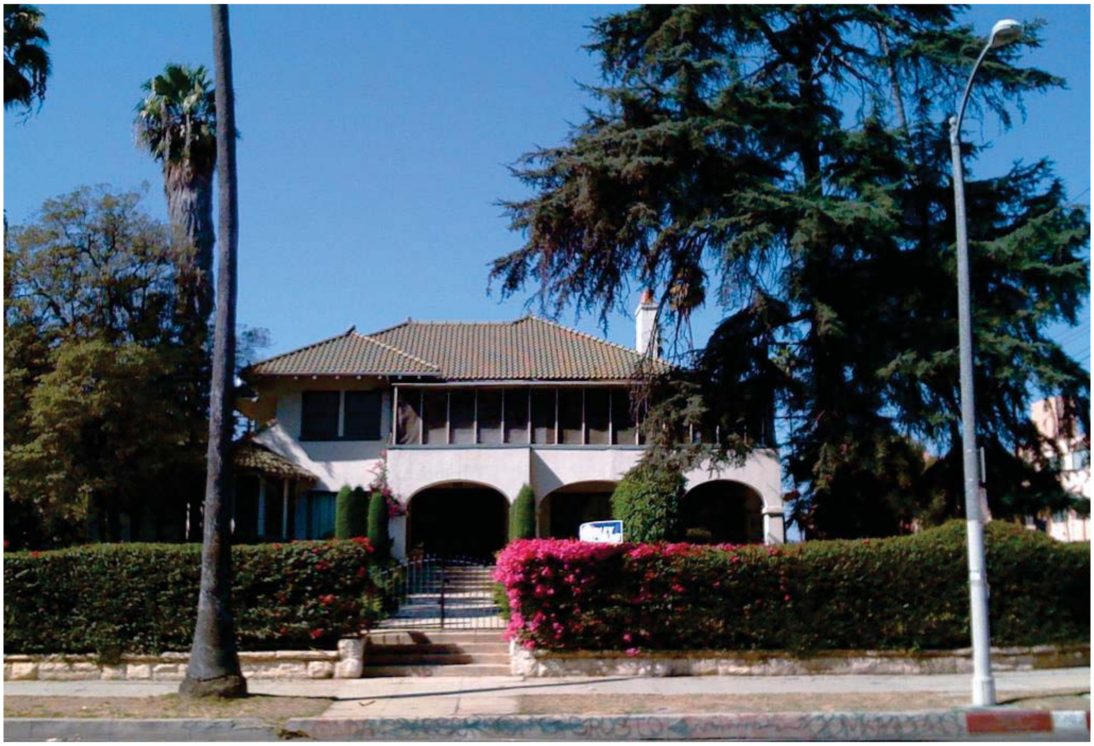


Figure 1: The Hattie McDaniel House, Los Angeles, California. Photo by Waltarrrrr, 2008.[7]

broad range of themes in American history, including American Latinos, Japanese Americans in World War II, and Cold War defensive sites.[8] Consulting with other, associated theme studies may be helpful if you are looking to nominate places with intersectional histories like the Hattie McDaniel House in Los Angeles (Figure 1),[9] Fort Okanogan in Washington,[10] or the Topaz War Relocation Center in Utah.[11] Mention of

---

[7] License: CC BY-NC-ND 2.0. https://www.flickr.com/photos/waltarrrrr/2941948949.

[8] National Park System Advisory Board, *American Latinos and the Making of the United States: A Theme Study* (Washington, DC: National Park System Advisory Board, 2013); Barbara Wyatt, ed., *Japanese Americans in World War II: A National Historic Landmarks Theme Study* (Washington, DC: National Historic Landmarks Program, National Park Service, 2012); and John S. Salmon, *Protecting America: Cold War Defensive Sites, A National Historic Landmark Theme Study* (draft) (Washington, DC: National Historic Landmarks Program, National Park Service, 2011).

[9] In the early 1940s, Oscar-winning African-American actress Hattie McDaniel moved into this residence in the Sugar Hill neighborhood of Los Angeles. When white residents filed a lawsuit against McDaniel and other black residents of the neighborhood, where property deeds explicitly forbade sale to “non-Caucasians,” McDaniel organized her neighbors and they fought back. In 1945, a judge ruled in the defendants’ favor, and McDaniel was able to stay in her home. McDaniel had intimate relationships with both men and women. She was the first African American to win an Oscar, awarded for her role as Mammy in *Gone with the Wind*. She lived in this home until her death in 1952.

[10] In 1811, Kutenai two-spirit *itiquattek* Quanqon Kamek Klaulha (Sitting-on-the-Water-Grizzly) led a group of Europeans from Fort Astoria in what is now Oregon into the American interior. They founded Fort Okanogan at the confluence of the Columbia and Okanogan Rivers that became an important

LGBTQ struggles for civil rights were included in the NPS publication *Civil Rights in America: A Framework for Identifying Significant Sites.*[12]

Using This Theme Study

Many theme studies use already-listed NHL and NRHP places to illustrate how properties associated with a particular theme can meet the various NHL and NRHP requirements. Because there are only ten NRHP and NHL properties listed for their association with LGBTQ history and heritage, this approach is not effective. Instead, this theme study models the different ways that LGBTQ history can be told using places and provides general information about linking those histories to the NRHP and NHL programs. While chapters in the theme study focus on various aspects of LGBTQ history, many places are repeatedly mentioned throughout. Use the index to search across the whole document; the list of places mentioned in the theme study, found in the Appendices, can also be helpful. Note that the places listed in this theme study are not the only places with LGBTQ history across the country; there are many, many more. This should not be considered a definitive list of important LGBTQ places but should be treated as a baseline.

Nomination Concepts

In order to successfully nominate a place to the NRHP or as an NHL, it is important to understand some key concepts. These include property

---

location of commerce in the Pacific Northwest through the mid-nineteenth century. Located under the waters of the Lake Pateros reservoir since 1967, Fort Okanogan was added to the NRHP on June 4, 1973. Fort Astoria in Astoria, Oregon, was added to the NRHP on October 15, 1966, and designated an NHL on November 5, 1961.

[11] In 1942, Jiro Onuma, a first generation Japanese immigrant who lived in the Oakland and San Francisco area, was sent to the Topaz War Relocation Center (also known as the Central Utah Relocation Center) in Millard County, Utah. This was part of the mass internment of Japanese Americans during World War II. Onuma was a gay man. The Topaz War Relocation Center was added to the NRHP on January 2, 1974, and designated an NHL on March 29, 2007.

[12] National Park Service, *Civil Rights in America: A Framework for Identifying Significant Sites* (Washington, DC: National Historic Landmarks Program, National Park Service, 2002, rev. 2008). For more about intersectionality, see Springate's chapter (this volume).

type, significance, evaluation criteria, integrity, and the NPS Thematic Framework.

LGBTQ communities, like other minority groups, have historically been found in marginal and ephemeral places. For LGBTQ communities, this has meant places like the Meatpacking District in New York City (literally an area of slaughter houses and warehouses) or the Tenderloin in San Francisco (known as a place of transience and vice). It has meant that organizations met and formed community where they could: gay and bisexual men cruised public places like parks to find each other; organizations met in people's homes and church basements, frequently changing location. It has meant that groups and organizations in the community, even when well-established, did not have permanent spaces as a result of bad landlords, rising rents, and redevelopment. It means that, when considering places for NRHP listing or NHL designation that places are not overlooked because they are marginal or ephemeral.

Property Type

There are five different kinds of property types that can be considered for NRHP listing or NHL designation. These are: buildings, structures, sites, districts, and objects. When preparing a nomination, you must indicate what type of property you are nominating.[13]

Buildings are created primarily to shelter any form of human activity. For example, they include houses, commercial establishments, churches, hotels, courthouses, and jails. A *building* associated with LGBTQ history listed on the NRHP is the Dr. Franklin E. Kameny Residence in Washington, DC.[14] A *building* associated primarily with LGBTQ history designated an NHL is the Henry Gerber House in the Old Town Triangle neighborhood of Chicago, Illinois.[15]

---

[13] For a more in-depth discussion of property types, see National Register Bulletin 16A, *How to Complete the National Register Registration Form* (Washington, DC: U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 15).

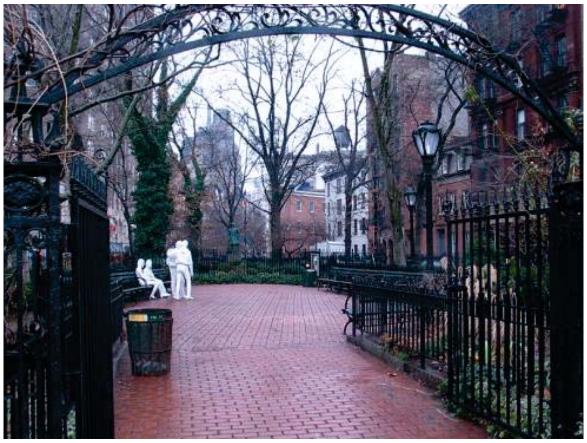


Figure 2: Christopher Park, the location of protests following the Stonewall Riots, New York City.[16]

Structures are functional resources usually built for purposes other than creating human shelter. For example, they include bridges, railroads, roadways, grain elevators, dams, fortifications, and bandstands. There are currently no NRHP or NHL *structures* designated specifically for their association with LGBTQ heritage. Examples of *structures* that are associated with LGBTQ history are Pier 45 in New York City and the State Street Bridge over Kenduskeag Stream, in Bangor, Maine.[17]

---

[14] The Dr. Franklin E. Kameny Residence was added to the NRHP on November 2, 2011. When Kameny moved into the house in 1962 it quickly became a meeting place, archives, and the headquarters of the Mattachine Society of Washington, DC. During his years here, Kameny organized the first regional gay conference, planned a picket against the American Psychiatric Association for including gay and lesbian as psychiatric conditions; ran for Congress as an openly gay man, and was generally instrumental in spear-heading the new militancy in the gay rights movement.

[15] The Henry Gerber House was designated an NHL on June 19, 2015. From his boarding house room at this location, Henry Gerber co-founded and ran the Society for Human Rights, the first gay rights society in the United States. The organization lasted from 1924 to 1925, and was suspended after an episode of police harassment. Afterwards, Gerber continued to work for LGBTQ rights, and influenced homophile activists of the 1950s and 1960s, including Harry Hay, one of the founders of the Mattachine Society.

[16] License: CC BY-SA 3.0. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:ChristopherPark3358.jpg.

[17] Neither of these structures have been evaluated for inclusion on the NRHP or NHL designation; they are included here as examples only. Since the 1970s, Pier 45 has been an important meeting place and place of community for drag queens, transgender youth, and other members of New York City's African-American ballroom community and culture (Mariah Lopez, Strategic Transgender Alliance for Radical Reform in correspondence with the author, 2014). On July 7, 1984, Charlie Howard and companion Roy Ogden were walking near the State Street Bridge when they were assaulted by three teenage boys. When Charlie fell, they threw him over the bridge railing into Kenduskeag Stream, where he drowned. This attack and death led to the founding of the Maine Lesbian Gay Political Alliance, now called EqualityMaine. Judy Harrison, "Events to Mark 1984 Slaying of Gay Man in Bangor," *Bangor*

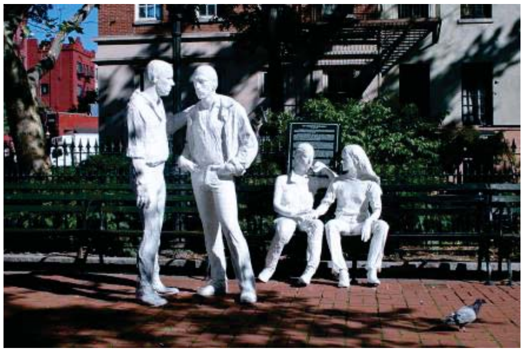


Figure 3: *Gay Liberation* (1980) by artist George Segal is located in Christopher Park, part of the Stonewall National Monument. It is the first piece of public art dedicated to LGBTQ rights. Photo by Raphael Isla, 2013.[18]

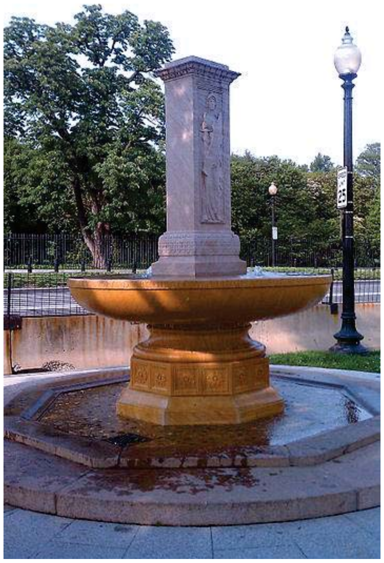


Figure 4: *The Butt-Millet Memorial Fountain*, President's Park, Washington, DC. Butt and Millet, who lived together and may have been romantically involved, perished when the *Titanic* sank in April 1912. Photo by Tim Evanson, 2012.[20]

Sites are the locations of significant events, prehistoric or historic occupation or activity, or a place where the location itself possesses historic, cultural, or archeological value. For example, they include archeological sites, battlefields, and landscapes like gardens and cemeteries. Stonewall is a *site* associated specifically with LGBTQ heritage that is listed on the NRHP, designated an NHL, and has been designated a National Monument (Figure 2).[19]

Objects are resources that are primarily artistic in nature or are relatively small in scale or simply constructed. Neither buildings nor structures, they are associated with a specific setting or environment. For example, objects include monuments, memorials, statuary, and fountains. A commemorative property is

---

Daily News (Bangor, ME), July 6, 2009, http://bangordailynews.com/2009/07/06/politics/events-to-mark-1984-slaying-of-gay-man-in-bangor/.

[18] License: CC BY-SA 4.0. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Gay_Liberation_Monument.jpg.

[19] The Stonewall site includes 51-53 Christopher Street, Christopher Park, Christopher Street, Grove Street, Gay Street, Waverly Place, Greenwich Avenue, Sixth Avenue, and West Tenth Avenue between Sixth and Seventh Avenues South. It was listed on the NRHP on June 28, 1999; designated an NHL on February 16, 2000; and designated a national monument on June 24, 2016. This was the location of the Stonewall Riots, an event considered a turning point in the modern LGBTQ rights movement, when patrons fought back and protested in the streets in response to what had been a "routine" police raid at the bar.

[20] License: CC BY-SA 2.0. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Butt-Millet_Memorial_Fountain_-_Presidents_Park_-_Washington_DC_-_2012-05-16.jpg. See also National Park Service, Butt-Millet Memorial Fountain, https://www.nps.gov/whho/learn/historyculture/butt-millet-memorial-fountain.htm. President's Park was added to the NRHP on May 6, 1980.

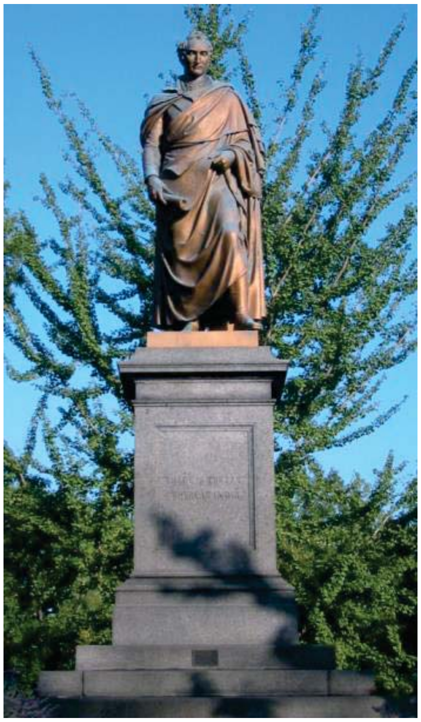


Figure 5: Statue of Thomas Hart Benton by sculptor Harriet Hosmer. Located in Lafayette Park, St. Louis, Missouri, the statue was commissioned in 1860 and completed in 1862. Photo by Whitebox, 2007.[21]

eligible under Criteria Consideration F/Criteria Exception 7 if design, age, tradition, or symbolic value has imparted it with its own national significance. If the resource is part of a historic district it does not need to meet this exception. There are currently no NRHP or NHL objects designated specifically for their association with LGBTQ heritage. Examples of *objects* that are associated with LGBTQ history include *Gay Liberation* in New York City, New York; the *Butt-Millet Memorial Fountain* in Washington, DC; and the statue of Thomas Hart Benton in St. Louis, Missouri (Figures 3 to 5).[22]

Districts consist of a significant concentration, linkage, or continuity of sites, buildings, structures, or objects that are united by their history or aesthetically by planned or physical development. For example, they include neighborhoods, business districts, residential areas, farms, large forts, and estates. There are currently no NRHP or NHL *districts* designated specifically for their association with LGBTQ heritage. Examples of *districts* that are associated with LGBTQ history include the Uptown Tenderloin Historic District in San Francisco, California, and the

---

[21] License: CC BY-SA 3.0. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:ThomasHartBentonStatueByHarrietHosmer.jpg

[22] None of these objects have been evaluated for inclusion on the NRHP or NHL lists; they are included here as examples only. The statue of Thomas Hart Benton, Missouri's first senator, is located in Lafayette Park, St. Louis, Missouri. The first public monument in the state, it was completed in 1862 by artist Harriet Hosmer, who had a decades-long relationship with another woman. St. Louis LGBT History Project, 1860 Hosmer Statue, accessed April 9, 2016, http://www.stlouislgbthistory.com/timeline/1800s/1860-hosmer-statue.html.

Washington Square West Historic District in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania (Figure 6).[23]

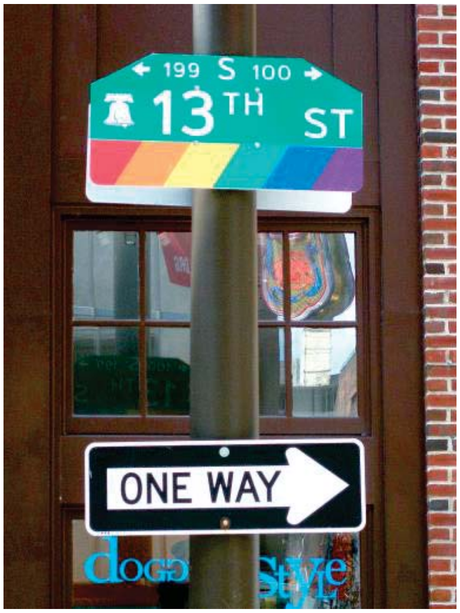


Figure 6: Street sign in Philadelphia's Gayborhood. Photo by Bruce Andersen, 2007.[24]

Significance

In the context of the NRHP and NHL programs, significance refers to a property's ability to illustrate or interpret the heritage of the United States. In addition, the property must retain a level of integrity of place (there has to be a "there there," to paraphrase Gertrude Stein) as well as historic fabric. While both NRHP and NHL properties must have value or quality in illustrating or interpreting the heritage of the United States and a level of integrity, for the NHL the standard is of exceptional quality and a high level of historic integrity. The NRHP and NHL programs have detailed frameworks for evaluating a property's significance. These are laid out in the Evaluation Criteria and Integrity sections, below.

A property's period of significance refers to the span of time during which significant events and activities occurred. Most properties have a clearly definable period of significance, which can range from a single day to many years. The period of significance for the Dr. Franklin E. Kameny Residence is 1962 to 1975, when Dr. Kameny was living in the house and active in significant historical events. The period of significance for

---

[23] Neither of these districts have been evaluated for their NRHP significance regarding their LGBTQ history and heritage; they are included here as examples only. The Tenderloin has a long LGBTQ history. Compton's Cafeteria, location of an August 1966 riot against police harassment, is listed as a contributing resource to the Uptown Tenderloin Historic District, though the district nomination itself is not for the area's LGBTQ history. Compton's Cafeteria was located at 101 Taylor Street, San Francisco, California. The Uptown Tenderloin Historic District was listed on the NRHP on February 9, 2005. Philadelphia's LGBTQ community, known locally as "The Gayborhood" is bounded approximately by Walnut, Juniper, Pine, and Quince Streets. It is encompassed by the Washington Square West Historic District, though the district nomination does not mention the LGBTQ history of the area. The Washington Square West Historic District was listed on the NRHP on September 20, 1984.

[24] License: CC BY-SA 3.0. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:13th_Gayborhood.jpg.

Stonewall spans six days, from June 28 to July 3, 1969, encompassing the original riot and the protests that took place in the days after.

Evaluation Criteria

For a property to be considered eligible for listing on the NRHP or designation as an NHL, it must meet at least one of the criteria for inclusion provided by each program. Though similar, these evaluation criteria are slightly different for the NRHP and NHL programs. Criteria for Evaluation for listing on the NRHP are lettered A through D; for designating NHLs are numbered 1 through 6. Properties can be eligible for listing or designation under multiple criteria.[25]

Most LGBTQ properties will be eligible under the following criteria: those associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of American history (Criterion 1/Criterion A) and association with the lives of people important in American history (Criterion 2/Criterion B). Some will be eligible for their architectural significance (Criterion 4/Criterion C). The significance of historic districts is evaluated using Criterion 5/Criterion C. The significance of archeological sites, including those at sites where structures remain standing, is evaluated under Criterion 6/Criterion D.

Ordinarily, cemeteries, birthplaces, graves of historical figures, properties owned by religious institutions or used for religious purposes, structures that have been moved from their original locations, reconstructed historic buildings, and properties that have achieved significance within the past fifty years are not eligible for listing or designation. Officials in the NRHP and NHL programs know that some properties that would normally be excluded from listing or designation are eligible under certain circumstances. The NRHP program calls these “Criteria Considerations;” the NHL program calls these “Criteria

---

[25] Researchers are directed to the appropriate bulletins for complete details on the criteria for evaluation for both the NRHP and NHL programs. See, for example, Bulletin 15, *How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation*, https://www.nps.gov/nr/publications/bulletins/nrb15/.

Exceptions." If you are nominating places to the NRHP or as NHLs and using Criteria Considerations or Criteria Exceptions, you must describe the circumstances that support them.

Several of the places listed on the NRHP and designated as NHLs for their association with LGBTQ history have invoked Criteria Consideration G/Criteria Exception 8 because they achieved their significance within the past fifty years. For example, Stonewall is designated an NHL under *Criterion 1 and Criteria Exception 8.* The significant events at the Stonewall Inn took place less than fifty years before its designation. However, the historical significance of the events is important enough to warrant NHL designation. The Edificio Comunidad Orgullo Gay in San Juan, Puerto Rico, was listed on the NRHP under *Criterion A and Criteria Consideration G.* The importance of the place as the home of the organization that spearheaded the gay liberation movement in Puerto Rico did not require the passage of fifty years to evaluate.[26] Researchers looking to nominate one of the many religious properties associated with LGBTQ history (i.e. as places of protest, refuge, and/or community) would address Criteria Exception 1/Criteria Consideration A.

Figure 7: Carrington House, Cherry Grove, New York. Photo courtesy the National Park Service.

---

[26] The Edificio Comunidad de Orgullo Gay de Puerto Rico (Casa Orgullo), at 3 Saldaña Street, San Juan, Puerto Rico, was the home of the Comunidad de Orgullo Gay de Puerto Rico. The group was founded in 1974, inspired by New York City's Stonewall Riots, and was Puerto Rico's first gay liberation organization. They occupied the building from 1975 to 1976. Casa Orgullo was listed on the NRHP on May 1, 2016.

The NHL program only recognizes exceptional, national significance. The NRHP program recognizes local and statewide significance, as well as national significance (Figure 7).[27] Part of the evaluation for both programs is to determine significance in relation to other resources. For NHLs the basis of comparison is other nationally prominent properties; for the NRHP, comparative properties may be located within a single city, town, or state. Examples of comparative properties must be included in your nomination to help reviewers evaluate significance.

Integrity

The NRHP and NHL programs are both place-based; there needs to be a place, a "there," in order for properties to be considered. This sense of "there" is evaluated using the seven qualities of integrity: location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association. Although considered separately, these seven qualities also influence each other. Integrity is always related to the period of significance of a property; in other words, to be listed on the NRHP with a period of significance from 1950 through 1970, a building should have design elements, setting, feeling, etc. from that period.

Location is where the historic property was built or where the significant events took place. To be listed on the NRHP or designated an NHL, properties have to be located within the United States and its possessions. To have integrity of location, they must be in their original place.

---

[27] The Carrington House, Cherry Grove, Fire Island, New York, was listed on the NRHP for its association with the early establishment of Cherry Grove, New York, as a gay enclave, a significant contribution to the broad patterns of our history at the local level. It was also listed on the NRHP for its architectural significance. The Carrington House was therefore listed as having local significance under Criteria A and C. It was added to the NRHP on January 8, 2014. The Edificio Comunidad de Orgullo Gay de Puerto Rico was listed on the NRHP for its statewide significance under Criterion A. It was added to the NRHP on May 1, 2016. The Bayard Rustin Residence in the Chelsea neighborhood in New York City was listed on the NRHP for its association with a person nationally significant in our past. Throughout his life, Rustin impacted many campaigns for social and economic justice, including pacifism, civil rights, economic injustice, and human rights, including organizing and leading the 1963 March for Jobs and Freedom in Washington, DC. The Bayard Rustin Residence was therefore listed under NRHP Criterion B. It was added to the NRHP on March 8, 2016.

Design refers to the historic structure and style of a property, including how space was organized, proportion, how it was built (technology), and materials. To have integrity of design means these elements from the period of significance are still present.

Setting refers to the physical environment of a historic property. Integrity of setting means that the physical context of the property remains relatively unchanged. It also refers to how the property is positioned on the landscape and its relationship to surrounding physical features.

Materials are the physical elements of a historic property. Integrity of materials means that a property's construction materials (including those associated with landscape features) and placement are consistent with the period of significance.

Workmanship is the physical evidence of craftsmanship associated with the period of significance. This quality is particularly important for architecturally significant properties.

Feeling is how the property expresses the aesthetic or historic sense of the period of significance. Integrity of feeling comes from the presence of physical features that, taken together, convey historic character.

Association is the direct link between an important historic event or person and a historic property. A property has integrity of association if it is the place where the event occurred and can still convey that historic relationship to an observer. If association is merely speculative a property is not eligible for listing or designation. Mere association with historic events also disqualifies a property from consideration.

All seven qualities of integrity must be addressed in nominations to the NRHP and NHL, though not all carry the same weight in evaluating significance. This varies from property to property, depending on other aspects of the evaluation of significance. Some aspects of integrity are weighted more heavily depending on the evaluation criteria used. For example, the integrity of workmanship is more important when evaluating a property for architectural significance (Criterion C/Criterion 4) than for significance associated with important events (Criterion A/Criterion 1). The integrity of the only property of its type, or the only surviving property of its type, will also be evaluated differently than the integrity of a property type where multiple examples exist.

The absence or loss of integrity of a building, structure, site, or other historic property aboveground does not mean that the place is no longer eligible for listing on the NRHP or designation as an NHL. In many cases, evidence of the historic property remains belowground as archeological deposits. This can be significant on its own or can complement the evaluation of significance of standing structures. Archeological integrity is directly related to the potential for the property to contain historically significant information. In general, this requires intact archeological deposits – those that have not been disturbed through grading, extensive animal disturbance, additional construction, or other impacts. Intact deposits retain the patterning of artifacts and/or features (both above and belowground) that represent past uses and activities. Few properties exhibit wholly undisturbed archeological deposits; therefore, the evaluation of archeological integrity varies from property to property.

NPS Thematic Framework

The NPS *Thematic Framework for History and Prehistory* outlines eight major themes and ideas in American history that serve as a road map to identifying, describing, and analyzing the multiple layers of history that are present within each place.[28] These concepts are best thought of as an interconnected system of social and cultural forces.

---

[28] The National Park Service's Revised Thematic Framework, *History in the National Park Service: Themes and Concepts,* National Historic Landmarks Program, accessed June 13, 2016, https://www.nps.gov/nhl/learn/thematicframework.htm.

The eight themes and examples of topics that are encompassed by each are:

1. Peopling Places: examining human population movement and change, family formation, community formation, colonization, heath and disease, and different concepts of gender, family, and the sexual division of labor;
2. Creating Social Institutions and Movements: the diverse formal and informal structures like schools or voluntary associations through which people express their values and live their lives, including clubs and organizations, religious institutions, and recreational activities;
3. Expressing Cultural Values: expressions of culture as people's beliefs about themselves and the world they inhabit including educational and intellectual currents, the visual and performing arts, literature, mass media, architecture and landscape architecture, popular culture, and traditional culture;
4. Shaping the Political Landscape: tribal, local, state, and federal political and governmental institutions that create public policy and those groups that seek to shape both policies and institutions, military institutions and activities, and political ideas, cultures, and theories;
5. Developing the American Economy: reflects the ways Americans have worked, including slavery, servitude, volunteer, and paid labor, as well as economic endeavors like extraction, transportation and communication, agriculture, production, exchange and trade, distribution, and consumption of goods and services. It includes workers and work culture, labor organizations and protests, government policies and practices, and economic theory;
6. Expanding Science and Technology: encompasses experimentation and invention, technological applications, scientific thought and theory, and the effects on lifestyle and health;

7. Transforming the Environment: the variable and changing relationships between people and their environment and how the interplay between human activity and the environment is reflected in particular places; and
8. Changing Role of the United States in the World Community: diplomacy, trade, cultural exchange, security and defense, expansionism, imperialism, including immigration and emigration, and interactions among indigenous peoples, between the United States government and native peoples, and between the United States and other countries.

Individual places may represent multiple themes. For example, the Black Cat Club in San Francisco would fall under the themes of creating social institutions and of movements (as a community bar), expressing cultural values (the home of José Sarria's drag show), shaping the political landscape (as the launching place of José Sarria's political campaign and the owner's repeated fights against legal harassment), and developing the American economy (as a long-running business).[29]

Conclusion

This chapter provides an overview of concepts important in nominating properties to the NRHP and NHL, including the NPS Thematic Framework, criteria for evaluating integrity, and establishing a period of significance.[30] This information, as well as the historic contexts presented in the rest of this theme study, set the stage for the successful nomination, evaluation, and preservation of historic properties associated with LGBTQ history.

---

[29] The Black Cat Club at 710 Montgomery Street, San Francisco, California, was one of the most popular bars in the city from the late 1940s until it closed in 1964. In the late 1950s and early 1960s, it was the home base of drag entertainer José Sarria. He rallied his audiences against police repression, and used the bar to launch his 1961 campaign for the San Francisco Board of Supervisors – the first time an openly gay person ran for elected office. Sol Stouman, the straight owner of the Black Cat, fought repeated court battles from the 1950s onward in an effort to keep the bar open during the Lavender Scare. The building is a contributing resource to the Jackson Square Historic District, listed on the NRHP on November 18, 1971.

[30] For details, see the National Register bulletins cited in footnote 1.

31

INTERPRETING LGBTQ HISTORIC SITES

Susan Ferentinos

The National Park Service's LGBTQ heritage initiative promises to raise awareness of LGBTQ history and preserve the sites related to this history. Hopefully, many of these sites will be not only designated but also interpreted to the public. In addition to these properties with their primary significance in LGBTQ history, many other historic sites, designated for primary reasons other than their LGBTQ connections, still have stories to tell on this topic. Still others may have been working with LGBTQ interpretation for some time, but seek new approaches for reaching wider audiences. With this chapter, I offer some suggestions for sharing LGBTQ stories with a public audience, while also respecting the nuances and diversity of these experiences. I begin by discussing the importance of this work, move on to exploring some conceptual issues, and conclude by providing some concrete first steps to interpretive planning.[1]

---

[1] For more detail, see Susan Ferentinos, *Interpreting LGBT History at Museums and Historic Sites* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2015).

Susan Ferentinos

Why Interpret LGBTQ History?

Evidence of same-sex love and desire, and of gender crossing, exists throughout the recorded history of North America (and elsewhere), and yet these topics are rarely included in discussions of US history, whether in classrooms, in mainstream media, or at museums and historic sites. This leaves a hole in our national narrative and erases part of the story. The most obvious reason for historic sites to share their LGBTQ stories is because doing so creates a more inclusive and accurate telling of the national past.

At the same time, the process of uncovering LGBTQ history is more than simply an exercise in inclusivity. Studying cultural outsiders not only reveals insight into their experiences, but sheds light too on the experiences of the mainstream. The question of what behavior is and is not considered normal in a particular historical era, the explanations given for those delineations, and the punishments meted out to those who violate these cultural boundaries, all reveal information to help us understand the unspoken assumptions and anxieties of a given age.

For example, historian John Murrin—observing that in the New England colonies, charges of sexual deviance were brought disproportionately against adolescent males, while charges of witchcraft were brought disproportionately against older, unmarried women—concluded that these accusations reveal an abiding Puritan anxiety about community members who lived outside of the control of the patriarchal family. Historian Siobhan Somerville has noted that a medical definition of homosexuality developed in an era—the turn of the twentieth century—when science and medicine were also actively seeking scientific proof of white superiority, and she has explored how these various delineations provided a sense of order for native-born white elites amid a rapidly changing society. More recently, in the 1970s, Anita Bryant's anti-gay "Save Our Children" campaign coincided with the growing independence of American women as a result of second-wave feminism and a skyrocketing divorce rate. As these examples illustrate, when we add LGBTQ experiences to our historical narrative, we gain a richer understanding, both by considering a greater range of experiences and by glimpsing new information about stories we thought we already knew.[2]

In addition, as historic sites expand their interpretation, they will likely expand their audiences. An inclusive approach to the past will draw attention. It sends a welcoming message to potential visitors who are accustomed to being spurned and who, in turn, may be less likely to venture to new places until they are clearly welcomed. Interpretation that includes LGBTQ stories also offers something new for all visitors; curiosity and the desire to learn new things will draw many to investigate your site.

LGBTQ historical interpretation may also improve your site's fulfillment of its mission. Over the past three decades, the role of cultural organizations in US society has changed. Whereas previously these institutions positioned themselves as some of the main conveyers of knowledge, they now more often envision their missions to be about the facilitation of meaning making. This more democratic approach has repositioned historic sites and museums as places of community dialogue, where visitors can explore new topics and draw their own conclusions, as their comfort level allows.[3] Given the current preponderance of LGBTQ issues in the news, sites can offer some historic context to current events and a forum for exploring these connections—by introducing the idea that different eras have understood love between same-sex individuals in different ways, for example. In the process of providing this historical context, these organizations prove their relevance and fulfill their role as sites of public exploration.[4]

---

[2] John M. Murrin, "'Things Fearful to Name': Bestiality in Colonial America," *Pennsylvania History* 65 (January 1, 1998): 8-43; Siobhan B. Somerville, *Queering the Color Line: Race and the Invention of Homosexuality in American Culture*, Series Q (Durham NC: Duke University Press, 2000); and Ian Lekus, "Up They Come Again: The Rise of Family Values Politics," *The Ultimate History Project*, accessed November 5, 2015, http://ultimatehistoryproject.com/marriage-lgbt.html.

[3] Bill Adair, Benjamin Filene, and Laura Koloski, eds., *Letting Go?: Sharing Historical Authority in a User-Generated World* (Philadelphia: Pew Center for Arts & Heritage, 2011), distributed by Left Coast Press; Graham Black, *Transforming Museums in the Twenty-First Century: Developing Museums for Visitor Involvement* (Hoboken, NJ: Taylor & Francis, 2011), 202–240; and Nina Simon, *The Participatory Museum* (Santa Cruz, CA: Museum 2.0, 2010).

Finally, interpreting LGBTQ history can serve as an act of reparation to a group who, until quite recently, has been slandered, ignored, and erased. Beyond a simple concern about visitor statistics, historic sites can perform a public service by restoring a past to people who quite often have been cut off from their historical identities.[5] Often, as part of claiming an LGBTQ identity, people lose historic connections—to their families of origin, their hometowns, and their religious or ethnic communities. And while LGBTQ subcultures can replace some of these community connections, a desire to relate to the past may still be lacking. As Paula Martinac wrote in the late 1990s, "one thing that historic sites and travel guides never taught me was about a most important part of myself—my heritage as a gay person in this country."[6] Given these circumstances, to actually encounter "their" history included in an official historical narrative can be a profound and moving experience for LGBTQ visitors.

Conceptualizing the Story

While there are compelling reasons to engage with LGBTQ history, before beginning concrete interpretive planning, sites must lay some initial conceptual groundwork. As with any historical subfield, LGBTQ history carries its own peculiar circumstances that interpreters should be aware of before moving into this territory. Below are some considerations to reflect on in initial efforts to understand LGBTQ stories.

---

[4] Guidance for navigating the relevance of past experiences to current events can be found through the International Coalition of Sites of Conscience, www.sitesofconscience.org.

[5] This process has similarities to previous efforts by historic sites to respectfully interpret the histories of other underrepresented groups, such as Native Americans and African Americans. As with LGBTQ history, these earlier efforts were aided by National Park Service theme studies.

[6] Paula Martinac, *The Queerest Places: A National Guide to Gay and Lesbian Historic Sites* (New York: Henry Holt & Co, 1997), ix. See also David W. Dunlap, "Library's Gay Show Is an Eye-Opener, Even for Its Subjects," *New York Times*, September 6, 1994, http://www.nytimes.com/1994/09/06/arts/library-s-gay-show-is-an-eye-opener-even-for-its-subjects.html; Kelly Farrell, "Exposing the Soul: An Unexpected Encounter with Community-Based Interpretation," *Legacy: The Journal of the National Association of Interpretation*, February 2010, 20–23; and Alison Oram, "Going on an Outing: The Historic House and Queer Public History," *Rethinking History* 15, no. 2 (June 2011): 193.

Changing Understandings of Sexuality

Although the topic was hotly debated in the 1990s, scholars now generally agree that sexual identity is socially constructed—that is, it is influenced by time, place, and culture, rather than being immutable. This is an extremely important consideration when approaching same-sex desire and sexual activity in the past. The historical agents being studied may have understood their feelings, identities, and behavior quite differently than we would understand those same circumstances in our own era. Thus, historians need to evaluate source material within the context of the time in which it was created, rather than relying on their own (historically specific) assumptions of meaning.[7]

To take but the most obvious example: The concept of sexual orientation as a personal characteristic did not become firmly entrenched until the turn of the twentieth century. Same-sex sexual activity certainly existed before this, but in earlier eras the emphasis was on behavior, not psychology. Someone might engage in the *sin* or *crime* of sodomy, but that action did not indicate a particular *type* of person as it would beginning in the twentieth century.[8]

---

[7] John D'Emilio and Estelle B. Freedman, *Intimate Matters: A History of Sexuality in America*, 3rd ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2012), 30–31; Leila J. Rupp, *A Desired Past: A Short History of Same-Sex Love in America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999), 27–35; and Kenneth Turino and Susan Ferentinos, "Entering the Mainstream: Interpreting GLBT History," *AASLH History News*, Autumn 2012. Staff at historic sites should understand, however, that although historians now agree that sexuality is socially constructed, the wider public—including interpretive guides—may find this to be a challenging notion. The concept warrants explanation, both in staff training and in interpretation. Indeed, establishing that different historical time periods understood sexual identity and expression differently may end up being one of your site's main interpretive goals.

[8] Thomas A. Foster, ed., *Long before Stonewall: Histories of Same-Sex Sexuality in Early America* (New York: New York University Press, 2007), 8–9; and Molly McGarry and Fred Wasserman, *Becoming Visible: An Illustrated History of Lesbian and Gay Life in Twentieth-Century America* (New York: Penguin Studio, 1998), 39. The emphasis before this shift most definitely was on sodomy—most often defined as male sexual penetration of another male. Women's sexual activity with other women was largely off the radar of social commentators until the development of the medical model known as homosexuality.

Figure 1: Jane Addams, ca. 1914. Photo by Moffatt, from the collections of the Library of Congress.[9]

As a result of these changing understandings, the historical record offers many tantalizing hints of activity that, if created in our own time, would seem to be evidence of gay, lesbian, or bisexual desire, behavior, identity, or relationships. The analysis is not that easy, however. These are contemporary labels, and we cannot facilely apply them retrospectively to a time period in which such concepts did not exist. For instance, intense, exclusive bonds between members of the same sex—mostly women but also sometimes men—were quite common in the nineteenth century. Known as "romantic friendships," these relationships involved avowals of loyalty and love, pet names, and quite often physical affection. And yet, such bonds carried no stigma and did not preclude their adherents from also entering into marriages with members of the opposite sex.[10] How are we to understand these relationships today? To call them "gay" or "lesbian" assumes a sexual consciousness that quite likely was not present. Such a label also seems somehow to disrespect those who have struggled with or proudly claimed that label in later times. As Victoria Bissell Brown notes when discussing the sexuality of reformer Jane Addams (Figure 1):

---

[9] License: Public domain. http://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/2004671949/

[10] Leila Rupp, "Romantic Friendships," in Allida Mae Black, ed., *Modern American Queer History* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2001), 13–23; Carroll Smith-Rosenberg, "The Female World of Love and Ritual: Relations between Women in Nineteenth-Century America," *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 1, no. 1 (1975): 1–29; Anthony Rotundo, "Romantic Friendship: Male Intimacy and Middle-Class Youth in the Northern United States, 1800-1900," *Journal of Social History* 23 (Fall 1989): 1–26; and D'Emilio and Freedman, *Intimate Matters*, 125–129.

> …I cannot use a word that has purposely erotic meaning in our era to describe the intimate experience of a woman who lived in a very different time. Too many people have fought too hard for modern lesbians' claim to a lusty, erotic life for me to daintily retreat to an ahistorical definition of "lesbian" that skirts the blood, sweat, and tears of erotic expression.[11]

At the same time, to completely deny the relevance of romantic friendships to LGBTQ history would also be misleading. Surely, these bonds lie somewhere on the spectrum of same-sex love and desire; it is the easy use of modern labels that strips these historical trends of their nuance and context.

Shifting the topic from "LGBTQ" to same-sex love and desire addresses some of these issues. This broader category moves away from contemporary labels as well as the modern emphasis on sexual practice and self-identification. Likewise, we can take a similar approach to conceptualizing transgender identity, by instead considering the topic of "variant gender expression." Like its companion identities in the label of LGBTQ, transgender identity is a modern concept, with a relatively recent history as an identity distinct from sexual orientation.[12] The past abounds with people who chose to live as a gender opposite to their biological sex. We can certainly speak to that fact, but it is more difficult to presume their motivation for doing so, unless they specifically addressed that question. Once again, it is the modern label, not the topic itself that is problematic.

---

[11] Victoria Bissell Brown, "Queer or Not: What Jane Addams Teaches Us about Not Knowing," in Jill Austin and Jennifer Brier, eds., *Out in Chicago: LGBT History at the Crossroads* (Chicago: Chicago History Museum, 2011), 67.

[12] Originally, the medical model of homosexuality conflated sexual desire for the same sex with the gender identification of the opposite sex (known at the time as "inversion"). See Jennifer Terry, *An American Obsession: Science, Medicine, and Homosexuality in Modern Society* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999), 40–73; Jonathan Katz, *The Invention of Heterosexuality* (New York: Dutton and Company, 1995), 51–55; and Vern L. Bullough, *Science in the Bedroom: A History of Sex Research* (New York: Basic Books, 1994), 35–40.

Vocabulary

Terminology is another issue to keep in mind when beginning to conceptualize the LGBTQ stories related to your site. In addition to the interpretive issues involved in using contemporary labels to describe historical circumstances, sites that interpret the twentieth century—after our modern labels had come into use—face decisions concerning appropriate vocabulary. There is no one universally agreed upon lexicon to describe variant sexuality and gender expression, with preferences varying by generation, subculture, geographic region, and personal inclination. Because of this, some sites choose to devote interpretive space to explaining the connotations and changing meanings of specific words. For instance, *Revealing Queer*, a temporary exhibit at the Museum of History and Industry (MOHAI) in Seattle, dedicated a corner of its 1,000-square-foot exhibit space to offering definitions of various labels and providing a space where visitors could record the words they use to identify themselves. Regardless of the vocabulary your site chooses to employ, sites should make this decision carefully and in consultation with local LGBTQ communities.[13]

Intersectionality

The idea of intersectionality argues that different aspects of one's identity—such as race, class, sexual orientation, gender identity, geographic region, religion, etc.—intersect to create a particular worldview and thus we must approach historical agents as multifaceted beings whose experience of one condition—sexual orientation, for instance—is informed by all others. The concept is dealt with more fully in another chapter of this theme study. However, I mention it here because it is most certainly a factor in conceptualizing LGBTQ stories. There is not one LGBTQ community, one LGBTQ experience, one LGBTQ past—though we sometimes speak of all of these. To do true justice to the stories contained in a historic place, interpreters must consider the intersectionality of identities.[14]

---

[13] Ferentinos, *Interpreting LGBT History*, 5–7, 153-154.

The Underrepresented Nature of Bisexual and Transgender Identities

Although the terms GLBT, LGBT, and LGBTQ have been in use for decades, they do not always deliver equal representation of the identities listed. Gay and lesbian experiences have received far more consideration, generally speaking, than bisexual and transgender experiences. While one could argue that this is a consequence of greater numbers and more surviving documentation in the historical record, the neglect of bisexual and transgender experiences is at least in part an oversight that warrants redress.

Western culture tends toward the binary. Most of us are quite accustomed to the heterosexual-homosexual binary, or the male-female binary, and significantly less comfortable with those who blur those borders, as do both bisexuals and transgender folk. Rather than grapple with the in-between, many choose simply to ignore those experiences that complicate the cultural framework. And yet, exploring the lives of those who destabilize cultural categories has the potential to provide new insight; by shifting perspective, we see assumptions that we did not necessarily know existed.

For instance, what are we to make of a heterosexually married person who also left evidence of same-sex desire and behavior?[15] Traditionally, sites may have been inclined to use the fact of a marriage as a badge of heterosexual acceptability and simply ignore any evidence that suggested a broader range of interest. Now, I fear the pendulum may have swung too far the other way and sites might be too quick to assume this hypothetical historical agent was a closeted homosexual, using a socially acceptable marriage as nothing more than a shield against accusations of impropriety. But there is, of course, another possibility. Such a person may have sincerely felt desire for both men and women. In a similar vein, bisexuals have historically shared many of the same experiences as gays and lesbians—fighting for broader protection under the law, being arrested in gay bars, and losing jobs because of perceived "sexual perversion." It might take a second look to find them, even when they are hiding in plain sight.

---

[14] Mieke Verloo, "Intersectional and Cross-Movement Politics and Policies: Reflections on Current Practices and Debates," *Signs* 38, no. 4 (June 1, 2013): 893–915; Cornelia H. Dayton and Lisa Levenstein, "The Big Tent of U.S. Women's and Gender History: A State of the Field," *Journal of American History* 99, no. 3 (December 1, 2012): 793–817; and Nan Alamilla Boyd, "Same-Sex Sexuality in Western Women's History," *Frontiers: A Journal of Women Studies* 22, no. 3 (September 2001): 13.

[15] One such person is Ogden Codman Jr., associated with the Codman House (The Grange), 34 Codman Road, Lincoln, Massachusetts, http://www.historicnewengland.org/historic-properties/homes/codman-estate. However, in the discussion that follows, I am not talking specifically about Codman, but hypothetically. For more on Codman, see Kenneth C. Turino, "Case Study: The Varied Telling of Queer History at Historic New England Sites," in Ferentinos, *Interpreting LGBT History*, 135-136. The Grange was listed on the NRHP on April 18, 1974.

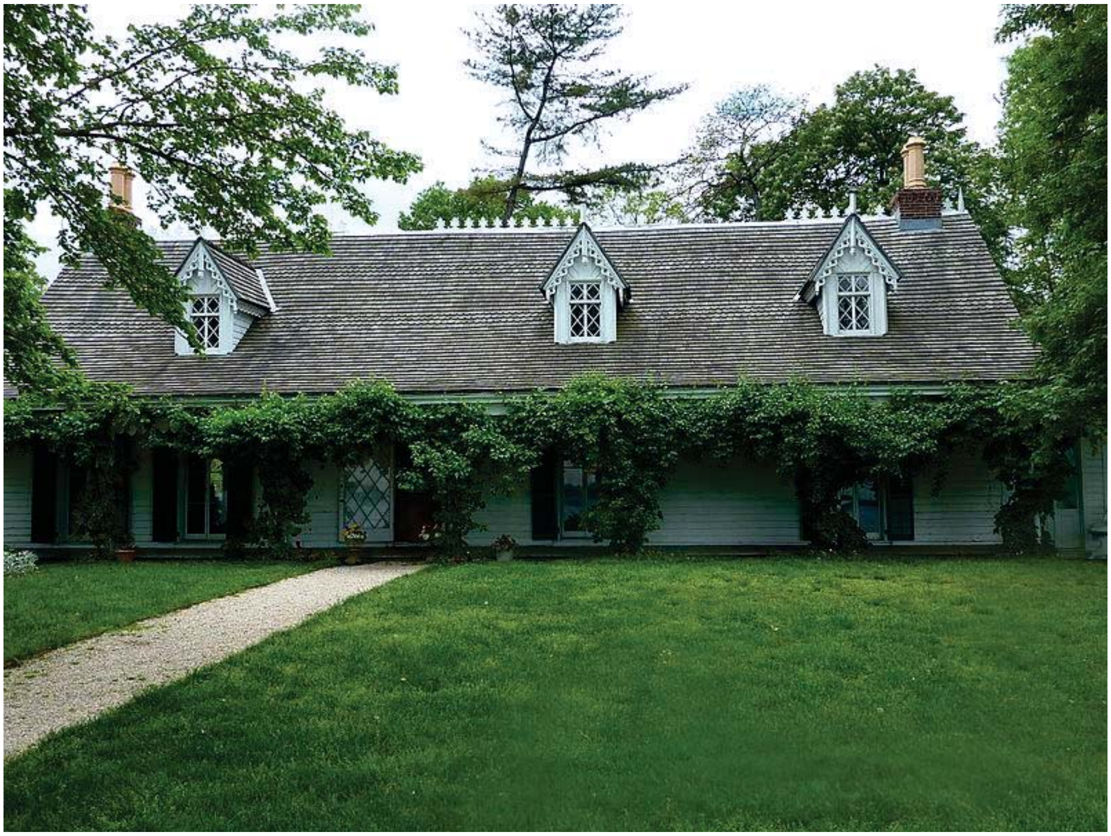


Figure 2: Clear Comfort, the Alice Austen House Museum, 2011. Photo by Blindowlphotography.[16]

---

[16] License: CC BY-SA 3.0. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Clear_Comfort_01.jpg

Along similar lines, transgender identities and same-sex love and desire exist in complicated relation with each other. Today, we understand sexual orientation and gender identity to be two distinct categories, but this has not always been the case. Traditionally, the categories have been conflated in societal understandings. As a result, when delving into the past, interpreters can find opportunities to talk about *both* same-sex love and desire *and* gender transgression.[17] For instance, Alice Austen, a turn-of-the-twentieth-century photographer, challenged gender conventions in much of her work. She also spent fifty years partnered to another woman, Gertrude Tate. Both of these aspects are interpreted at her home, Clear Comfort, which is now a museum (Figure 2).[18] In 2010, the Alice Austen House and its parent organization, the Historic House Trust of New York City, invited photographer Steven Rosen, working with the drag performance troupe Switch 'n' Play, to create contemporary interpretations of some of Austen's more provocative works and thus explore changing attitudes about gender expression and sexual identity. The results were later displayed in an exhibit at the site. While this program was not strictly historical in nature, it does provide an example of museums incorporating innovative programming, highlighting the interrelationship of gender and sexual identity, and encouraging visitors to engage with the past by exploring parallels with (and differences from) their own era.[19]

Considering the ways variant gender expression has overlapped with variant sexuality in different ways in different eras opens exciting interpretive avenues. But if we unconsciously favor gay and lesbian stories—those that fall neatly into the binary—we run the risk of neglecting other stories also present in historical sources. Staying consciously committed to finding bisexual and transgender stories, as well as gay and lesbian ones, can result in a fuller discussion of the range of ideas and experiences present.

---

[17] Paul Gabriel, "Why Grapple with Queer When You Can Fondle It? Embracing Our Erotic Intelligence," in Amy K. Levin, ed., *Gender, Sexuality and Museums: A Routledge Reader* (New York: Routledge, 2010), 71–79; Susan Stryker, *Transgender History* (Berkeley, CA: Seal Press: Distributed by Publishers Group West, 2008), 150–153.

[18] Clear Comfort (The Alice Austen House) at 2 Hylan Boulevard, Staten Island, New York, was listed on the NRHP on July 29, 1970 and designated an NHL on April 19, 1993, www.aliceausten.org

[19] Frank D. Vagnone, "A Note from Franklin D. Vagnone," executive director, *Historic House Trust Newsletter*, Fall 2010; and Lillian Faderman and Phyllis Irwin, "Alice Austen and Gertrude Tate: A Boston Marriage on Staten Island," *Historic House Trust Newsletter*, Fall 2010.

Artifacts

What objects represent the LGBTQ elements of your site's story? The answer will vary with each site, of course, as well as with the period of significance. When interpreting the mid- to late twentieth century, objects may more obviously represent queer experience—mementos from marches or gay bars, for example. Earlier eras may present more of a challenge and may require reviewing your site's collection with new eyes—and possibly engaging the help of a specialist—to discover coded meanings not readily apparent.[20]

Moving Away from Standard Tropes

One could argue that recent efforts to obtain legal recognition for same-sex marriage have fed into a "Queer people are just like us!" mentality. Such thinking obscures the distinct subcultures LGBTQ people have forged. The most successful interpretive efforts will approach LGBTQ experiences on their own terms, as revealed in the surviving sources, rather than crafting a narrative that mimics heterosexual patterns. Indeed, in their role as sex and gender outsiders, many LGBTQ people have worked tirelessly to challenge cultural assumptions about what is and is not "normal," "proper," and "natural." This societal critique—whether it occurred with words or deeds—deserves to be remembered.

A relevant example comes from the *Out in Chicago* exhibit at the Chicago History Museum.[21] The museum convened two separate advisory panels, one comprised of people who identified as LGBTQ and the other comprised of people who identified as straight. Interestingly, when asked what they hoped to get out of an exhibit on Chicago's LGBTQ past, the straight committee said they sought to learn about the ways queer lives were similar to their own, while the LGBTQ committee hoped that their distinct experiences and subcultures would be documented, preserved, and presented to a wider audience. After grappling with the question of how to address the legitimate desires of both groups, the exhibit team decided in the end to privilege the wishes of the LGBTQ stakeholders, who had not had as great an opportunity as the straight stakeholders to see their experiences represented in museum settings.[22]

---

[20] Jill Austin et al., "When the Erotic Becomes Illicit: Struggles over Displaying Queer History at a Mainstream Museum," *Radical History Review*, no. 113 (Spring 2012): 187–97; and Ferentinos, *Interpreting LGBT History*, 110–115.

[21] The Chicago History Museum is located at 1601 North Clark Street, Chicago, Illinois.

In addition to moving beyond heterosexual tropes, interpreters should also challenge the "progress narrative." Most likely visitors are accustomed to historical trajectories that move unerringly toward "progress," however defined—expanding democratic freedoms, growing economic strength, lives continually made better by technological innovation and increased access to consumer goods. This device seems particularly prevalent when discussing LGBTQ history, especially when those presentations focus on the question of civil rights.[23]

Historians now understand that, over time, the dangers and freedoms afforded to LGBTQ people expanded and contracted in ways that do not fit neatly into the idea of a steady march toward acceptance and freedom from fear. Examples abound. To take but one, in the revolutionary period and early nineteenth century, emotional and physical affection between men was seen as a sign of "sensibility," a desired trait in the democratic ideal where empathy, compassion, and thoughtfulness were seen as necessary for exercising the rights of citizenry (at this time restricted to white men). By the twentieth century, however, the emotional range considered acceptable for men was greatly constricted, and male-male bonds of affection were derided and strictly policed for fear that they would receive the taint of the then-common taboo of male love for another male (regardless of sexual component).[24]

---

[22] Jill Austin and Jennifer Brier, "Case Study: Displaying Queer History at the Chicago History Museum," in Ferentinos, *Interpreting LGBT History*, 119-129.

[23] Robert Mills, "Queer Is Here? Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender Histories and Public Culture," *History Workshop Journal*, no. 62 (October 1, 2006): 253–263; Robert Mills, "Theorizing the Queer Museum," *Museums & Social Issues* 3, no. 1 (April 1, 2008): 41–52; and Stuart Frost, "Are Museums Doing Enough to Address LGBT History?" *Museums Journal* 111, no. 1 (January 2011): 19.

When conceptualizing the LGBTQ stories to be told, the issue of sexual content is likely to arise, and here, too, I encourage interpreters to challenge their assumptions about what is and is not appropriate. Many authors have written about the role of museums in enforcing heteronormativity—the assumptions that heterosexuality and the nuclear family are the societal "norm," and hence do not need to be analyzed, while all other desires and social arrangements are "abnormal" and thus troubled.[25] Heteronormativity can often slip into historical interpretation when LGBTQ experiences are deemed to be too "sexual" to discuss, while analogous heterosexual experiences are present. For instance, think how ubiquitous erotic female nudes (generally created by male artists) are in Western art. These pieces fill art galleries and historic homes and seldom receive any critical comments for being there. Would it be more challenging for staff and visitors if erotic depictions of men were displayed in the historic home of a lifelong bachelor? Likewise, the fact that Paul Revere fathered sixteen children with two wives is a regular part of the tour at the Paul Revere House. Yet this information is certainly no more or less sexual than the fact that author Willa Cather shared numerous residences and thirty-eight years with her female companion, Edith Lewis.[26]

---

[24] Rotundo, Romantic Friendship; Clare A. Lyons, *Sex among the Rabble: An Intimate History of Gender and Power in the Age of Revolution, Philadelphia, 1730-1830* (Chapel Hill, NC: Published for the Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture, Williamsburg, Virginia, by the University of North Carolina Press, 2006), 123–127; Richard Godbeer, *The Overflowing of Friendship: Love between Men and the Creation of the American Republic* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009); and William Benemann, *Male-Male Intimacy in Early America: Beyond Romantic Friendships* (New York: Harrington Park Press, 2006).

[25] Mills, Theorizing the Queer Museum; Joshua G. Adair, "House Museums or Walk-In Closets? The (Non) Representation of Gay Men in the Museums They Called Home," in Amy K. Levin, ed., *Gender, Sexuality, and Museums*, 269; Kevin Coffee, "Cultural Inclusion, Exclusion and the Formative Roles of Museums," *Museum Management & Curatorship* 23, no. 3 (September 2008): 261–279; John Fraser and Joe E. Heimlich, "Where Are We?," *Museums & Social Issues* 3, no. 1 (Spring 2008): 5–14; Stuart Frost, "Secret Museums: Hidden Histories of Sex and Sexuality," *Museums & Social Issues* 3, no. 1 (Spring 2008): 29–40; James H. Sanders III, "The Museum's Silent Sexual Performance," *Museums & Social Issues* 3, no. 1 (Spring 2008): 15–25; Patrik Steorn, "Curating Queer Heritage: Queer Knowledge and Museum Practice," *Curator* 55, no. 3 (July 2012): 355–365; and Jennifer Tyburczy, "All Museums Are Sex Museums," *Radical History Review*, no. 113 (Spring 2012): 199–211.

All of the tendencies described in this section are reasonable assumptions to make, given larger societal forces. Nevertheless, truly nuanced historical interpretation needs to push beyond societal assumptions in order to get ever closer to accurately documenting the realities of past experiences.

Accept that You Won't Have All the Answers

Thus far, I have discussed numerous conceptual gray areas—the use of contemporary labels to describe historical experiences; the subtle connotations of language; the intersectionality of identity; the potentially nonbinary nature of bisexual and transgender identities; and historical nuance that doesn't fit neatly into standard cultural tropes. It would be understandable if readers began to feel that uncovering the LGBTQ past were a moving target, one that eludes clear conclusions. And to some extent, such feelings would be correct. Historical inquiry quite often reveals more questions than answers. This is the core of its power. We don't have to have all the answers in order to engage in a conversation about the past with visitors; the very fact that we *don't* know everything we wish we knew invites the visitor to interact with the past as opposed to merely consuming a historical product. Yet, admitting uncertainty may be new territory for seasoned interpreters accustomed to taking a more definitive stance when sharing the past with visitors. While it may require a change of thinking, or perhaps additional training, this challenge once again points to the potential of this type of interpretation, revealing more clearly to a wide audience that history is not just a collection of known facts. It involves piecing together shards of evidence, grappling with conflicting points of view, and drawing conclusions as best we can. And in particular, with regard to the queer past: ideas about sexuality change over time; previous prejudice against LGBTQ identities result in a dearth of surviving objects and documents in our own time; past eras were as complicated as our own, with competing interpretations and so very much that went unspoken.

---

[26] Isabella Caruso, "Willa Cather North by Northeast: Cather Related Site-Seeing North of New York City and East of Ohio," ed. Andrew Jewell, Willa Cather Archive, University of Nebraska-Lincoln, 2003, http://cather.unl.edu/community.tours.new_york.html. Possibly the only surviving residence of this couple, which they lived in from 1908-1913, is an apartment in Greenwich Village, New York City, New York.

In fact, within the field of public history, there is a growing trend to "pull back the curtain" and reveal historians' work to visitors. Rather than presenting interpretation of established fact, this line of thinking encourages sites to reveal the historical process by presenting evidence and context to visitors and asking them to draw their own conclusions. Uncertainty itself can be an interpretive tool.[27] The Jane Addams Hull-House Museum puts these ideas into practice in interpreting Addams's sexuality. Although historians know that the reformer had an intense bond with her friend Mary Rozet Smith that spanned over thirty years, the couple's correspondence was destroyed (at Addams's request), so questions remain about the specific nature of their relationship. The museum interprets Addams's personal life—including her bond with Smith—in the reformer's bedroom, and is quite open about the fact that the evidence is unclear about Addams's sexual identity. Visitors encounter the evidence that survives and a description of the relevant historical context—that the late nineteenth century saw many life-long pairings between educated, professional women and the historical circumstances that supported such behavior. However, the museum does not draw conclusions from the evidence, instead providing visitors the opportunity to perform their own analyses.[28]

---

[27] Susan Ferentinos, "Lifting Our Skirts: Sharing the Sexual Past with Visitors," Digital Content, May 2014 Issue, *Public History Commons: The Public Historian*, July 1, 2014, http://ncph.org/history-at-work/lifting-our-skirts; Robert R. Weyeneth, "What I've Learned Along the Way: A Public Historian's Intellectual Odyssey," *The Public Historian* 36, no. 2 (May 1, 2014): 9–25. The *Public History Commons* website ran a series of articles on this idea of "pulling back the curtain." The series is located at http://ncph.org/history-at-work/tag/pulling-back-the-curtain.

[28] Ferentinos, Lifting Our Skirts. The Jane Addams Hull-House Museum, located at 800 South Halsted, Chicago, Illinois, was listed on the NRHP on October 15, 1966 and designated an NHL on June 23, 1965.

Interpretive Planning

At some point in the process of uncovering LGBTQ stories, it will be time to move from the conceptual to the concrete, to the specific steps of interpretive planning. While such steps are likely quite familiar to those who work in this area, below, I mention a few issues that either are particularly important when beginning LGBTQ interpretation or carry specific implications when approaching these populations.

Buy-In from Stakeholders

As is true of all interpretive efforts, buy-in from stakeholders—including funders—early in the planning process will help ensure that the effort goes smoothly. You might be surprised at how easy this is to achieve. Regardless of individual opinions about LGBTQ current events and legal protections, it would be difficult to find many people in the United States today who deny that LGBTQ people exist and have been productive members of society. As a result of this cultural shift, resistance to LGBTQ historical interpretation is becoming increasingly rare, when the information is based on historic evidence and avoids using modern labels to describe past circumstances. What's more, in the last few years, there has been a sea change within corporate America. Many major companies in the United States have moved to the forefront of advocating for LGBTQ acceptance, a trend witnessed in the 2015 controversy in Indiana over the state's Religious Freedom Restoration Act, where corporations such as Eli Lilly and Company, Angie's List, Anthem, and Salesforce played a significant role in pressuring lawmakers to amend the law.[29] These events suggest that many corporate funders would welcome the opportunity to support LGBTQ historical interpretation. Nevertheless, it is best to build donor, board, and staff support early in the planning process, rather than face unpleasant surprises later on.

---

[29] Jeff Swiatek and Tim Evans, "Nine CEOs Call on Pence, Legislature to Modify 'Religious Freedom' Law," *Indianapolis Star*, March 31, 2015, http://www.indystar.com/story/money/2015/03/30/nine-ceos-call-pence-legislature-modify-religious-freedom-law/70689924.

Solicit Input from Community Partners and Explore Partnerships

Seeking input on interpretive development from a wide range of community advisors will assist in creating programming that is relevant and respectful. Advisors can include straight stakeholders as well as representatives of LGBTQ communities, but in selecting advisors, sites should keep in mind that there is not one single cohesive LGBTQ "community." Care must be taken to ensure gender, class, racial, and generational diversity, as well as representation of all the different categories within the LGBTQ label.

When cultivating relationships among LGBTQ advisors, site personnel should be prepared to encounter some distrust and resistance. Mainstream institutions have historically served as agents of oppression for LGBTQ people in this country. Laws criminalized their self-expression; police harassed them; doctors told them they were sick; popular culture portrayed them as depraved; educational materials denied their existence; the military gave them dishonorable discharges; and the federal government's glacial response to the AIDS epidemic led to the deaths of hundreds of thousands of gay and bisexual men and transgender women. These historical realities are fading, but they have created scars that lead many LGBTQ people to assume the worst about the powers that be. Within the museum world, this is most often seen as a reluctance to grant oral history interviews, share lived experiences, or donate material. Community advisors from relevant populations can serve as bridge builders, communicating the organization's goals and objectives and serving as watchdogs against unintended gaffes in interpretation. Historic sites should be prepared, however, to exercise patience when building trust and legitimacy within this area.

In addition to specific individuals serving as community advisors, organizational partnerships can address similar issues, providing content expertise and advice on outreach. The Minnesota Historical Society had an established Summer History Immersion Program (SHIP) teaching first-generation college-bound high school students the skills of college-level historical research. However, the organization partnered with the University of Minnesota's Jean-Nickolaus Tretter Collection in Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, and Transgender Studies when looking to expand its program into the field of LGBTQ history. Similarly, the National Constitution Center and the William Way LGBT Community Center co-sponsored a special exhibit in summer 2015 to commemorate the fiftieth anniversary of the "Annual Reminder" protests for gay and lesbian rights that were held each Independence Day from 1965 to 1969 at the Liberty Bell in Philadelphia.[30] The key to creating solid partnerships is mutual assistance. Seek ways to support these organizations as a means of building trust and strengthening relationships.[31]

To assist with these outreach efforts, the American Alliance of Museums is in the process of developing LGBTQ welcoming standards for museums, which it plans to unveil at its annual meeting in spring 2016. This document intentionally aligns with the organization's *National Standards and Best Practices for U.S. Museums* and draws widely from resources on supporting LGBTQ individuals at work, school, and in community.

Staffing and Sustainability

Although familiarity with local LGBTQ realities provides an important perspective to LGBTQ site interpretation, historical and interpretive expertise is also important. Thus, choices about what staff to assign to the development of new interpretation should be made with an eye toward expertise rather than personal identification with the subject. While LGBTQ staff members will likely support the organization's efforts in this area,

---

[30] Kyle Parsons and Stewart Van Cleve, "Case Study: Interpreting for the Next Generation," in Ferentinos, *Interpreting LGBT History*, 141-149; and *Speaking Out for Equality: The Constitution, Gay Rights, and the Supreme Court*, National Constitution Center exhibit, http://constitutioncenter.org/experience/exhibitions/feature-exhibitions/speaking-out-for-equality-the-constitution-gay-rights-and-the-supreme-court. Independence Hall, where these protests took place, is at 520 Chestnut Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. It was designated as part of the Independence National Historical Park NHL District on October 15, 1966 and became part of the NPS on June 27, 1948.

[31] Brian O'Neill, "Twenty-One Partnership Success Factors," *AASLH History News* 69, no. 4 (Autumn 2014): 17-21.

Figure 3: Beauport, the Sleeper-McCann House, Gloucester, Massachusetts. Photo by J. David Bohl, 1979, from the NHL nomination.

effective interpretation requires the engagement of all staff with relevant skills.

In addition, the issue of sustainability is important to consider from the outset. Will the interpretative changes become part of permanent programming? Or will they be temporary (special events or occasional themed tours, for instance)? If the latter, how will you maintain the new visitors and audience enthusiasm your efforts are likely to produce? LGBTQ interpretation can send a message of welcome and inclusion; but this message will be met with expectations. How will the organization continue to create a welcoming environment for diverse audiences? How will it avoid tokenism?

Furthermore, Stacia Kuceyeski, director of outreach at the Ohio History Connection (which serves as an institutional partner to the Gay Ohio History Initiative) urges organizations to make LGBTQ projects and outreach a designated part of someone's job, rather than an unevaluated labor of love for a particular staff member, performed above and beyond their assigned job duties. With responsibilities clearly assigned and part of articulated performance goals, Kuceyeski argues, LGBTQ interpretive efforts are protected from the vagaries of staff turnover or loss of momentum.[32]

Choosing Specific Interpretive Methods

Historic sites have introduced LGBTQ stories to visitors in a variety of ways. Beauport, the home of early-twentieth-century designer Henry Davis Sleeper, discusses Sleeper's sexual identity in their standard visitor tour (Figure 3). They have also hosted lectures on queer-related topics and an evening reception and private tour specifically for a gay meet-up group.[33] Staff at Rosie the Riveter/ World War II Home Front National Historical Park, realizing that they needed more documentation before beginning to interpret LGBTQ stories, launched an oral history project complete with a confidential phone line where people interested in learning more about the project could do so while still preserving their anonymity.[34] The John Q Ideas Collective stages "discursive memorials"—which might also be described as historically informed site-specific theater—at sites throughout Atlanta that hold relevance to the LGBTQ past.[35] The Gay Ohio History Initiative, in partnership with the Ohio History Connection, erected a historical marker to author Natalie Clifford Barney, who was partnered with a woman (painter Romaine Brooks) for fifty years (Figure 4).[36] Indianapolis and Minneapolis have each taken a city-wide approach to interpreting LGBTQ history, developing mobile phone apps that map and interpret relevant sites throughout their cities.[37] And the California Historical Society is currently sponsoring a crowd-sourced Historypin project where the public can upload their memories and photos of LGBTQ-related sites throughout the state.[38]

---

[32] Joe Heimlich and Judy Koke, "Gay and Lesbian Visitors and Cultural Institutions: Do They Come? Do They Care? A Pilot Study," *Museums & Social Issues* 3, no. 1 (April 1, 2008): 93–104; Donna Mertens, John Fraser, and Joe Heimlich, "M or F?: Gender, Identity, and the Transformative Research Paradigm," *Museums & Social Issues* 3, no. 1 (April 1, 2008): 81–92; Stacia Kuceyeski, "The Gay Ohio History Initiative as a Model for Collecting Institutions," *Museums & Social Issues* 3, no. 1 (April 1, 2008): 125–132; and Stacia Kuceyeski, director of outreach at the Ohio History Connection and liaison to the Gay Ohio History Initiative, in phone interview with the author, April 3, 2014.

[33] Turino, Case Study, 132-135. Beauport was listed on the NRHP and designated an NHL on May 27, 2003.

[34] "Seeking LGBT Stories from WWII Home Front," Rosie the Riveter/ World War II Home Front National Historical Park, http://www.nps.gov/rori/planyourvisit/seeking-lgbt-stories-from-wwii-home-front.htm; and Elizabeth Tucker, lead park ranger at Rosie the Riveter/ World War II Home Front National Historical Park, in phone interview with the author, April 29, 2014.

[35] Julia Brock, "Embodying the Archive (Part 1): Art Practice, Queer Politics, Public History," *History@Work* (blog), April 5, 2013, http://ncph.org/history-at-work/brock-johnq-intro; Julia Brock, "Embodying the Archive (Part 2): Lineages, Longings, Migrations," *History@Work* (blog), April 12, 2013, http://ncph.org/history-at-work/crichton-brock-intro; and Wesley Chenault, Andy Ditzler, and Joey Orr, "Discursive Memorials: Queer Histories in Atlanta's Public Spaces," *Southern Spaces*, February 26, 2010, http://www.southernspaces.org/2010/discursive-memorials-queer-histories-atlantas-public-spaces.

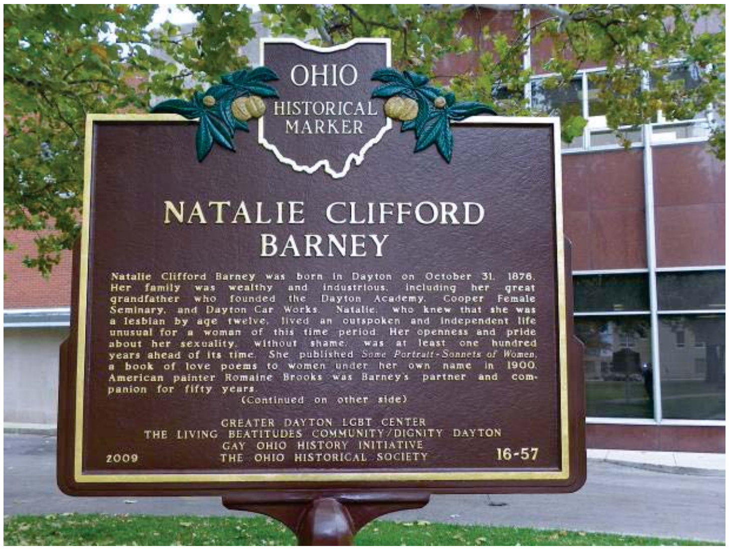

OHIO
HISTORICAL MARKER
NATALIE CLIFFORD BARNEY
Natalie Clifford Barney was born in Dayton on October 31, 1876. Her family was wealthy and industrious, including her great grandfather who founded the Dayton Academy, Cooper Female Seminary, and Dayton Car Works. Natalie, who knew that she was a lesbian by age twelve, lived an outspoken and independent life unusual for a woman of this time period. Her openness and pride about her sexuality, without shame, was at least one hundred years ahead of its time. She published Some Portrait-Sonnets of Women, a book of love poems to women under her own name in 1900. American painter Romaine Brooks was Barney's partner and companion for fifty years.
(Continued on other side)
GREATER DAYTON LGBT CENTER
THE LIVING BEATITUDES COMMUNITY/DIGNITY DAYTON
GAY OHIO HISTORY INITIATIVE
THE OHIO HISTORICAL SOCIETY
2009
16-57

Figure 4: Historical marker to Natalie Clifford Barney, Dayton, Ohio, 2009. Photo by Zeist85.[39]

The relative newness of LGBTQ historical interpretation means that the field remains particularly open to new ideas and methods. Sites have engaged with this history using both established and experimental interpretive methods, and many sites unfolded their LGBTQ interpretation in stages, beginning with lectures or other one-time programming and eventually moving into more detailed interpretation. A combination of creative thinking and respectful consultation with stakeholders holds the possibility of producing meaningful and engaging content.

---

[36] "What is the Gay Ohio History Initiative?" *Ohio History Connection Collections* (blog), June 14, 2014, https://ohiohistory.wordpress.com/2014/06/13/what-is-the-gay-ohio-history-initiative. The historical marker dedicated to Barney is located on East Second Street in Dayton, Ohio, in Cooper Park.

[37] *Discover Indiana*, http://www.indyhistorical.org, LGBTQ tour in development as of November 1, 2015; Kirsten Delegard, "YesterQueer," *The Historyapolis Project* (blog), June 25, 2014, http://historyapolis.com/yesterqueer.

[38] "California Pride: Mapping LGBTQ Histories," *Historypin*, https://www.historypin.org/project/469-california-pride/.

[39] License: Public domain. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Ncbarneyhistoricalmarker.jpg

Prepare for a Range of Reactions

LGBTQ historical interpretation is still a rare enough phenomenon that many visitors likely will be encountering this subject matter for the first time. Some will be thrilled to find it; others will be challenged. As with any new interpretive effort, it is wise to prepare for a range of reactions. The literature on this subject contains numerous mentions of visitors crying; this can be a hard history to bear witness to. Visitors who have experienced violence, discrimination, and loss because of their LGBTQ identities may have such traumatic memories triggered by this interpretation. People may need a place to reflect and process what they've encountered. They may want to share stories. Some may be angry at encountering this topic; others may be frustrated that the interpretation does not go further. Consider a range of possibilities and prepare for them.

As part of planning for visitor reactions, sites may want to add participatory elements to their interpretation. Providing these kinds of opportunities—video booths or reaction boards, for example—gives visitors a chance to reflect on what they have encountered in an environment where they feel they will be heard. Another approach would be to invite audience members to take on the role of historian, "pulling back the curtain" and analyzing the evidence for themselves.

Ensuring that the nation's historic sites represent a full and inclusive past is an ongoing challenge. As LGBTQ history permeates the national consciousness and becomes increasingly evident in official historical narratives, examples of LGBTQ interpretation at historic sites will increase. And, as with all historical topics, our understanding and interpretation will become more nuanced over time. The key at this moment is to begin.

32

TEACHING LGBTQ HISTORY AND HERITAGE

Leila J. Rupp

Imagine a world in which students could visit not just Civil War battlefields that raise the profound issues of slavery and what it means for states to be united, but also buildings that housed places that came to feel like home to people marginalized because of sexuality and gender, places that were important enough to defend against onslaughts by the police. That is the possibility that teaching the lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and queer (LGBTQ) past through historic sites offers. The houses where famous and less known lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender people lived, the commercial establishments they patronized and defended, and even places that mark a history of discrimination and violence offer the opportunity to make LGBTQ history a part of US history in a way that makes a difference for students, wherever they are learning history.

A more inclusive history certainly matters to LGBTQ students, who suffer not just from bullying and other forms of discrimination but also from being deprived of a past. Many years ago, I was teaching an introductory US history course when I ran into a student from the class who was working in the local gay restaurant. He told me that he had never heard of Stonewall until I talked about it in a lecture on social movement of the 1960s (Figure 1). He was so excited to hear a mention of the gay past in a history class that he told his roommate about it. He also came out, since they had never discussed their sexual identities, and then the roommate came out to him. The student described the moment as life-changing.

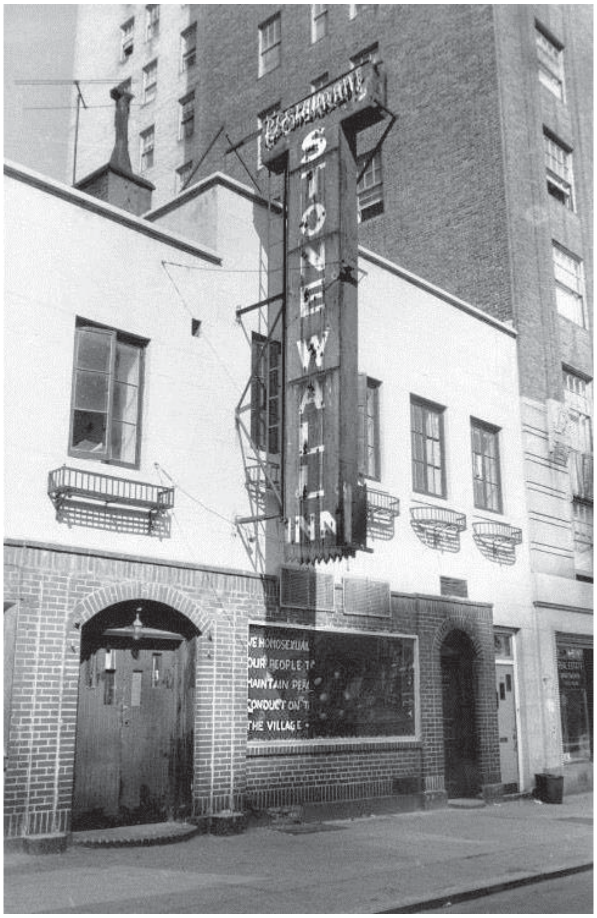


Figure 1: Stonewall Inn, site of the 1969 Stonewall Riots, New York City, New York. Photo by Diana Davies, 1969 from the collections of the New York Public Library (MssCol 732).[1]

Robert King, a high school teacher interviewed by Daniel Hurewitz, tells a similar story about Jack Davis, a student in his class at Palisades Charter High School in Southern California. King included LGBTQ content in just one part of one day's lecture on civil rights movements. After a discussion of Stonewall, Davis raised his hand and came out to the class. In an essay he published later, Davis wrote that he had been looking for a way to come out, and the mention of Stonewall opened a door. His classmates applauded, got up out of their seats, and hugged him. He described it as an amazing experience, and the class as "the most defining moment of my coming out." Walking out of the classroom, he felt the weight of the world lifted from his shoulders.[2]

---

[1] License: CC BY-SA 3.0. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Stonewall_Inn_1969.jpg

[2] Quoted in Daniel Hurewitz, "Putting Ideas into Practice: High School Teachers Talk about Incorporating the LGBT Past," in Leila J. Rupp and Susan K. Freeman, eds., *Understanding and*

And it is not just LGBTQ students who benefit from a more complete history. I had another experience in a class I taught on the history of same-sex sexuality that made that clear. One straight male student, who must have signed up for the class simply because it was at a convenient time, started the course expressing strongly homophobic views based on the Bible. The main paper for the class was the analysis of an interview the students had to conduct with an LGBTQ individual, placing the interviewee's story in the context of the history we had been learning. This student chose to interview a gay coworker, and just hearing about a gay man's life and his struggles and his relationships and his views—including his religious views—completely transformed the student's attitude. Research has shown that knowing a LGBTQ person can change someone's position on political issues connected to sexuality, and in this case, a face-to-face conversation—simply seeing a gay man as a person—was transformative.

This essay addresses the ways that historic sites can be mobilized in the project of teaching about LGBTQ history in high schools, colleges, universities, or in other contexts. I begin by considering what can be gained by teaching courses on queer history or integrating queer history into US history courses. I then address some of the challenges involved in this project. In the bulk of the essay, I provide an overview of existing and potential historic sites that illustrate the main themes in the field, with suggestions for ways to bring LGBTQ history into the classroom. I end with a brief conclusion emphasizing why teaching LGBTQ history and heritage matters and what historic sites can bring to the project.

Why Teach LGBTQ History?

Lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and queer history developed as a field within the historical discipline as a result of the LGBTQ movement. As

---

Teaching U.S. Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender History (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2014), 74.

with African American, Asian American, Latina/o, Native American, and women's history, it was social movement activism that stimulated a desire to learn and teach about people too often left out of the mainstream historical narrative and to incorporate those histories into a transformed and inclusive story of the past. In recent years, information about LGBTQ lives has moved into mainstream discourse, thanks to the inclusion of LGBTQ characters in film and television, the coming out of prominent public figures, and debate about, and the rapid change in public opinion on, the issue of same-sex marriage, culminating in the 2015 Supreme Court decision opening marriage to same-sex couples throughout the country. Yet there is little knowledge out there about queer history, so notions about the LGBTQ community exist in a vacuum. Official recognition of this state of affairs was behind California's pioneering legislation, the Fair, Accurate, Inclusive, and Responsible (FAIR) Act, the nation's first legislation requiring public schools to teach about LGBTQ history. The 2011 law amended the language of the state's education code, adding "lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender Americans," as well as disabled Americans, to the list of those, including "men and women, Native Americans, African Americans, Mexican Americans, Asian Americans, Pacific Islanders, European Americans . . . and members of other ethnic and cultural groups" whose contributions must be considered in classroom instruction and materials.[3] How pioneering this legislation is can be measured by the heated debate in the Tennessee legislature of the Classroom Protection Act, known as the "Don't Say Gay Bill," that, if passed, would have prevented teachers from discussing LGBTQ topics.[4]

So the first answer to the question of why teach LGBTQ history is that it makes for better history. Over the course of the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, history at all levels of education has moved from the story of wars and the men in power to a more complex depiction of the ways that all the people of a society play a part in history. Black history, Native American history, Asian American history, Latina/o history, working-class history, women's history, the history of disability—all of these fields of study within the discipline of history have transformed how we understand the US past. That is what the extensive literature on LGBTQ history has done as well. Cultural attitudes toward same-sex sexuality and gender transformation and expression tell us a great deal about the sexual and gender systems of Native Americans, European colonists, and the new "Americans." Same-sex sexuality is part of the story of the evolution of regional differences and the growth of cities. Struggles over civil liberties and the role of government in the lives of individuals are central to LGBTQ history, and the collective resistance of sexual minorities is as much a part of US history as the struggles of other marginalized groups, whose histories intersect and overlap with queer history. We come to understand history differently when we recognize it not as the single story of a dominant group but as the convergence of multiple histories.

---

[3] Quoted in Susan K. Freeman and Leila J. Rupp, "The Ins and Outs of U.S. History," in *Understanding and Teaching,* 5. Some of this essay is drawn from our introduction to this volume. For more information, see the FAIR education website, http://www.faireducationact.com.

[4] Shannon Weber, "Teaching Same-Sex Marriage as U.S. History," in *Understanding and Teaching,* 306.

The second answer to the question of why teach LGBTQ history is that it matters to students, of whatever age, because of the widespread phenomenon of bullying, harassment, discrimination—or worse—of LGBTQ people. At the university level, the case of Tyler Clementi, the Rutgers University student who killed himself in 2010 after his roommate secretly videotaped him in a same-sex sexual encounter, attracted national attention. At the secondary school level, the Gay, Lesbian & Straight Education Network's (GLSEN) 2013 National School Climate Survey documents the ways that a hostile school climate affects LGBTQ students.[5] In 2011, the National Center for Lesbian Rights and the Southern Poverty Law Center, supported by the Justice Department, filed a lawsuit against the Anoka-Hennepin School District, in Minnesota, over a gag order forbidding discussion of LGBTQ issues after the suicides of four gay or bisexual students. The successful suit cited a California study that showed that any mention of LGBTQ people or issues in the curriculum increased student safety and improved the climate for students.[6] The GLSEN survey also shows that an inclusive curriculum, along with other resources, makes a difference. In high school, college, and university classrooms and in community centers and other places, there are students who have siblings or parents or children or friends or coworkers or neighbors who identify as lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, or queer. Teaching an inclusive US history makes better history for all of them.

---

[5] Joseph G. Kosciw et al., *The 2013 National School Climate Survey: The Experiences of Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender Youth in Our Nation's Schools* (New York: GLSEN, 2014), https://www.glsen.org/sites/default/files/2013%20National%20School%20Climate%20Survey%20Full%20Report_0.pdf

But It Isn't Easy

Teaching LGBTQ history is important, but it is not always easy. The process begins with introducing students to the social constructionist perspective, which emphasizes that sexuality is historically contingent. That is, societies, through religion, law, science, medicine, and other institutions, shape sexual behavior and identities in very different ways across time and space. Given that the reigning assumption in our society is that sexuality is purely biological and the fact that, in part because it is an easier sell in the struggle for legal equality, the LGBTQ movement has tended to embrace the notion that people are born gay, it can be difficult to teach from a social constructionist perspective. Students tend to experience their sexual desires and identities as innate and to misread social constructionism as an indication that sexuality can be easily changed. So the first task in any class is to show the ways that sexual desire, behavior, and identities vary across time and in different cultures. Such an approach calls for looking carefully at the evidence we have of what people felt, did, and thought, and using language that refers to identities with sensitivity to the times. Historical evidence of different ways that sexuality has been organized can help students understand that experiencing desire for someone of the same sex or engaging in a sexual act with someone of the same sex did not always and everywhere mean that someone was gay or lesbian in the way we understand those terms today. Even after reading about all the different ways that societies have shaped sexuality in the past, students often remain firmly convinced that, in Lady Gaga's words, they were "Born This Way." The challenge is to help them see that their desires and behaviors could have quite different meanings and consequences in other times and places.[7]

---

[6] Freeman and Rupp, *Understanding and Teaching,* 6.

As a result of this perspective, it can be difficult to identify who belongs in LGBTQ history. Although there are historians who argue that we can identify gay, lesbian, bisexual, and transgender people in societies (including our own past) in which no such categories existed, most historians would insist that we cannot. As a result, the very question of what LGBTQ history includes is a complex one. Does Eleanor Roosevelt's love for journalist Lorena Hickok make her part of LGBTQ history? In terms of historic sites, should the White House be included? And what about a complex figure such as J. Edgar Hoover, who used the FBI to target those suspected of homosexuality at the same time that he formed an intimate relationship with Clyde Tolson. Is Hoover a part of LGBTQ history?[8] It is important in identifying sites not to convey the message that everyone associated with them can be identified as lesbian or gay or bisexual or transgender or queer in our contemporary sense.

Another challenge is attending to the intersections of multiple identities shaped not only by sexuality and gender but race, ethnicity, class, nationality, age, disability, and more. As the US history curriculum adds to the diversity of individuals and groups included as worthy of study, it is important that LGBTQ history not focus only on white people, or men, or the middle-class. Taking inspiration from the title of a classic work in black women's history, *All the Women are White, all the Blacks are Men, But*

---

[7] The concepts of essentialism and social constructionism, along with the poststructuralist concept of sexuality and gender as performative categories characterized by fluidity, are complex and beyond the scope of this essay. What is important is for students to grasp the notion that sexuality has a history.
[8] For a sensitive and nuanced consideration of Roosevelt and Hoover in the context of LGBTQ history, see Claire Potter, "Public Figures, Private Lives: Eleanor Roosevelt, J. Edgar Hoover, and a Queer Political History," in *Understanding and Teaching,* 199-212.

Some of Us are Brave, we need to make sure that not all the lesbians, gays, bisexuals, transgender, and queer people are white and middle class.[9]

And then there is the challenge of transforming, rather than just adding a few queer individuals to, the curriculum. The language of the FAIR Act in California calls for the inclusion of the contributions of LGBTQ individuals. If all we can do is sprinkle in a few people who might have desired, loved, or had sex with others with biologically alike bodies, or who might have thought of themselves as a gender different from the one assigned to them at birth, then we will add little to our understanding of sexuality and gender in the past. What we should be after is a transformational approach that, through considering the forces that have structured the lives of LGBTQ people, opens up new perspectives on families, communities, social practices, and politics.[10] As does ethnic, working-class, and women's history, a transformational LGBTQ history changes what we know about the agency and impact of people not in the seat of power, and about how power operates in complex ways. It changes history.

Teaching with Historic Sites

Historic sites provide the opportunity to bring LGBTQ history alive for students of all ages. All over the country there are places—houses, commercial establishments, public spaces, neighborhoods, and locations of significant events—that connect to the kind of transformational history that integrates sexuality and gender into the story of the past. It is possible to connect lessons to local and nearby (at the very least, state-level) LGBTQ historic sites, making this history directly relevant to where students live.

---

[9] Gloria T. Hull, Patricia Bell Scott, and Barbara Smith, *All the Women Are White, All the Blacks Are Men, But Some of Us Are Brave: Black Women's Studies* (Old Westbury, NY: The Feminist Press, 1982).

[10] See Don Romesburg, Leila J. Rupp, and David M. Donahue, *Making the Framework FAIR: California History-Social Science Framework Proposed LGBT Revisions Related to the FAIR Education Act* (San Francisco: Committee on Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender History, 2014).

Teaching with these sites is not without its own challenges. For one thing, there is an unavoidable imbalance of recent history, given the more public nature of LGBTQ history in the last century. The national memorial with the earliest identified LGBTQ significance is the Fort Caroline National Memorial where René Goulaine de Laudonnière and Jacques Le Moyne in the 1650s described two-spirit Timucua Indians.[11] In this case, they were male-bodied individuals who took on the dress and social roles of women, but there are also examples of female-bodied two-spirit people in the historical record (see Roscoe, this volume). The vast majority of LGBTQ historic places are associated with the twentieth century, and this has the potential to reinforce a view of LGBTQ history as an uplifting story of progress. Also, the difficulty, as discussed above, of determining who and what is legitimately part of LGBTQ history before the sexological definition of homosexuality and the emergence of the identities of lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and queer makes it tricky to avoid an essentializing approach to some of these sites. For example, another early site, Kealakekua Bay in Hawai'i, has a connection to LGBTQ history because a member of the James Cook expedition reported talking with a man named Palea who described himself as *aikane*, a term now interpreted as "friend" that may have then referred to a male sexual companion (see Roscoe, this volume).[12] Were the two-spirit people in Florida transgender? Was Palea gay? These are questions that cannot be answered simply, as Native American understandings of two-spirit fall outside our Euro-American concept of a sex and gender binary. These questions require acceptance that what we can know about sexual subjectivity in the past is limited and recognition that we need to be sensitive about the use of contemporary terms to describe people in the past. And yet another challenge is that many sites, especially the homes of individuals, have the potential to stop at the contribution level of LGBTQ history that emphasizes what a few individuals did rather than moving on to a transformational approach that changes how we view history.

---

[11] Fort Caroline National Memorial is located at 12713 Fort Caroline Road, Jacksonville, Florida. It was designated a National Memorial on January 16, 1953 and listed on the NRHP on October 15, 1966.

[12] Kealakekua Bay is located along Napo'opo'o Road, Hawai'i. It was listed on the NRHP on December 12, 1973.

But all of these challenges can be met head on, and a variety of different historic sites can help to breathe life into the study of the past. Whether or not students have the opportunity to visit sites in person, historic places can be brought into the classroom through photographs, and some can be linked to documentary films, oral histories, fiction, or community histories. Students can be encouraged to explore places in their own communities that have significance for LGBTQ history. The key to teaching with these sites is to connect them to the big themes of LGBTQ and US history.

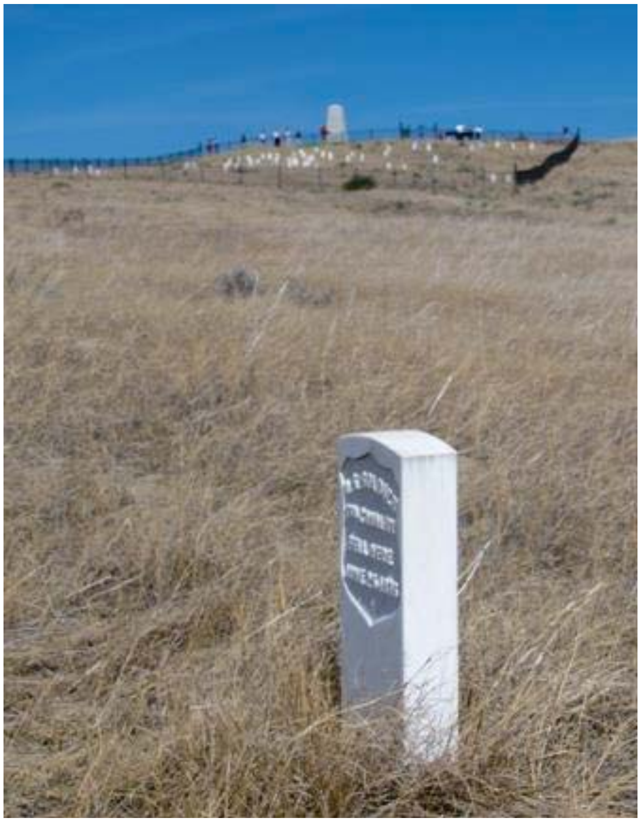


Figure 2: A burial marker at the Little Bighorn Battlefield National Monument, Montana. Photo courtesy of the Little Bighorn Battlefield National Monument, 2015.

So what might a class—either specifically on LGBTQ history, or a US survey incorporating LBGTQ history—that makes use of historical sites look like? I sketch out here some ways that different kinds of sites can evoke a complex and transformational history. Some of these places are already recognized as historical sites, a few by the National Park Service and some by local or state agencies. Some are recognized in connection to LGBTQ history, some for other reasons. Pre-twentieth century sites have the potential to open up a discussion of how we understand people's desires and sexual acts and intimate relationships in different cultures and in times before the naming of homosexuality and to undermine a simple progress narrative of US history. This is the case for sites connected to European contact with two-spirit Native Americans and Hawai'ian *aikane*, including (in addition to Fort Caroline and Kealakekua Bay), Fort Wingate in New Mexico, where a two-spirit Zuni named We'Wha was imprisoned in 1892.[13] Another recognized site, the Little Bighorn Battlefield National Monument (Figure 2), includes a ledger drawing of Cheyenne two-spirits leading the victory dance after Custer's defeat in 1876.[14] Students might compare the role of two-spirits with the case of a female-assigned individual, Mary Henly, who wore men's clothing and was charged in colonial Massachusetts with behavior "seeming to confound the course of nature."[15] Contrasting the acceptance of gender-nonconformity among some Native American cultures with the secret gender-crossing of individuals in European and American culture illustrates for students the ways that societies view gender in vastly different ways.

The homes of nineteenth-century women who lived with other women open up the question of how we think about the intense, loving, and committed relationships known as "romantic friendships." Because of the sex-segregated domestic world of "love and ritual" in which white, middle and upper-class women lived, romantic friendships between women (and, although in a somewhat different way, between young men) flourished.[16] As middle-class women gained entry to professions such as teaching and social work, romantic friends could choose to forego marriage and make a life with each other in what were known as "Boston marriages." Hull House in Chicago, home to Jane Addams and Mary Rozet Smith, illustrates the role of settlement houses in fostering such Boston marriages (Figure 3).[17] Likewise, Mary Dreier and Frances Kellor, active in the labor and social reform movements, lived together for fifty years in their New York

---

[13] Fort Wingate Historic District was listed on the NRHP on May 26, 1978.

[14] The Little Bighorn Battlefield National Monument is located at 7756 Battlefield Tour Road, Crow Agency, Montana. It was first preserved as a US National Cemetery in 1879 and designated a National Monument on March 22, 1946. It was listed on the NRHP on October 15, 1966. For more information on two spirit people, see Roscoe (this volume).

[15] Quoted in Genny Beemyn, "Transforming the Curriculum: The Inclusion of the Experiences of Trans People," in *Understanding and Teaching,* 115.

[16] Carroll Smith-Rosenberg, "The Female World of Love and Ritual: Relations between Women in Nineteenth-Century America," *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 1, no. 1 (1975): 1-29.

[17] Hull House is located at 800 South Halsted, Chicago, Illinois. It was listed on the NRHP on October 15, 1966 and designated an NHL on June 23, 1965.

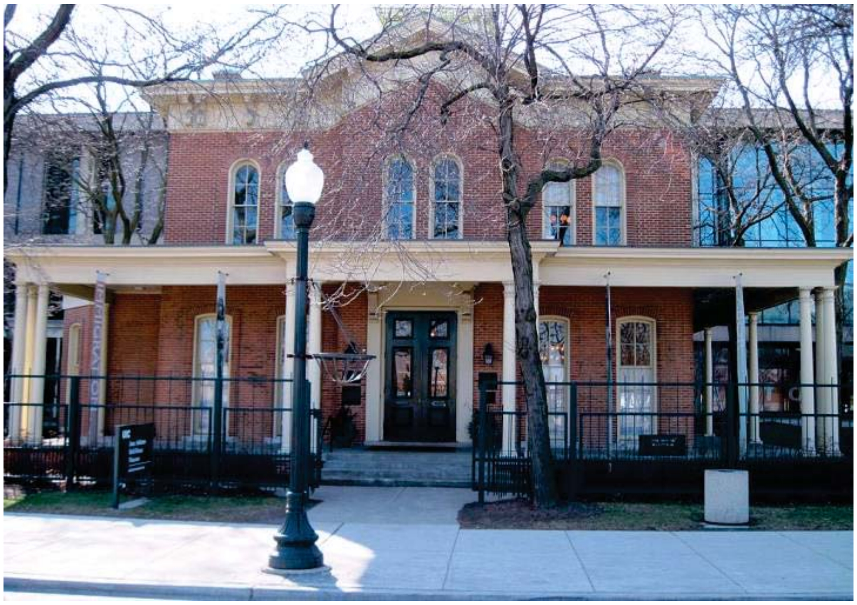


Figure 3: Hull House, Chicago, Illinois. Photo by Zagalejo, 2010.[18]

City residence located near the Museum of Modern Art. Women's colleges were another location for long-term marriage-like relationships between women. Katherine Bates, feminist author of "America the Beautiful" and English professor, lived in Wellesley, Massachusetts with Katherine Coman, professor of history and economics and later dean of Wellesley College, for twenty-five years. Looking at the homes that women made together, students might consider how the ideology of separate spheres for women and men—with women assigned the domestic sphere of love and care and men the public sphere of work and rationality—created the conditions for romantic friendships. Boston marriages, in turn, provided women, freed from the necessity of marriage, the support to enter into the professions of social work and higher education.

The connection between romantic friendships and Boston marriages, on the one hand, and emerging lesbian subjectivity can be illustrated through such sites as Clear Comfort, the home of Alice Austen (1866-1952), who lived for fifty years with another woman, Gertrude Tate, and who photographed women dancing together, embracing in bed, and cross-dressing (Figure 4).[19] Students might consider the persistence into the twentieth century of Boston marriages such as Austen's and Tate's, as well as relationships such as that of Eleanor Roosevelt with Lorena Hickok, even as public awareness of the new category of "lesbian" grew.[20] Austen's photographs and Eleanor Roosevelt's love letters to Hickok might be set against texts that warned against the danger of "schoolgirl friendships" or masculine "inverts" out to seduce innocent women.[21]

---

[18] License: Public domain. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Hull_House_2.JPG

[19] Clear Comfort is located at 2 Hylan Boulevard, Staten Island, New York. It was listed on the NRHP on July 28, 1970 and designated an NHL on April 19, 1993.

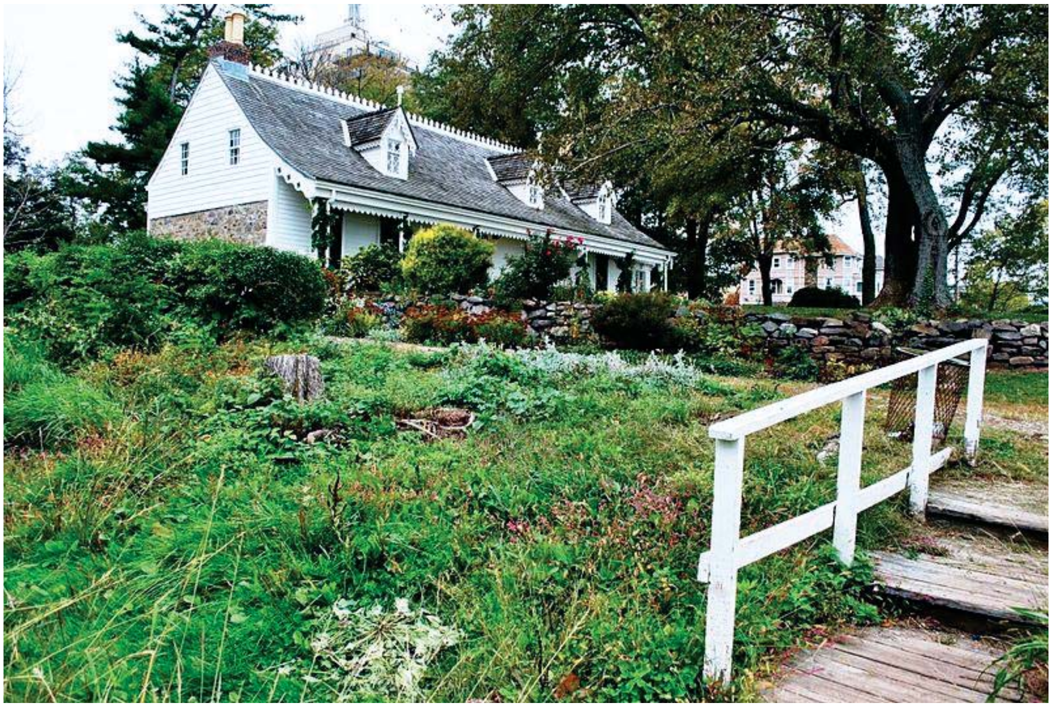


Figure 4: Clear Comfort, the Alice Austen House, Staten Island, New York. Photo by Eisa.rolle, 2014.[22]

A variety of homes of individuals can be used to illustrate LGBTQ lives in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The poetry of Walt Whitman (1819-1892), whose Camden home is a recognized historical site, calls attention to the complexity of male love and homoeroticism in the nineteenth century, since Whitman's love for men did not lead him to claim an identity as homosexual.[23] Equally important for LGBTQ history is the hospital where Whitman, along with Dr. Mary Walker, who dressed in men's clothing, lavished attention on soldiers wounded in the Civil War.[24] The exuberance of Whitman's appreciation of male friendship and American democracy in his poetry opens up for students the connections between masculinity and US industrial and urban growth in the nineteenth century. Students might consider his *Leaves of Grass* alongside photographs of men and letters written between male friends to bring alive a world in which male friendship was valued.[25]

---

[20] Eleanor Roosevelt's home at Val-Kill in New York State is an NPS property, part of the Eleanor Roosevelt National Historic Site, established in 1977.

[21] See Leila J. Rupp, *Sapphistries: A Global History of Love between Women* (New York: New York University Press, 2009).

[22] License: CC BY-SA 4.0. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Alice_Austen_House_08.JPG

[23] Whitman's Camden home was listed on the NRHP on October 15, 1966 and designated an NHL on December 29, 1962.

The Murray Hall Residence in New York City is where a gender crossing female-born New York City politician (ca. 1840s-1901) lived. His secret came out after twenty-five years when he developed breast cancer and his physician shocked the world by sharing the news of Hall's anatomical sex. Students can follow the publicity about Hall and consider how people might have thought about him at the time. Outhistory.org, the premier source for LGBTQ history on the web, includes material about Hall as well as the memoir of Earl Lind, also known as Ralph Werther, also known as Jennie June, a person who considered themselves both male and female.[26] The stories of Hall and Lind continue a consideration of how we think about gender nonconforming individuals in periods before the concept of transgender and the possibility of sex reassignment surgery. The transition to a period in which changing one's bodily sex became possible is marked by the Dawn Pepita Simmons House in Charleston, South Carolina, the home of one of the first transsexual women in the United States. Gordon Langley Hall (1922-2000) had sex reassignment surgery at Johns Hopkins in 1968 and, as Dawn Pepita Simmons, lived in Charleston, where she married her much younger black male servant, John-Paul Simmons. Theirs was the first legal interracial marriage in South Carolina. Publicity about the case connects gender, sexuality, and race, raising issues for students to consider about the variety of ways in which legal and social restrictions have policed intimacy.

---

[24] The site is the Old Patent Office Building, Ninth and F Streets NW, Washington, DC. The building is now the location of the National Portrait Gallery. It was listed on the NRHP on October 15, 1966 and designated an NHL on January 12, 1965.

[25] See David A. Doyle Jr., "Nineteenth-Century Male Love Stories and Sex Stories," in *Understanding and Teaching,* 132-142.

[26] The use of plural pronouns for gender-nonconforming individuals is one alternative to the use of gendered pronouns. On Earl Lind and Outhistory.org more generally, see Catherine O. Jacquet, "Queer History Goes Digital: Using Outhistory.org in the Classroom," in *Understanding and Teaching,* 115.

Historic sites also include commercial establishments catering to LGBTQ people, illustrating the emergence across time of queer communities and the struggle for the right to gather in public. The Ariston Hotel Baths in New York City, which men interested in sex with other men patronized as early as 1897, was the site of the first recorded police raid on a gay bathhouse in 1903.[27] There are many other sites from the days before the emergence of gay liberation, ranging from Café Lafitte in Exile in New Orleans, operating as a gay bar since 1933; to Finocchio's in San Francisco, from 1933 to 1999 a famous drag club and tourist destination; to the Jewel Box Lounge in Kansas City, opened in 1948 and Missouri home of the touring Jewel Box Revue that featured male and female impersonators, including the famous Stormé DeLarverie; to the Shamrock in Bluefield, West Virginia, opened in 1964 as a gay bar at night in what was a straight diner during the day.[28] The variety of clubs and their spread across the country speaks to the importance of LGBTQ people having access to spaces where they were welcome. Students learning about the variety of LGBTQ commercial spaces—not just in New York and San Francisco—can come to understand how much industrialization and geographical mobility loosened the hold of the family and facilitated the emergence of new subcultures, both heterosexual and homosexual.

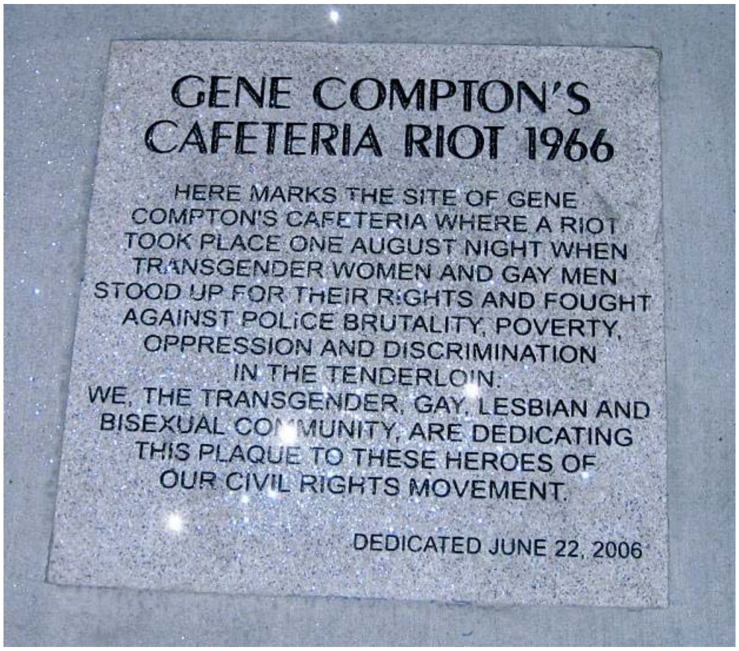
The importance of commercial establishments to the LGBTQ movement can be seen in the connections that developed between culture and politics. Bars and clubs both facilitated collective identity, which is the foundation of social movements, and served as central community spaces. A good example is Jewel's Catch One, the country's first black gay and lesbian disco, opened in 1972, which was associated with a community center, nonprofit medical clinic, and the first residential home for homeless women and children with HIV/AIDS.[29] Another example is Julius's Bar, a straight bar where, in 1966, Mattachine members held a "Sip-in," ordering drinks and announcing they were gay, in that way challenging the law against serving alcohol to homosexuals.[30]

---

[27] The baths were located in the basement of the Ariston Hotel, Broadway and 55th Street, New York City, New York.

[28] Café Lafitte in Exile is located at 901 Bourbon Street, New Orleans, Louisiana; it is located in the Vieux Carré NHL District, designated on December 21, 1965. Finocchio's was located at 506 Broadway, San Francisco, California. The Jewel Box Lounge was located at 3219 Troost, Kansas City, Missouri (for the early days of the Jewel Box Revue, see Capó, this volume). The Shamrock was located at 326 Princeton Avenue, Bluefield, West Virginia.

The connection between commercial LGBTQ spaces and resistance becomes even clearer when we consider the kinds of activism that preceded the iconic response to a police raid at the Stonewall Inn in New York City, traditionally considered the launch of the gay liberation cycle of the LGBTQ movement.[32] In San Francisco, often considered the premier LGBTQ city, the sites of such protests include the Black Cat Club, where José Sarria, famous drag entertainer who ran for the San Francisco Board of Supervisors in 1961, performed; California Hall, where activists responded to a police raid of a drag ball in 1964; and Compton's Cafeteria, scene of a riot by young gay and



GENE COMPTON'S
CAFETERIA RIOT 1966

HERE MARKS THE SITE OF GENE
COMPTON'S CAFETERIA WHERE A RIOT
TOOK PLACE ONE AUGUST NIGHT WHEN
TRANSGENDER WOMEN AND GAY MEN
STOOD UP FOR THEIR RIGHTS AND FOUGHT
AGAINST POLICE BRUTALITY, POVERTY,
OPPRESSION AND DISCRIMINATION
IN THE TENDERLOIN.
WE, THE TRANSGENDER, GAY, LESBIAN AND
BISEXUAL COMMUNITY, ARE DEDICATING
THIS PLAQUE TO THESE HEROES OF
OUR CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT.

DEDICATED JUNE 22, 2006

Figure 5: Historical marker commemorating the 40th anniversary of the Compton's Cafeteria Riot, San Francisco, California. Photo by Gaylesf, 2006.[31]

---

[29] Jewel's Catch One was located at 4067 West Pico Boulevard, Los Angeles, California. It was the last black-owned gay club in Los Angeles when it closed in 2015.

[30] Julius's Bar is located at 159 West 10th Street, New York City, New York. It was added to the NRHP on April 21, 2016.

[31] License: Public domain. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Plaque_commemorating_Compton's_Cafeteria_riot.jpg

[32] The Stonewall Inn is located at 51-53 Christopher Street, New York City, New York. Stonewall was listed on the NRHP on June 28, 1999; designated an NHL on February 16, 2000; and designated Stonewall National Monument (an NPS unit) on June 24, 2016.

transgender customers against police repression in 1966 (Figure 5).[33] In Los Angeles, customers demonstrated against a police crackdown at Cooper's Donuts in 1959 and the Black Cat Tavern in 1966.[34] Many of these early protesters were people of color. Like the more genteel Mattachine "Sip-in," these street protests show how important physical spaces were to diverse members of the LGBTQ community. The film *Screaming Queens: The Riot at Compton's Cafeteria*, can be used to illustrate the impact of these pre-Stonewall protests and to raise the question of why certain events come to stand for the beginning of movements or the transition to a new historical period.[35]

As the number of locations connected to resistance to police raid suggests, there are many historical sites that document repression and discrimination against LGBTQ people. The Willard Asylum for the Chronic Insane in Ovid, New York, one of the many institutions where gay, lesbian, and gender-nonconforming people were locked up under "sexual psychopath laws," is already on the National Register of Historic Places.[36] The YMCA in Boise, Idaho, gained national attention in 1955 for the arrest of sixteen men accused of homosexual activity.[37] The home where transman Brandon Teena was murdered in Humboldt, Nebraska, in 1993 illustrates the widespread violence against transgender people, as does the site of the murder of African American transwoman Rita Hester in her apartment in Allston, Massachusetts in 1998. Her murder inspired the annual Transgender Day of Remembrance. The intersection of Pilot Peak and Snowy View Roads in Laramie, Wyoming, is another site of violence as the place where gay youth Matthew Shepard was beaten and left to die in

---

[33] The Black Cat Club is located at 710 Montgomery Street, San Francisco, California; it is a contributing property (though not for its LGBTQ history) to the Jackson Square Historic District, listed on the NRHP on November 18, 1971. California Hall is located at 625 Polk Street, San Francisco, California. Compton's Cafeteria was located at 101 Taylor Street, San Francisco, California; this building is a contributing property to the Uptown Tenderloin Historic District, listed on the NRHP on February 5, 2009.

[34] Cooper's Donuts was located at 553 or 557 South Main Street, Los Angeles, California between two gay bars. The Black Cat Tavern was located at 3909 West Sunset Boulevard, Los Angeles, California.

[35] *Screaming Queens: The Riot at Compton's Cafeteria,* directed by Susan Stryker and Victor Silverman (San Francisco: Frameline, 2005).

[36] The Willard Asylum for the Chronic Insane in Ovid, New York was listed on the NRHP on June 7, 1975.

[37] The YMCA was located at Tenth and Grove, Boise, Idaho.

1998. A discussion of such cases can be set in the history of other forms of violence, such as the lynching of black people, as an extreme form of social control. Violence can also be linked to school bullying, not just of LGBTQ people but, for example, in the form of slut-shaming directed at women.

More empowering are the wide variety of sites that document the emergence of the homophile movement, gay liberation, and lesbian feminism in the early 1970s, and the bisexual and transgender movements in the 1980s and 1990s. The earliest, albeit short-lived, organization dedicated to gay rights was the Society for Human Rights, launched out of the Henry Gerber House in the Old Town Triangle neighborhood of Chicago in 1924.[38] The Harry Hay House overlooking the Silver Lake Reservoir in Los Angeles marks the spot where Hay and some friends launched the Mattachine Society, the first lasting organization committed to civil rights for homosexuals, in 1950. The Daughters of Bilitis headquarters in San Francisco illustrates the growth of the homophile movement as lesbians began to organize separately from gay men.[39] The Dr. Franklin E. Kameny Residence in the northwest of the District of Columbia is important because Kameny was a central figure in the emergence of homophile militancy in the 1960s, fighting the federal government after he was fired for being gay. Students are often astonished to learn that there was a social movement fighting for the rights of LGBTQ people in the 1950s, so teaching about the homophile movement contributes to a rethinking of the supposedly conformist and domestic post-Second World War period. Analyzing the factors that gave rise to the homophile movement—wartime geographic mobility, response to the postwar crackdown on homosexuals in government, the spread of information about gay men and lesbians—helps students to think broadly about the motor forces in history.

---

[38] The Henry Gerber House was designated an NHL on June 19, 2015.

[39] The Daughters of Bilitis Headquarters were at 165 O'Farrell Street, San Francisco, California.

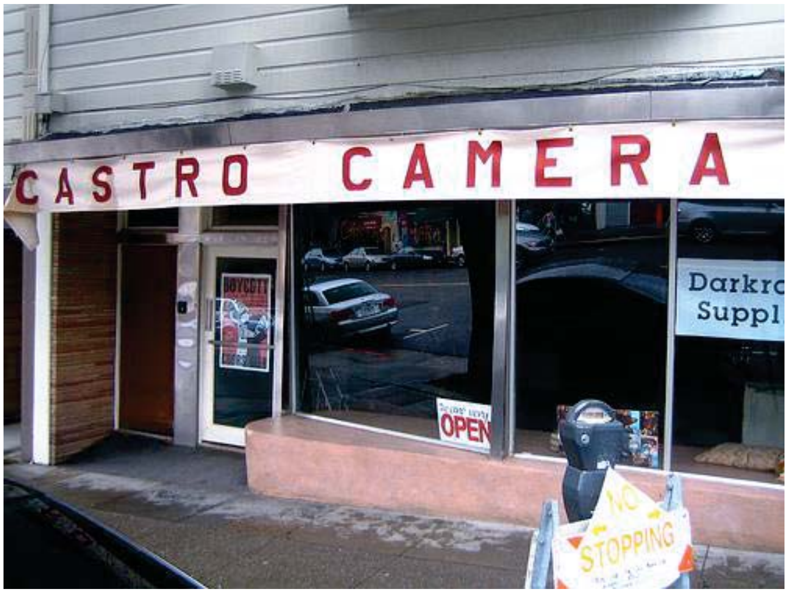


Figure 6: The Castro Camera storefront, recreated for the shooting of the film, Milk. Photo by Rick Audet, 2008.[40]

Frank Kameny was one of the figures who bridged the largely assimilationist homophile movement and the emergence of a more militant gay liberation movement. The Gay Liberation Front emerged in New York City shortly after Stonewall, and the Gay Activists Alliance Firehouse in New York City was the center for an important group that split from the Gay Liberation Front.[41] A range of other sites throughout the country housed short-lived gay liberation organizations in the early 1970s. Castro Camera, the location of Harvey Milk's shop, apartment, and campaign headquarters, is one of only a very few city-recognized LGBTQ historical sites in San Francisco, despite the city's prominence in queer history (Figure 6).[42] One site that marks the impact of HIV/AIDS on the LGBTQ movement in the 1980s is the Gay Men's Health Crisis in New York City.[43]

Emerging out of gay liberation and the resurgent women's movement in the early 1970s, lesbian feminism is associated with a variety of places throughout the country. Its regional reach can be illustrated through such sites as the 31st Street Bookstore in Baltimore, a women's bookstore with a strong lesbian feminist presence, which opened in 1973; the home of the newspaper *Ain't I a Woman* in Iowa City, published out of an apartment by the Women's Liberation Front; the Furies Collective House in the southeast of the District of Columbia, home of the influential newspaper *The Furies*; and Olivia Records, founded by members and associates of The Furies Collective, which calls attention to the lesbian feminist goal of creating an alternative culture.[44]

---

[40] License: CC BY 2.0. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Castro_camera_exterior.jpg
[41] The Gay Activists Alliance Firehouse is located in the SoHo-Cast Iron Historic District (listed on the NRHP and designated an NHL District on June 29, 1978) at 99 Wooster Street, New York City, New York.
[42] Castro Camera was located at 573-575 Castro Street, San Francisco, California.
[43] The Gay Men's Health Crisis was founded at 318 West 22nd Street, New York City, New York.

For those close enough to visit, the Lesbian Herstory Archives, originally housed in founder Joan Nestle's Upper West Side Manhattan apartment, is a valuable resource for the study of the lesbian past and illustrates the importance of history to the LGBTQ movement.[45] Hesperia, Michigan, the site of the Michigan Womyn's Music Festival from 1977 to 1981, illustrates the strong connection between culture and politics in the lesbian feminist movement. The struggle over the policy of the festival to admit only "womyn-born womyn," and the subsequent founding by transwomen of Camp Trans outside the festival gates, is illustrative of the ongoing tension about boundaries and belonging within the LGBTQ movement.

Learning about internal struggles over who belongs calls attention to a process at work in all social movements. Students can trace the addition of "lesbian" and then "bisexual," "transgender," and "queer" to "gay" in the name of the movement as a way to consider the expansion of boundaries. Marking that transition are sites connected to bisexual and transgender mobilization, such as the Bisexual Resource Center in Boston, founded in 1985, which grew out of the first national conference of bisexuals, who oftentimes met hostility from gay men and lesbians who assumed they were just avoiding coming out.[46] The Erickson Educational Foundation in Baton Rouge, Louisiana, was where transman Reed Erickson funded research and activism on behalf of transgender rights.

---

[44] The 31st Street Bookstore was located at 425 East Thirty-First Street, Baltimore, Maryland. Olivia Records operated out of 4400 Market Street, Oakland, California. The Furies Collective operated out of a row house in the Capitol Hill neighborhood of Washington, DC. The Furies Collective house was added to the NRHP on May 2, 2016.

[45] The Lesbian Herstory Archives is located at 484 14th Street, Brooklyn, New York, within the Park Slope Historic District, listed on the NRHP on November 21, 1980.

[46] The Bisexual Resource Center is located at 29 Stanhope Street, Boston, Massachusetts.

Pier 45 in New York City has been, since the 1970s, a gathering place for gay men, drag queens, transgender youth, and other members of the African American ballroom community.[47] Illustrating the inclusion of those beyond what Gayle Rubin calls the "charmed circle" are sites including the Leather Archives and Museum in Chicago, documenting the leather community's role within the LGBTQ world.[48]

The history of the LGBTQ movement in all of its cycles can be easily connected to the story of the other social movements of the 1960s and beyond. Kurt Dearie, a public high school teacher in Southern California, organizes a unit on civil rights that compares the goals, strategies, and support for the civil rights, women's, Native American, Latina/o, Asian American, LGBTQ, and disability movements. The students write a paper evaluating what they see as the most effective movement strategies.[49] In this way, students learn about social movement processes in general and can apply what they learn to thinking about the contemporary issues they see in the news.

As the expansion of the letters in LGBTQ illustrates, a number of historic sites show the diversity of LGBTQ life. Bayard Rustin's childhood home in West Chester, Pennsylvania, can be used in a discussion of the Quaker values that Rustin brought to the civil rights movement and the difficulties he encountered in that movement as a gay man. The A. Billy S. Jones Home in northwestern District of Columbia calls attention to Jones as the co-founder of the National Coalition for Black Lesbians and Gays and key organizer of the first LGBTQ people of color conference in association with the first Gay and Lesbian March on Washington in 1979. Black lesbian feminist poet and scholar Audre Lorde's home with her partner, Frances Clayton, on Staten Island, New York, recalls the central role Lorde played in the movement. Identifying locations that mark the contributions of African Americans, Latinas and Latinos, Asian Americans, and Native Americans to LGBTQ history beyond the ones mentioned here are a priority for celebrating a complete story of the LGBTQ past.

---

[47] The body of transgender and gay rights pioneer Marsha P. Johnson was recovered from the waters off New York City's Pier 45 in the 1990s.

[48] Gayle Rubin, "Thinking Sex: Notes for a Radical Theory of the Politics of Sexuality," in Carole S. Vance, ed., *Pleasure and Danger: Exploring Female Sexuality* (Boston: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1984), 267-319. The Leather Archives and Museum is located at 6418 North Greenview Avenue, Chicago, Illinois.

[49] See Daniel Hurewitz, "Putting Ideas into Practice: High School Teachers Talk about Incorporating the LGBT Past," in *Understanding and Teaching*, 47-76.

In all of these ways, then, recognized historic sites and those that might become part of our official heritage can be utilized to teach about LGBTQ history, either in discrete courses or as part of a survey of US history. Sites connected to just one individual or one event can be used to open up a broad consideration of the queer past, as I have pointed out above. And important developments in LGBTQ history, in turn, connect to themes that are part of the mainstream narrative of US history. The encounters between Native two-spirit people and European explorers and settlers, for example, provide insight into the deep impact of colonialism. Romantic friendships and Boston marriages illustrate the ways that economic structures and social organization shape intimate relationships. The flourishing of commercial establishments catering to people with same-sex desires ties in with the growth of cities and the importance of social spaces to the building of communities and movements. The history of the homophile, gay liberation, lesbian feminist, and contemporary LGBTQ movements add to the story of organizing to end discrimination and win basic civil rights in the post-Second World War period.

Conclusion

Recognizing LGBTQ history as one thread in the fabric of the US past makes for better history: better for all students, who can see how historically contingent sexuality is, and better because it is more complete and more complex. A variety of social justice and multicultural education organizations utilize the metaphor of mirrors and windows to describe the relationship between students and those who people the history they are studying. When history is about great white men, then elite white male students see themselves as in a mirror. Other students are looking through windows from the outside, viewing a history of which they are not a part. Our goal should be to provide mirrors and windows for everyone, so students learn about the histories of their families, communities, and worlds as well as those of others from different genders, races, ethnicities, classes, sexualities, and abilities. At the same time, we need to problematize the concept of mirrors, so that students—in this case, LGBTQ students—do not think that women who loved other women or men who had sex with other men or individuals who presented in a gender different than the one they were assumed to be at birth are just like them.

A history enriched by an understanding of how concepts of sexuality and gender, in conjunction with race, ethnicity, class, disability, age, and other categories of difference, have changed over time is a better history. Such a history fuels new ways of thinking about contemporary debates, including same-sex marriage; gay, lesbian, and transgender people in the military; immigration; and citizenship. What a historical perspective brings is a deeper understanding of why change has happened, why some things have not changed, and how change is not always progress. Legal, social, political, urban, and cultural history lend multiple dimensions to thinking about the LGBTQ past and present, and, in turn, the history of same-sex sexuality and gender nonconformity expands our understanding of all of these facets of history. The central narratives of US history speak to queer lives and, just as important, vice versa.

What teaching with historic sites can do is to help make the past come alive. Houses, official buildings, neighborhoods, commercial establishments, and the scenes of historic protests can make concrete the idea that there is a lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and queer past, that what it means to have same-sex desires or to love someone of the same sex or to cross the lines of gender has changed over time, and that LGBTQ history is not a simple story of progress from the bad old days to the liberated new ones. From the representation of Cheyenne two-spirits leading a victory dance at the Little Bighorn Battlefield National Monument to Hull House to the Willard Asylum for the Chronic Insane to Compton’s Cafeteria to Castro Camera, the places where diverse people lived their lives and struggled and made history have the potential to enrich our understanding of the past. In a society in which bullying, hate crimes, homelessness, and suicides are all too common in the lives of LGBTQ youth, teaching about queer history embodied in historic sites can inspire young minds to imagine and work for a more open and accepting future society. That is my hope.

APPENDIX A

Places Identified in the Text

	Name	Address	Status	Chapter
Alabama	Mount Vernon Arsenal-Searcy Hospital Complex	Mount Vernon, AL	NRHP 5/26/1988	Roscoe
Arizona	Charlie's	727 West Camelback Road, Phoenix, AZ		Schweighofer
	Fort Apache Historic District	Fort Apache Indian Reservation	NRHP 10/14/1976	Roscoe
	Nu-Towne Saloon	5002 East Van Buren Street, Phoenix, AZ		Hanhardt
	Sri Ram Ashram Ranch	Outside Benson, AZ		Baim; Gieseking
	Talking Stick Resort Arena	201 East Jefferson Street, Phoenix, AZ		Schweighofer
Arkansas	Eureka Springs (LGBTQ Community)	Eureka Springs, AR		Schweighofer
California	12 Adler Place	12 Adler Place, San Francisco, CA		Graves and Watson
	21st Street Baths	3244 Twenty-First Street, San Francisco, CA	Demolished	Graves and Watson
	330 Grove Street	330 Grove Street, San Francisco, CA	Demolished	Graves and Watson

	Name	Address	Status	Chapter
California (cont'd)	890 Hayes Street	890 Hayes Street, San Francisco, CA		Graves and Watson
	A Different Light	4014 Santa Monica Boulevard, Los Angeles, CA		Hanhardt; Johnson
	A Different Light	8853 Santa Monica Boulevard, Los Angeles, CA		Johnson
	A Different Light	489 Castro Street, San Francisco, CA		Hanhardt; Johnson
	Adonis Books	350 Ellis Street, San Francisco, CA		Johnson
	Adonis Books	348 Jones Street, San Francisco, CA		Graves and Watson
	Adrienne Rich-Michelle Cliff House	Santa Cruz, CA		Dubrow
	African American AIDS Policy Training Institute	1833 West Eighth Street, Los Angeles, CA		Harris
	Ah Men	8933 Santa Monica Boulevard, West Hollywood, CA		Johnson
	Ah Men	Santa Monica and San Vincente, West Hollywood, CA		Johnson
	Alameda County California Superior Court	1221 Oak Street, Oakland, CA		Springate (Civil Rights)
	Alcatraz Federal Penitentiary	San Francisco, CA	NRHP 6/23/1976; NHL District 1/17/1986. NPS (Golden Gate National Recreation Area) 10/27/1972	Roscoe; Springate (Civil Rights); Stein

	Name	Address	Status	Chapter
California (cont'd)	Allan Berube Residence	Lyon Street near Oak Street, San Francisco, CA		Koskovich
	Amelia's	647 Valencia Street, San Francisco, CA		Hanhardt; Johnson
	American Indian Center	225 Valencia Street, San Francisco, CA		Roscoe
	American Institute of Bisexuality	8265 West Sunset Boulevard, West Hollywood, CA		Batza; Hutchins
	Angelino Heights (LGBTQ Community)	Los Angeles, CA		Dubrow
	Annenberg School for Communication and Journalism	University of Southern California, 3502 Watt Way, Los Angeles, CA		Schweighofer
	API Equality-LA	1137 Wilshire Boulevard, Los Angeles, CA		Sueyoshi
	API Equality-Northern California	17 Walter U. Lum Place, San Francisco, CA		Sueyoshi
	Arthur J. Sullivan Funeral Home	2254 Market Street, San Francisco, CA		Baim; Batza; Springate (Civil Rights)
	Asian American Residential and Recovery Services	2041 Hayes Street, San Francisco, CA		Sueyoshi
	Asian & Pacific Islander Wellness Center (A&PI Wellness Center)	730 Polk Street, San Francisco, CA		Sueyoshi
	Atascadero State Hospital	10333 El Camino Real, Atascadero, CA		Stein
	Athletic Model Guild	1834 West Eleventh Street, Los Angeles, CA		Johnson
	Avery Aquatic Center	235 Sam McDonald Mall, Stanford, CA		Schweighofer

	Name	Address	Status	Chapter
California (cont'd)	Baker Street Scandal Location	Baker Street near the Presidio	Partially demolished	Graves and Watson
	Barbary Coast (LGBTQ Community)	San Francisco, CA		Graves and Watson
	Barracks	72 Hallam Street, San Francisco, CA		Dubrow
	Beige Room	831 Broadway, San Francisco, CA		Graves and Watson
	Benjamin Franklin Middle School	1430 Scott Street, San Francisco, CA		Sueyoshi
	Berkeley High School	1980 Allston Way, Berkeley, CA	Berkeley High School Campus Historic District, NRHP 1/7/2008	Schweighofer
	Beth Chayim Chadashim	6000 West Pico Boulevard, Los Angeles, CA		Bourn
	Biltmore Hotel	506 South Grand Avenue, Los Angeles, CA		Gieseking
	BiPOL	584 Castro Street, San Francisco, CA		Hutchins
	Bisexual Center	544 Market Street, San Francisco, CA		Graves and Watson; Koskovich
	Bisexual Rights Rally	730 Howard Street, San Francisco, CA		Hutchins
	Black AIDS Institute	1833 West Eighth Street, Los Angeles, CA		Harris
	Black Cat Tavern	3909 West Sunset Boulevard, Los Angeles, CA		Dubrow; Meinke; Rupp; Stein

	Name	Address	Status	Chapter
California (cont'd)	Black Cat Club	710 Montgomery Street, San Francisco, CA	Contributing to the Jackson Square Historic District, NRHP 11/18/1971	Baim; Estes; González and Hernández; Graves and Watson; Hanhardt; Johnson; Rupp; Springate (Civil Rights); Springate and de la Vega; Stein
	Bohemian Club Clubhouse	Northeast corner of Post Street and Grant Avenue, San Francisco, CA		Sueyoshi
	Bulldog Baths	132 Turk Street, San Francisco, CA		Baim; Johnson
	Bunker Hill	Los Angeles, CA		Stryker
	California Hall	625 Polk Street, San Francisco, CA		Bourn; Graves and Watson; Rupp; Stein
	Canyon Sam Residence	Castro neighborhood, San Francisco, CA		Sueyoshi
	Carl Bean Center	5149 West Jefferson Boulevard, Los Angeles, CA		Bourn
	Castro (LGBTQ commuity)	San Francisco, CA		Bourn; Dubrow; Gieseking; Graves and Watson; Hanhardt; Springate (Civil Rights); Sueyoshi
	Castro Camera	573-575 Castro Street, San Francisco, CA		Dubrow; Estes; Gieseking; Graves and Watson; Hanhardt; Johnson; Meyer and Sikk; Rupp; Springate (Civil Rights); Stein
	Castro Street Theater	429 Castro Street, San Francisco, CA		Gieseking

	Name	Address	Status	Chapter
California (cont'd)	Casual Man	2060 Polk Street, San Francisco, CA		Johnson
	Central Library	Los Angeles, CA	NRHP 12/18/1970	Gieseking
	Center for Sex and Culture	1349 Mission Street, San Francisco, CA		Hutchins
	Center for Special Problems	1700 Jackson Street, San Francisco, CA		Stryker
	Chateau Marmont Hotel	8221 Sunset Boulevard, Los Angeles, CA		Stryker
	Chinatown Service Center Annex	300 West Cesar E. Chavez Boulevard, Los Angeles, CA		Sueyoshi
	Circus Disco	6655 Santa Monica Boulevard, Los Angeles, CA		Baim; Dubrow; González and Hernández
	City College of San Francisco, Ocean Campus	50 Phelan Avenue, San Francisco, CA		Sueyoshi
	City Lights Bookstore	261 Columbus Avenue, San Francisco, CA		Burk; Stein
	City of Refuge United Church of Christ	1025 Howard Street, San Francisco, CA		Bourn
	City of Refuge United Church of Christ	8400 Enterprise Way, Oakland, CA		Bourn
	Civic Center	San Francisco, CA	NRHP 10/10/1978; NHL 2/27/1987	Graves and Watson; Hanhardt
	Club Baths	201 Eighth Street, San Francisco, CA		Graves and Watson
	Club Turkish Baths	132 Turk Street, San Francisco, CA	Part of the Uptown Tenderloin Historic District, NRHP 2/5/2009	Baim; Johnson; Springate (Civil Rights)

	Name	Address	Status	Chapter
California (cont'd)	Cockatoo Inn	11500 Acacia Avenue, Hawthorne, CA		Bourn
	Coming Home Hospice	115 Diamond Street, San Francisco, CA		Graves and Watson
	Community United Church of Christ	1336 Arroyo Avenue, San Carlos, CA		Bourn
	Compton's Cafeteria	101 Taylor Street, San Francisco, CA	Contributing to the Uptown Tenderloin Historic District, NRHP 2/5/2009	Baim; Dubrow; Gieseking; Hanhardt; Graves and Watson; Johnson; Meinke; Meyer and Sikk; Rupp; Springate (Civil Rights); Springate and de la Vega; Stein; Stryker; Sueyoshi
	Congregation Ner Shalom	85 La Plaza, Cotati, CA		Bourn
	Congregation Sha'ar Zahav	290 Dolores Street, San Francisco, CA		Bourn
	Convent	Near the panhandle of Golden Gate Park		Bourn
	Cooper's Donuts (also Cooper Do-Nut)	Between 527 and 555 South Main Street, Los Angeles, CA		Baim; Dubrow; Graves and Watson; Rupp; Springate (Civil Rights); Stein; Stryker
	Cove Avenue Stairway	Cove Avenue, Silver Lake neighborhood, Los Angeles, CA		Dubrow
	Cow Palace	2600 Geneva Avenue, Daly City, CA		Roscoe
	Crown Jewel	932 South Hill Street, Los Angeles, CA	Demolished	Springate (Civil Rights)

	Name	Address	Status	Chapter
California (cont'd)	Dash	574 Pacific Avenue, San Francisco, CA	Contributor to the Jackson Square Historic District, NRHP 11/18/1971	Graves and Watson
	Daughters of Bilitis Headquarters	165 O'Farrell Street, San Francisco, CA		Burk; Koskovich; Rupp; Springate (Civil Rights)
	David Hong Home	Off Santa Monica Boulevard, West Hollywood, CA		Sueyoshi
	David Lourea Residence	North Panhandle neighborhood, San Francisco, CA		Graves and Watson
	Dodger Stadium	1000 Elysian Park Avenue, Los Angeles, CA		Schweighofer
	Doheny Memorial Library	University of Southern California, Los Angeles, CA		Koskovich
	Dover Hotel	555 South Main Street, Los Angeles, LA	Demolished	Stein
	Dr. Harry Benjamin Office	450 Sutter Street, San Francisco, CA	NRHP 12/22/2009	Batza; Graves and Watson; Springate (Civil Rights); Stryker
	Druid Heights	Muir Woods National Monument, Golden Gate National Recreation Area	NRHP 1/9/2008; NPS 1/9/1908	Baim; Graves and Watson
	East Bay Meditation Center	2147 Broadway, Oakland, CA		Bourn
	East Bay Meditation Center	285 Seventeenth Street, Oakland, CA		Bourn
	Ebony Showcase Theater	4718 West Washington Boulevard, Los Angeles, CA		Bourn

	Name	Address	Status	Chapter
California (cont'd)	Echo Park (LGBTQ Community)	Los Angeles, CA		Dubrow
	Elbo Room	647 Valencia Street, San Francisco, CA		Hanhardt; Johnson
	Elephant Walk	500 Castro Street, San Francisco, CA		Hanhardt; Meyer and Sikk
	El/La Para TransLatinas	2940 Sixteenth Street, San Francisco, CA		González and Hernández
	El Rosa Hotel	166 Turk Street, San Francisco, CA		Stryker
	Elsa Gidlow Home	150 Joice Street, San Francisco, CA	Demolished	Graves and Watson
	Elsa Gidlow Home	1158 Page Street, San Francisco, CA	Demolished	Graves and Watson
	Elsa Gidlow Home	Page Street, Haight-Ashbury neighborhood, San Francisco, CA		Graves and Watson
	Elsa Gidlow Home	Fairfax, Marin County, CA		Graves and Watson
	Embarcadero YMCA	169 Stuart Street, San Francisco, CA		Graves and Watson
	Emily Williams - Lillian Palmer House	Nob Hill neighborhood, San Francisco, CA		Graves and Watson
	Empress	965 Market Street, San Francisco, CA	Demolished	Graves and Watson
	EndUp	401 Sixth Street and Harrison, San Francisco, CA		Burk
	Esta Noche	2079 Sixteenth Street, San Francisco, CA		Baim; González and Hernández
	Evelyn Hooker's Office	Psychology Department, University of California, Los Angeles, CA		Batza; Meyer and Sikk

	Name	Address	Status	Chapter
California (cont'd)	Factory	661 North Robertson Boulevard, West Hollywood, CA		Johnson
	Fallon Building	1800 Market Street, San Francisco, CA		Dubrow; Graves and Watson; Hanhardt
	Federal Building	50 United Nations Plaza, San Francisco, CA	Contributing to the Civic Center Historic District, NRHP 10/10/1978; NHL 2/27/1987	Graves and Watson
	Fife's	16467 River Road, Guerneville, CA		Schweighofer
	Finnegan's Wake	937 Cole, San Francisco, CA		Johnson
	Finnoccio's	441 Stockton Street, San Francsico, CA		Graves and Watson
	Finnoccio's	406 Stockton Street, San Francisco, CA		Graves and Watson; Stryker
	Finocchio's	506 Broadway, San Francisco, CA		Graves and Watson; Rupp; Stryker
	First Universalist Church	Corner of West Eighth Street and Crenshaw Boulevard, Los Angeles, CA		Baim; Springate (Civil Rights)
	Flood Building	870 Market Street, San Francsico, CA		Stein; Stryker
	Founders Metropolitan Community Church	4607 Prospect Avenue, Los Angeles, CA		Bourn
	Fred "Fritz" Klein House	Emerald Hills neighborhood, San Diego, CA		Batza; Hutchins
	Frontera	16756 Chino Corona Road, Corona, CA		Stein

	Name	Address	Status	Chapter
California (cont'd)	Gangway	841 Larkin Street, San Francisco, CA		Springate (Civil Rights)
	Gay American Indians	1347 Divisadero Street, San Francisco, CA		Bourn
	Gay Community Center	32 Page Street, San Francisco, CA		Graves and Watson
	George Choy Plaque	In front of 468 Castro Street, San Francisco, CA		Sueyoshi
	Gertrude Stein Home	Near Thirteetnth Avenue and Twenty-Fifth Street, Oakland, CA	Demolished	Baim; Springate (Introduction)
	GLBT Historical Society	989 Market Street, San Francisco, CA		Graves and Watson; Hutchins
	GLBT History Museum	4127 Eighteenth Street, San Francisco, CA		Graves and Watson; Sueyoshi
	Glide Memorial Church	330 Ellis Street, San Francisco, CA	Contributing to the Uptown Tenderloin Historic District, NRHP 2/5/2009	Graves and Watson; Johnson; Springate (Civil Rights); Stein; Stryker
	God Mother of Polk	Clarion Alley, San Francisco, CA		Sueyoshi
	Golden Gate Bridge	San Francisco, CA		Springate (Civil Rights)
	Golden Gate Park	San Francisco, CA	NRHP 10/15/2004	Graves and Watson
	Graduate Theological Union	2400 Ridge Road, Berkeley, CA		Bourn
	Griffith Park	4730 Crystal Springs Drive, Los Angeles, CA		Springate (Civil Rights)
	Guerneville (LGBTQ community)	Guerneville, CA		Baim; Gieseking; Schweighofer; Springate (Archeology)

	Name	Address	Status	Chapter
California (cont'd)	Haight-Ashbury (LGBTQ Community)	San Francisco, CA		Graves and Watson; Johnson
	Hal Call House	Nob Hill neighborhood, San Francisco, CA		Springate (Civil Rights)
	Hamburger Mary's	8288 Santa Monica Boulevard, West Hollywood, CA		Schweighofer
	Harold and Ellen Kameya Home	Granada Hills neighborhood, Los Angeles, CA		Sueyoshi
	Harold's	555 South Main Street, Los Angeles, LA	Demolished	Stein; Stryker
	Harry Hay House	Silver Lake neighborhood, Los Angeles, CA		Baim; Dubrow; Graves and Watson; Meyer and Sikk; Rupp; Springate (Civil Rights); Stein
	Harry Hay House	Hollywood Hills neighborhood, Los Angeles, CA		Baim; Dubrow; Graves and Watson; Meyer and Sikk; Stein
	Hartford Street Zen Center	61 Hartford Street, San Francisco, CA		Bourn; Graves and Watson
	Harvey's	500 Castro Street, San Francisco, CA		Hanhardt
	Hattie McDaniel House	Sugar Hill neighborhood, Los Angeles, CA		Springate and de la Vega
	Helen Zia Residence	Oakland, CA		Sueyoshi
	Hillcrest (LGBTQ Community)	San Diego, CA		Gieseking; Hanhardt
	History Department, Stanford University	Stanford, CA		Koskovich

	Name	Address	Status	Chapter
California (cont'd)	*History of California (The Great Wall of Los Angeles)*	Coldwater Canyon Avenue between Oxnard Street and Burbank Boulevard, Los Angeles, CA		Burk; González and Hernández
	Hotel Bijou	111 Maston Street, San Francisco, CA		Graves and Watson
	Hotel Whitcomb	1231 Market Street, San Francisco, CA		Baim; Graves and Watson
	Human Rights Commission Store	575 Castro Street, San Francisco, CA		Hanhardt
	Hyland Hotel	101 Taylor Street, San Francisco, CA		Stryker
	Institute for Advanced Study of Human Sexuality	1523 Franklin Street, San Francisco, CA		Graves and Watson
	International Buddhist Meditation Center	928 South New Hampshire Avenue, Los Angeles, CA		Bourn
	International Hotel (I-Hotel)	Corner of Jackson and Kearny Streets, San Francisco, CA	NRHP 6/15/1977; Demolished	Sueyoshi
	Jack's Baths	1052 Geary Boulevard, San Francisco, CA		Dubrow; Graves and Watson
	Jack's Baths	1143 Post Street, San Francisco, CA		Dubrow; Graves and Watson
	Jackson Brewing Company	Folsom and Eleventh Streets, San Francisco, CA	NRHP 4/8/1993	Springate (Civil Rights)
	James C. Hormel Gay & Lesbian Center	San Francisco Public Library, 100 Larkin Street, San Francisco, CA	In the Civic Center Historic District, NRHP 10/10/1978; NHL 2/27/1987	Graves and Watson; Hutchins

	Name	Address	Status	Chapter
California (cont'd)	James R. Browning United States Court of Appeals Building	Northeast corner of Mission and Seventh Streets, San Francisco, CA	NRHP 10/14/1971; NHL 10/16/2012	Springate (Civil Rights)
	Japanese American Cultural and Community Center of Northern California	1840 Sutter Street, San Francisco, CA		Sueyoshi
	Japanese YWCA	1830 Sutter Street, San Francisco, CA		Graves and Watson; Springate (Civil Rights)
	Jewel's Catch One	4067 West Pico Boulevard, Los Angeles, CA		Baim; Harris; Rupp; Springate (Civil Rights)
	Jiro Onuma Residence	769 Brush Street, Oakland, CA	Demolished	Springate (Civil Rights)
	Jiro Onuma Residence	1492 Ellis Street, San Francisco, CA	Demolished	Springate (Civil Rights)
	Joaquin Miller Home	3590 Sanborn Drive, Oakland, CA	NRHP 10/15/1966; NHL 12/29/1962	Sueyoshi
	Joaquin Miller Park	Oaklad Hills, Oakland, CA		Sueyoshi
	Joaquin's El Rancho	Vine Street, Los Angeles, CA		Harris
	Jose Theater	2362 Market Street, San Francisco, CA		Gieseking; Graves and Watson; Springate (Civil Rights)
	Juan Bautista de Anza National Historic Trail	CA	NPS 1990	Baim; Stryker
	Julian Eltinge Residence	Silver Lake neighborhood, Los Angeles, CA		Schweighofer

	Name	Address	Status	Chapter
California (cont'd)	June Mazer Lesbian Archives	626 North Robertson Boulevard, West Hollywood, CA		Gieseking; Graves and Watson
	Kaposi's Sarcoma Research and Education Foundation	520 Castro Street, San Francisco, CA		Batza; Graves and Watson
	Katipunan ng mga Demokratikong Pilipino (KDP) Headquarters	4704 Shattuck Avenue, Oakland, CA		Sueyoshi
	Katipunan ng mga Demokratikong Pilipino (KDP) Headquarters	526 Thirty-Second Street, Oakland, CA		Sueyoshi
	Katipunan ng mga Demokratikong Pilipino (KDP) Headquarters	3600 Lincoln Way, Oakland, CA		Sueyoshi
	Kevin Bunch - Fred Brungard - Baruch Golden Residence	Mission District, San Francisco, CA		Bourn
	Langley Porter Clinic	401 Parnassus Avenue, San Francisco, CA		Graves and Watson; Stryker
	La Peña Cultural Center	3105 Shattuck Avenue, Berkeley, CA		Sueyoshi
	Lavender Youth Recreation & Information Center (LYRIC)	127 Collingwood Street, San Francisco, CA		Sueyoshi
	Leonard Matlovich Residence	Eighteenth Street, San Francisco, CA		Graves and Watson
	Lexington Club	3464 Nineteenth Street, San Francisco, CA		Gieseking
	LGBT Center	1800 Market Street, San Francisco, CA		Dubrow; González and Hernández; Graves and Watson; Hanhardt; Hutchins; Springate (Civil Rights)

	Name	Address	Status	Chapter
California (cont'd)	Liberty Baths	1157 Post Street, San Francisco, CA		Dubrow
	Los Angeles Lesbian and Gay Community Center	1612-1614 Wilshire Boulevard, Los Angeles, CA	Demolished	Springate (Civil Rights)
	Los Angeles LGBT Center	1625 North Schrader Boulevard, Los Angeles, CA		Springate (Civil Rights)
	Los Angeles Tennis Club	5851 Clinton Street, Los Angeles, CA		Schweighofer
	Los Gatos Memorial Park Cemetery	San Jose, CA		Graves and Watson
	Louise Lawrence Home	11 Buena Vista Terrace, San Francisco, CA	Demolished	Stryker
	Lyon-Martin Health Services	1748 Market Street, San Francisco, CA		Batza; Hutchins
	Mabuhay Gardens	443 Broadway, San Francisco, CA		Burk
	Maguire's Opera House	Washington and Montgomery Streets, San Francisco, CA	Demolished	Graves and Watson
	Main Street Theater District (LGBTQ Community)	Los Angeles, CA		Stryker
	Maitri Hospice	401 Duboce Avenue, San Francisco, CA		Bourn
	Mama Bears Bookstore	6536 Telegraph Avenue, Oakland, CA		Hanhardt
	Margaret Chung Home	340 Stockton Place, San Francisco, CA	Demolished	Sueyoshi
	Margaret Chung Home	Telegraph Hill neighborhood, San Francisco, CA		Sueyoshi

	Name	Address	Status	Chapter
California (cont'd)	Margaret Chung Home	Lone Mountain neighborhood, San Francsico, CA		Sueyoshi
	Margaret Chung Medical Practice	752 Sacramento Street, San Francisco, CA		Sueyoshi
	Marguerite Rubenstein Residence	South of Glen Park, San Francisco, CA		Graves and Watson
	Mary's First and Last Chance	2278 Telegraph Avenue, Oakland, CA		Stein
	Mattachine Offices	232 South Hill Street, Los Angeles, CA	Demolished	Springate (Civil Rights)
	Maud's	937 Cole, San Francisco, CA		Johnson
	Meat Market	Intersection of Mason, Turk, and Market Streets, San Francisco, CA		Graves and Watson
	Medical-Dental Building	450 Sutter Street, San Francisco, CA	NRHP 12/22/2009	Stryker
	Metropolitan Community Church	1074 Guerrero Street, San Francisco, CA		Stein
	Metropolitan Community Church	150 Eureka Street, San Francisco, CA		Sueyoshi
	Metropolitan Community Church	2201 South Union Avenue, Los Angeles, CA	Demolished	Baim; Bourn; Stein
	Metropolitan Theatre	Montgomery and Washington Streets, San Francisco, CA	Demolished	Graves and Watson
	Mission (LGBTQ Community)	San Francisco, CA		Dubrow; Gieseking; Graves and Watson; Hanhardt; Johnson
	Mission Basilica San Diego de Alcala (Mission San Diego)	10818 Dan Diego Mission Road, San Diego, CA	NRHP/NHL 4/15/1970	González and Hernández; Stryker

	Name	Address	Status	Chapter
California (cont'd)	Mission High School	3750 Eighteenth Street, San Francisco, CA		Hutchins; Springate (Civil Rights)
	Mission Hills Country Club	34600 Mission Hills Drive, Rancho Mirage, CA		Schweighofer
	Mission San Antonio de Padua (Mission San Antonio)	Near Jolon, Monterey County, CA	NRHP 4/26/1976	Stryker
	Mission San Carlos Borromeo de Carmelo (Carmel Mission)	3080 Rio Road, Carmel-by-the-Sea, CA	NRHP 10/15/1966; NHL 10/9/1960	Stryker; Sueyoshi
	Mission San Francisco de Asis (Mission Dolores)	320 Dolores Street, San Francisco, CA	NRHP 3/16/1972	Baim; Graves and Watson; Springate (Civil Rights); Stryker
	Mission San Jose	43300 Mission Boulevard, Fremont, CA	NRHP 7/14/1971	Stryker
	Mission Santa Barbara	2201 Laguna Street, Santa Barbara, CA	NRHP 10/15/1966; NHL 10/9/1960	Stryker
	Mission Santa Clara de Asis (Mission Santa Clara)	500 El Camino Real, Santa Clara, CA		Stryker
	Mission Santa Ynez (Mission Santa Ines)	1760 Mission Drive, Solvang, CA	NRHP 3/8/1999; NHL 1/20/1999	Stryker
	Mnasidika	1510 Haight Street, San Francisco, CA		Johnson
	Mobilization Against AIDS	647-A Castro Street, San Francisco, CA		Graves and Watson
	Mobilization Against AIDS	2120 Market Street, San Francisco, CA		Graves and Watson
	Mona's Barrel House	140 Columbus Avenue, San Francisco, CA		Graves and Watson; Johnson
	Mona's Club 440	440 Broadway, San Francisco, CA		Baim; Estes; Graves and Watson; Harris; Johnson

	Name	Address	Status	Chapter
California (cont'd)	Monte Vista Unitarian Universalist Congregation	9185 Monte Vista Avenue, Monte Vista, CA		Bourn
	Morris Kight House	Westlake neighborhood, Los Angeles, CA		Springate (Civil Rights); Sueyoshi
	Moscone Center	San Francisco, CA		Hutchins
	National AIDS Memorial Grove	San Francisco, CA	NPS 1996	Graves and Watson; Springate (Archeology); Springate (Introduction)
	National Transsexual Counseling Unit	200 block of Turk Street, San Francisco, CA		Stryker
	North Beach (LGBTQ Community)	San Francisco, CA		Dubrow; Graves and Watson; Hanhardt; Johnson; Stryker
	Oakland (LGBTQ Community)	Oakland, CA		Dubrow
	Oakland Feminist Women's Health Center	Oakland, CA		Baim
	Oasis	298 Eleventh Street, San Francisco, CA		Schweighofer
	Ojai Valley Inn and Country Club	905 Country Club Road, Ojai, CA		Stein
	Old Crow	962 Market Street, San Francisco, CA		Graves and Watson
	Old Wives' Tales	532 Valencia Street, San Francisco, CA		Hanhardt
	Old Wives' Tales	1009 Valencia Street, San Francisco, CA		Hanhardt; Johnson
	Olivia Records	4400 Market Street, Oakland, CA		Dubrow; Johnson; Rupp; Schweighofer
	One Institute	232 South Hill Street, Los Angeles, CA	Demolished	Koskovich; Stein

	Name	Address	Status	Chapter
California (cont'd)	One Institute	2256 Venice Boulevard, Los Angeles, CA		Koskovich
	One National Gay and Lesbian Archives	University of Southern California, 909 West Adams Boulevard, Los Angeles, CA		Gieseking; Graves and Watson; Koskovich
	On Our Backs	526 Castro Street, San Francisco, CA		Sueyoshi
	Osento	Mission District, San Francisco, CA		Baim; Graves and Watson; Johnson
	Pacific Center for Human Growth	2712 Telegraph Avenue, Berkeley, CA		Hanhardt
	Pacific School of Religion	1798 Scenic Avenue, Berkeley, CA		Bourn
	Palm Springs (LGBTQ Community)	Palm Springs, CA		Dubrow; Schweighofer
	Paper Doll	524 Union Street, San Francisco, CA		Graves and Watson; Hanhardt
	Patch, The	Wilmington neighborhood, Los Angeles, CA		Stein
	Pershing Square	South Olive Street, Los Angeles, CA		Gieseking; Stryker
	Phyllis Lyon and Del Martin House	Noe Valley neighborhood, San Francisco, CA		Baim; Springate (Civil Rights)
	Pine United Methodist Church	426 Thirty-Third Avenue, San Francisco, CA		Sueyoshi
	Pink Triangle Park	San Francisco, CA		Graves and Watson
	Polk Street (LGBTQ Community)	San Francisco, CA		Johnson; Stryker

	Name	Address	Status	Chapter
California (cont'd)	Presidio of San Francisco	Golden Gate National Recreation Area, San Francisco, CA	NRHP 10/15/1966; NHL 6/13/1962; NPS 10/1/1994	Baim; Graves and Watson
	Proyecto ContraSIDA por Vida (PCPV)	2940 Sixteenth Street, San Francisco, CA		González and Hernández
	Ralston L. White Memorial Retreat	2 El Capitan, Mill Valley, CA		Bourn; Graves and Watson
	Ramada Plaza Hotel	1231 Market Street, San Francisco, CA		Sueyoshi
	Ramon Novarro House	Studio City neighborhood, Los Angeles, CA		González and Hernández; Stein
	Redd Foxx's	La Cienega Boulevard, Los Angeles, CA		Stryker
	Redstone Building	2926-2948 Sixteenth Street, San Francisco, CA		Hanhardt
	Reverend Troy Perry Home	Huntington Park, CA		Baim; Bourn
	Richard Heakin Memorial Butterfly Brigade	330 Grove Street, San Francisco, CA	Demolished	Stein
	Ritch Street Health Club	330 Ritch Street, San Francisco, CA		Dubrow
	RKO Studios (now CBS Paramount Television)	780 North Gower Street, Hollywood, CA		Springate (Civil Rights)
	Rock Hudson House (The Castle)	Beverly Hills neighborhood of Los Angeles, CA		Baim
	Rockway Institute	Alliant International University, 1 Beach Street, San Francisco, CA		Hutchins
	Rose Bamberger Home	Silver Terrace neighborhood, San Francisco, CA		Meyer and Sikk; Sueyoshi

	Name	Address	Status	Chapter
California (cont'd)	Rosie the Riveter/World War II Home Front National Historical Park	Richmond, CA	NRHP 1/31/2001; NPS 10/25/2000	Ferentinos; Meyer and Sikk
	Rudy Galindo Home	San Jose, CA		Schweighofer
	Rue's House	4067 West Pico Boulevard, Los Angeles, CA		Springate (Civil Rights)
	Ruth Fuller Field Residence	Gailmore Apartments, 500 North Glendale Boulevard, Glendale, CA	Demolished	Koskovich
	Sage Granada Methodist Church	1850 West Hellman Avenue, Alhambra, CA		Sueyoshi
	Samuel-Novarro House	Hollywood Hills neighborhood, Los Angeles, CA		González and Hernández
	San Francisco AIDS Foundation	520 Castro Street, San Francisco, CA		Graves and Watson
	San Francisco Bisexual Center	Golden Gate Park panhandle neighborhood		Hutchins
	San Francisco Buddhist Center	37 Bartlett Street, San Francisco, CA		Bourn
	San Francisco City Hall	1 Dr. Carlton B. Goodlet Place	Contributor to the San Francisco Civic Center Historic District, NRHP 10/10/1978; NHL 2/27/1987	Meyer and Sikk; Springate (Civil Rights); Stein
	San Francisco Civic Auditorium	99 Grove Street, San Francisco, CA		Batza
	San Francisco Department of Health	101 Grove Street, San Francisco, CA		Graves and Watson
	San Francisco General Hospital	1001 Potrero Avenue, San Francisco, CA		Baim; Batza; Graves and Watson

	Name	Address	Status	Chapter
California (cont'd)	San Francisco Marriott Marquis Hotel	55 Fourth Street, San Franciso, CA		Hutchins
	San Francisco Museum of Modern Art	151 Third Street, San Francisco, CA		Burk
	San Francisco Public Library	100 Larkin Street, San Francisco, CA		Graves and Watson; Koskovich
	San Francisco Public Library, North Beach	850 Columbus Aveue, San Francisco, CA		Sueyoshi
	San Francisco YMCA	121 Haight Street, San Francisco, CA		Sueyoshi
	San Jose Arena	525 West Santa Clara Street, San Jose, CA		Schweighofer
	San Miguel Saloon	San Miguel, CA	Demolished	Stein
	SF Fog	2370 Market Street, #232, San Francisco, CA		Schweighofer
	Shin Sekai	948 Geary Street, San Francisco, CA		Sueyoshi
	Silver Lake (LGBTQ Community)	Los Angeles, CA		Dubrow
	Silver Rail	974 Market Street, San Francisco, CA	Partially demolished	Graves and Watson
	SIR Center	83 Sixth Street, San Francisco, CA		Springate (Civil Rights)
	Sir Francis Drake Hotel	450 Powell Street, San Francisco, CA		Stryker
	Six Gallery	3119 Fillmore Street, San Francisco, CA		Burk
	Society for Individual Rights	83 Sixth Street, San Francisco, CA		Graves and Watson; Stein
	Society for Individual Rights	Haight-Ashbury neighborhood, San Francisco, CA		Graves and Watson; Springate (Civil Rights)

	Name	Address	Status	Chapter
California (cont'd)	Social and Public Art Resource Center (SPARC)	685 Venice Boulevard, Venice, CA		Burk
	Sonoma State University	1801 East Cotati Avenue, Rhonert Park, CA		Hutchins
	South of Market (LGBTQ Community)	San Francisco, CA		Graves and Watson
	Southwest California Synod, Evangelical Lutheran Church in America	1300 East Colorado Street, Glendale, CA		Bourn
	Sperm Bank of Northern California (now Sperm Bank of California)	2115 Milva Street, Berkeley, CA		Batza
	Spinsters Ink	803 DeHaro Street, San Francisco, CA		Sueyoshi
	Spinsters Ink	223 Mississippi, San Francisco, CA		Sueyoshi
	Stanford Medical Center Gender Identity Clinic	300 Pasteur Drive, Stanford, CA		Stryker
	Staples Center	1111 South Figueroa Street, Los Angeles, CA		Schweighofer
	Starr King School for the Ministry	2441 Le Conte Avenue, Berkeley, CA		Hutchins
	St. Francis Hotel	335 Powell Street, San Francisco, CA		Springate (Civil Rights)
	St. Francis Lutheran Church	152 Church Street, San Francisco, CA		González and Hernández
	St. Leo (LGBTQ Community)	San Jose, CA		Gieseking
	Stockton State Hospital	612 East Magnolia Street, Stockton, CA		Stein
	StubHubb Center	18400 Avalon Boulevard, Carson, CA		Schweighofer

	Name	Address	Status	Chapter
California (cont'd)	Stud Bar	399 Ninth Street, San Francisco, CA		Schweighofer
	Studio One	661 North Robertson Boulevard, West Hollywood, CA		Johnson
	Subway Terminal Building	Hill and Olive Streets, Los Angeles, CA	NRHP 8/2/2006	Gieseking
	Sutro Bath House	312 Valencia Street, San Francisco, CA		Graves and Watson
	Sutro Bath House	1015 Folsom Street, San Francisco, CA		Graves and Watson
	Suzy-Q	1741 Polk Street, San Francisco, CA		Johnson; Springate (Civil Rights)
	Sybil Brand Institute	4500 City Terrace Drive, Los Angeles, CA		Stein
	Tay-Bush Inn	900 Bush Street, San Francisco, CA	Demolished	Graves and Watson; Johnson
	Tenderloin (LGBTQ community)	San Francisco, CA	Part of the Uptown Tenderloin Historic District, NRHP 2/5/2009	Gieseking; Graves and Watson; Hanhardt; Johnson; Springate and de la Vega; Stryker; Sueyoshi
	TGI Justice	1372 Mission Street, San Francisco, CA		Stryker
	Toad Hall	482 Castro Street, San Francisco, CA		Stein
	Tom Waddell Health Center	50 Lech Walesa (Ivy) Street, San Francisco, CA		Batza; Stryker
	Tom Waddell Home	Mission District, San Francisco, CA		Schweighofer
	Tommy's Place	529 Broadway Street, San Francisco, CA		Baim; Graves and Watson

	Name	Address	Status	Chapter
California (cont'd)	Tool Box	Corner of Fourth Street and Harrison, San Francisco, CA		Dubrow
	Top of the Mark	999 California Street, San Francisco, CA		Estes
	Town Squire	1318 Polk Street, San Francisco, CA		Johnson
	Transgender Law Center	1629 Telegraph Avenue, Oakland, CA		Springate (Civil Rights); Stryker; Sueyoshi
	Trikone	60 Twenty-Ninth Street, #614, San Francisco, CA		Sueyoshi
	Twin Peaks Tavern	401 Castro Street, San Francisco, CA		Auer; Graves and Watson
	Union Square	Bordered by Geary, Powell, Post, and Stockton Streets, San Francisco, CA		Graves and Watson
	United University Church	817 West Thirty-Fourth Street, Los Angeles, CA		Bourn
	University of California Berkeley Art Museum and Pacific Film Archive	University of California, 2625 Durant Avenue, Berkeley, CA		Burk
	University of California Berkeley Art Museum and Pacific Film Archive	2120 Oxford Street, Berkeley, CA		Burk
	University of California San Francisco	San Francisco, CA		Graves and Watson
	University Research Library	University of California Los Angeles, CA		Koskovich
	Uptown Tenderloin Historic District	San Francisco, CA	NRHP 2/5/2009	Stryker

	Name	Address	Status	Chapter
California (cont'd)	Valencia (LGBTQ Community)	San Francisco, CA		Gieseking; Graves and Watson; Johnson
	Village Health Foundation	4075 West Pico Boulevard, Los Angeles, CA		Springate (Civil Rights)
	Virginia Prince Childhood Home	100 block of South Hobart Avenue, Los Angeles, CA		Stryker
	Virginia Price Home	800 block of Victoria Avenue, Hancock Park neighborhood, Los Angeles, CA		Stryker
	Waite Phillips Hall	University of Southern California, 3470 University Avenue (now Trousdale Parkway), Los Angeles, CA		Koskovich
	Waldorf	527 South Main Street, Los Angeles, CA	Demolished	Stein; Stryker
	Wesley Foundation	University of California Los Angeles, 580 Hilgard Avenue, Los Angeles, CA		Bourn
	Western Gay Archives	1653 North Hudson Avenue, Hollywood, CA	Demolished	Koskovich
	West Hollywood (LGBTQ Community)	Los Angeles, CA		Dubrow; Gieseking; Hanhardt; Johnson
	Westlake (LGBTQ Community)	Los Angeles, CA		Dubrow
	White Horse Inn	6651 Telegraph Avenue, Oakland, CA		Springate (Civil Rights)
	William "Bill" Tilden Home	Hollywood Hills neighborhood, Los Angeles, CA		Schweighofer

	Name	Address	Status	Chapter
California (cont'd)	Westwood Methodist Church	10947 Wilshire Boulevard, Los Angeles, CA		Sueyoshi
	Williams Building	693 Mission Street, San Francisco, CA		Baim; Dubrow; Graves and Watson; Koskovich; Meyer and Sikk; Springate (Civil Rights); Stein
	Willie Walker Residence	Seventeenth Street near Sanches Street, Castro neighborhood, San Francisco, CA		Koskovich
	Witter Field	210 Stadium Rim Way, Piedmont, CA		Schweighofer
	Women's Building	1727 North Spring Street, Los Angeles, CA		Burk
	Women's Building of San Francisco	3543 Eighteenth Street, San Francisco, CA		Dubrow;González and Hernández; Graves and Watson; Hanhardt; Koskovich; Springate (Civil Rights); Stryker; Sueyoshi
	Women's Press Collective	5251 Broadway, Oakland, CA		Sueyoshi
Colorado	Charlie's	900 East Colfax Avenue, Denver, CO		Schweighofer
	Iliff School of Theology	2323 East Iliff Avenue, Denver, CO		Bourn
	La Foret Conference and Retreat Center	6145 Shoup Road, Colorado Springs, CO	Ponderosa Lodge: 8/29/2008; Taylor Memorial Chapel 4/15/1999	Bourn
	USA Rugby	2655 Crescent Drive, Lafayette, CO		Schweighofer

	Name	Address	Status	Chapter
Colorado (cont'd)	Washington Park United Church of Christ	400 South Williams Street, Denver, CO		Bourn
Connecticut	Chelsea Piers	1 Blachley Road, Stamford, CT		Schweighofer
	James Merrill House	107 Water Street, Stonington, CT	NRHP 8/28/2013	Springate (Introduction)
	Long Ridge Tennis Club	Long Ridge Road, Stamford, CT		Schweighofer
	Mohegan Sun	1 Mohegan Sun Boulevard, Uncasville, CT		Schweighofer
	Philip Johnson's Glass House	798-856 Ponus Ridge Road, New Canaan, CT	NRHP and NHL 2/18/1997	Bourn; Dubrow; Springate (Archeology)
	Salt Meadow	733 Old Clinton Road, Westbrook, CT	National Wildlife Refuge 7/20/1972	Dubrow; Springate (Intersectionality)
	Stewart B. McKinney National Wildlife Refuge	733 Old Clinton Road, Westbrook, CT	National Wildlife Refuge 7/20/1972	Dubrow; Springate (Intersectionality)
	Yale University	New Haven, CT		Koskovich
Delaware	Lambda Rising	39 Baltimore Avenue, Rehoboth Beach, DE		Springate (Introduction)
	Rehoboth Beach (LGBTQ Community)	Rehoboth Beach, DE		Baim; Hanhardt; Schweighofer
District of Columbia	A. Billy S. Jones House	Northwest DC		Rupp
	All Soul's Unitarian Church	1500 Harvard Street NW, Washington, DC		Springate (Civil Rights)
	Banneker Recreation Center	2500 Georgia Avenue NW, Washington, DC	NRHP 4/28/1986	Batza; Harris; Springate (Civil Rights)
	Butt-Millet Memorial Fountain	President's Park, Washington, DC	In President's Park, NRHP 5/6/1980	Springate and de la Vega

	Name	Address	Status	Chapter
District of Columbia (cont'd)	Charles E. Smith Center	600 Twenty-Second Street NW, Washington, DC		Schweighofer
	Charles Warren Stoddard Home	300 M Street, Washington, DC		Sueyoshi
	Chicken Hut	1720 H Street, Washington, DC	Demolished	Johnson
	Cinema Follies	37 L Street SE, Washington, DC		Stein
	Cloyd Heck Marvin Center	George Washington University, 800 Twenty-First Street NW, Washington, DC		Hutchins
	Clubhouse	1296 Upshur Street NW, Washington, DC		Harris
	Columbus Fountain	Columbus Circle, Washington, DC	NRHP 4/9/1980	Baim
	Community Building	1724 Twentieth Street NW, Washingotn, DC		Gieseking; Johnson
	Congressional Cemetery	1801 E Street SE, Washington, DC	NRHP 6/23/1969; NHL 6/14/2011	Baim; Estes; Springate (Civil Rights)
	Corcoran Gallery	500 Seventeenth Street NW, Washington, DC	NRHP 5/6/1971; NHL 4/27/1992	Burk; Gieseking
	Crew Club	1321 Fourteenth Street NW, Washington, DC	Contributing building to the Fourteenth Street Historic District, NRHP 11/9/1994	Hanhardt
	DC Jewish Community Center	1529 Sixteenth Street NW, Washington, DC		Bourn
	Dignity Center	721 Eigth Street SE, Washington, DC		Bourn

	Name	Address	Status	Chapter
District of Columbia (cont'd)	Dr. Alain Locke House	R Street NW, Washington, DC	Contributing resource to the Fourteenth Street Historic District, NRHP 11/9/1994	Harris
	Dr. Franklin E. Kameny Residence	Northwest DC	NRHP 11/2/2011	Baim; Batza; Dubrow; Estes; Meinke; Meyer and Sikk; Rupp; Shockley; Springate (Archeology); Springate (Civil Rights); Springate (Introduction); Springate and de la Vega; Stein
	Dr. Mary Walker Residence	52 Morton Street, Washington, DC	Demolished	Estes
	Dr. Mary Walker Residence	374 Ninth Street, Washington, DC	Demolished	Estes
	Dupont Circle (LGBTQ Community)	Washington, DC	Includes the Dupont Circle Historic District, NRHP 7/21/1978	Gieseking; Hanhardt; Hutchins; Johnson
	Earthworks	1724 Twentieth Street NW, Washingotn, DC		Johnson
	El Faro	2411 Eighteenth Street NW, Washington, DC		Baim
	Fabrangen Havurah	2158 Florida Avenue NW, Washington, DC		Bourn
	Faith Temple	1313 New York Avenue NW, Washington, DC		Bourn
	First Congregational Church	Tenth and G Streets NW, Washington, DC		Bourn
	Frances Perkins House	Northwest DC	NRHP/NHL 7/17/1991	Dubrow

	Name	Address	Status	Chapter
District of Columbia (cont'd)	Franklin Park	Washington, DC		Stein
	Furies Collective	Capitol Hill neighborhood, Washington, DC	NRHP 5/2/2016	Burk; Dubrow; Johnson; Meinke; Rupp; Schweighofer; Springate (Civil Rights); Springate (Introduction)
	Gay and Lesbian Community Center of Washington, DC	1469 Church Street NW, Washington, DC		Batza
	Georgia Douglas Johnson House	Logan Circle neighborhood, Washington, DC	Contributing resourse to the Greater U Street Historic District, NRHP 12/31/1998	Harris; Springate (Civil Rights)
	GLF House	S Street NW, Washington, DC		Springate (Civil Rights)
	Guild Press Printing Plant	507 Eighth Street SE, Washington, DC		Johnson
	Guild Press	807-813 Eighth Street SE, Washington, DC		Johnson; Stein
	Harambee House Hotel	2200 block of Georgia Avenue, Washington, DC		Harris; Hutchins; Springate (Civil Rights)
	Harry S. Truman Building	2201 C Street NW, Washington, DC		Stein
	Horseshoe	Seventeenth Street NW, Washington, DC	Demolished	Springate (Civil Rights)
	Howard University	2400 Sixth Street NW, Washington, DC		Harris; Sueyoshi
	Howard University Divinity School	2900 Van Ness Street NW, Washington, DC		Hutchins

	Name	Address	Status	Chapter
District of Columbia (cont'd)	Howard University Philosophy Departmet	Locke Hall, 2441 Sixth Street NW, Washington, DC		Harris
	Human Rights Campaign	1640 Rhode Island Avenue NW, Washington, DC		González and Hernández; Stein
	Human Rights Campaign Store	1633 Connecticut Avenue NW, Washington, DC		Hanhardt
	Internal Revenue Service Building	Twelfth Street and Pennsylvania Avenue NW, Washington, DC	NRHP 10/15/1966; part of the Pennsylvania Avenue National Historic Site, 9/30/1965	Springate (Civil Rights)
	J. Edgar Hoover House	Forest Hills neighborhood, Washington, DC		Baim
	Jewel Box	1628 L Street NW, Washington, DC		Johnson
	Jose Gutierrez Residence	S Street NW and Seventeenth Street, Washington, DC		Koskovich
	Lafayette Chicken Hut	1720 H Street NW, Washington, DC	Demolished	Hanhardt; Johnson
	Lafayette Park/Lafayette Square	Washington, DC	Part of the Lafayette Square Historic District, NHRP and NHL 8/29/1970	Baim; Hanhardt; Johnson; Stein
	Lambda Rising	1724 Twentieth Street NW, Washingotn, DC		Hanhardt; Johnson

	Name	Address	Status	Chapter
District of Columbia (cont'd)	Lambda Rising	2001 S Street NW, Washington, DC	Within the Dupont Circle Historic District, NRHP 7/21/1978	Hanhardt; Johnson
	Lambda Rising	1625 Connecticut Avenue NW, Washington, DC	Within the Dupont Circle Historic District, NRHP 7/21/1978	Hanhardt; Johnson
	Lammas Crafts and Books	321 Seventh Street SE, Washington, DC		Johnson
	Lammas Crafts and Books	1426 Twenty-First Street NW, Washington, DC	Within the Dupont Circle Historic District, NRHP 7/21/1978	Johnson; Springate (Civil Rights)
	Langston Hughes Residence	S Street NW, Washington, DC	Contributing resource to the Dupont Circle Historic District, NRHP 1/21/1978; boundary increases 2/6/1985; 6/10/2005	Harris
	Lincoln Memorial	National Mall, Washington, DC	NPS	Burk
	Lost and Found	56 L Street SE, Washington, DC		Baim; Johnson
	Luther Place Memorial Church	1226 Vermont Avenue NW, Washington, DC		Bourn
	Manual Enterprises	807-813 Eighth Street SE, Washington, DC		Stein
	Matilda Coxe and James Stevenson House	1913 N Street NW, Washington, DC	Demolished	Roscoe

	Name	Address	Status	Chapter
District of Columbia (cont'd)	Mayflower Hotel	1127 Connecticut Avenue NW, Washington, DC	NRHP 11/14/1983	Baim; Hutchins; Johnson; Springate (Civil Rights)
	Meridian Hill Park (also known as Malcolm X Park)	2400 15th Street NW, Washington, DC	NRHP 10/25/1974	Harris
	National Center for Transgender Equality	1400 Sixteenth Street NW, Washington, DC		Springate (Civil Rights); Stryker
	National LGBTQ Task Force	1325 Massachusetts Avenue NW, Washington, DC		Hutchins; Springate (Civil Rights); Stein
	National Mall	Washington, DC	NRHP 10/15/1966; Part of the National Mall and Memorial Parks, NPS 1965	Batza; Gieseking; Graves and Watson; Hutchins; Roscoe; Springate (Civil Rights); Sueyoshi
	Nob Hill	1101 Kenyon Street NW, Washington, DC		Baim; Hanhardt; Harris; Johnson
	Office of the Mayor	1350 Pennsylvania Avenue NW, Washington, DC		Hutchins
	Old Executive Office Building	Pennsylvania Avenue NW and Seventeenth Street NW, Washington, DC	NRHP 6/4/1969; NHL 11/11/1971	Hutchins
	Old Patent Office	Ninth and F Streets NW, Washington, DC	NRHP 10/15/1966; NHL 1/12/1965	Baim; Burk; Estes; Gieseking; Hutchins; Rupp
	Olympic Baths	1405 H Street NW, Washington, DC	Demolished	Baim
	Open Hearth Foundation	1502 Massachusetts Avenue SE, Washington, DC		Bourn
	Phase One	525 Eighth Street NE, Washington, DC		Gieseking

	Name	Address	Status	Chapter
District of Columbia (cont'd)	Pier Nine	Washington, DC		Baim
	Quaker House	2121 Decatur Place NW, Washington, DC		Springate (Civil Rights)
	Quality Inn	1900 Connecticut Avenue, Washington, DC		Roscoe
	Redskin Lounge	1628 L Street NW, Washington, DC		Johnson
	RFK Memorial Stadium	2400 East Capitol Street SE, Washington, DC		Schweighofer
	Riggs-Lafayette Turkish Baths	1426 G Street NW, Washington, DC		Springate (Civil Rights)
	Shakespeare Theatre Company Education and Rehearsal Studios	507 Eighth Street SE, Washington, DC		Johnson
	Sheraton Park Hotel	2660 Woodley Road NW, Washington, DC	NRHP 1/31/1984	Batza
	Smithsonian Building	Jefferson Drive at Tenth Street SW, Washington, DC	NRHP 10/15/1966; NHL 1/12/1965	Roscoe
	Statler Hotel	1001 Sixteenth Street NW, Washington, DC		Johnson
	St. Thomas' Parish Episcopal Church	1772 Church Street NW, Washington, DC		Hutchins
	United States Capitol Building	Capitol Hill, Washington, DC	NHL 12/19/1960	Harris
	United States Supreme Court Building	1 First Street NE, Washington, DC	NHL 5/4/1987	Springate (Civil Rights)
	Us Helping Us	Washington Navy Yard neighborhood, Washington, DC		Harris

	Name	Address	Status	Chapter
District of Columbia (cont'd)	Ward Circle Building	American University, 3590 Nebraska Avenue NW, Washington, DC		Hutchins
	Washington Convention Center	909 H Street NW, Washington, DC	Demolished	Harris
	Washington Project for the Arts	Jenifer Building, 400 Block of Seventh Street NW, Washington, DC		Burk
	White House	1600 Pennsylvania Avenue NW, Washington, DC	NHL 12/19/1960	Batza; Dubrow; Harris; Hutchins; Meyer and Sikk; Springate (Civil Rights); Stein; Sueyoshi
	Wonderland Ballroom	1101 Kenyon Street NW, Washington, DC		Hanhardt; Harris; Johnson
	Zephyr Restaurant	4912 Wisconsin Avenue NW, Washington, DC		Springate (Civil Rights)
Florida	Amelia Island Plantation	Beachwood Road, Fernandina Beach, FL		Schweighofer
	Castillo de San Marcos National Monument	St. Augustine, FL	NRHP 10/15/1966; NPS 10/15/1924	Roscoe
	Charlotte F. McLeod Residence	Near Biscayne Bay, Miami, FL		Capó
	Clover Club	118 Biscayne Boulevard, Miami, FL		Capó
	Club Miami	2991 Coral Way, Miami, FL		Capó
	Colored Town (LGBTQ Community)	Miami, FL		Capó
	Denny's	102 Parker Street, Tampa, FL		Johnson

	Name	Address	Status	Chapter
Florida (cont'd)	Embassy Hotel	2940 Collins Avenue, Miami Beach, FL		Capó
	Florida State Universtiy Department of English	Tallahassee, FL		Koskovich
	Fort Caroline National Memorial	12713 Fort Caroline Road, Jacksonville, FL	NRHP 10/15/1966; NPS 1/16/1953	Roscoe; Rupp; Springate (Civil Rights); Stryker
	Fort Lauderdale (LGBTQ Community)	Fort Lauderdale, FL		Schweighofer
	Health Crisis Network			Capó
	Institute of Sexism and Sexuality	Wolfson Campus, Miami Dade College, 300 NE Second Avenue, Miami, FL		Hutchins
	Jackson Memorial Hospital	1161 NW Twelfth Avenue, Miami, FL		Capó
	Jewel Club	512 NE Fifteenth Street, Miami, FL	Demolished	Capó
	Jewel Box Revue	Miami, FL		Burk
	Key West (LGBTQ Community)	Key West, FL		Baim; Dubrow; Gieseking; Schweighofer
	Ladies' Professional Golf Association (LPGA)	100 International Golf Drive, Daytona Beach, FL		Schweighofer
	Lincoln Road Mall	400-1100 Lincoln Road, Miami Beach, FL	NRHP 5/16/2011	Capó
	Linder Stadium	Gainesville, FL		Schweighofer
	Mark Silber House	Jefferson Street near South Sixteenth Avenue, Hollywood, FL		Koskovich
	Miami Beach (LGBTQ Community)	Miami Beach, FL		Gieseking

	Name	Address	Status	Chapter
Florida (cont'd)	Miami Beach Convention Center	1901 Convention Center Drive, Miami Beach, FL		Capó
	Miami-Dade County Courthouse	73 West Flagler Street, Miami, FL	NRHP 1/4/1989	Capó
	Miami Harbor	Between Sixth and Ninth Streets, Biscayne Bay, Miami, FL		Capó
	Miami Orange Bowl	1501 NW Third Street, Miami, FL	Demolished	Capó
	Naiad Press	Tallahassee, FL		Hanhardt
	Pridelines Youth Services	9526 NE Second Avenue, Miami, FL		Hutchins
	Pulse Nightclub	1912 South Orange Avenue, Orlando, FL		Baim; Springate (Civil Rights)
	Stephen P. Clark Government Center	111 NW First Street, Miami, FL		Capó
	Stonewall National Museum and Archives	1300 East Sunrise Boulevard, Fort Lauderdale, FL		Koskovich
	Strozier Library	Florida State University, 116 Honors Way, Tallahassee, FL		Koskovich
	South Beach (LGBTQ Community)	Miami Beach, FL		Capó
	Timucuan Ecological and Historic Preserve	FL	NRHP and NPS 2/16/1988	Roscoe; Springate (Civil Rights)
	Twenty-Second Street Beach	Miami Beach, FL		Baim; Capó
	Villa Vizcaya	3251 South Miami Avenue, Miami, FL	NRHP September 20, 1970; NHL 4/19/1994	Capó
	Weekly News Offices	901 NE Seventy-Ninth Street, Miami, FL		Hutchins

	Name	Address	Status	Chapter
Georgia	Atlanta Athletic Club	1930 Bobby Jones Drive, Johns Creek, GA		Schweighofer
	Atlanta Eagle	306 Ponce De Leon Avenue NE, Atlanta, GA		Hanhardt; Springate (Civil Rights)
	Candler Park (LGBTQ Community)	Atlanta, GA		Gieseking
	Centers for Disease Control	1600 Clifton Road, Atlanta, GA		Batza; Graves and Watson
	Charis Books and More	419 Morland Avenue, Atlanta, GA		Hanhardt
	Charis Books and More	1189 Euclid Avenue NE, Atlanta, GA		Gieseking; Hanhardt
	Congregation Bet Haverim	2074 Lavista Road, Atlanta, GA		Bourn
	Dallas Denny Home	Chisolm Court, Tucker, GA		Koskovich
	Georgia Tech Aquatic Center	750 Ferst Drive NW, Atlanta, GA		Schweighofer
	Integrity USA	701 Orange Street, Fort Valley, GA		Bourn
	John Q Ideas Collective	Atlanta, GA		Ferentinos
	Ma Rainey House	805 Fifth Avenue, Columbus, GA	NRHP 11/18/1992	Baim; Harris; Meyer and Sikk
	Midtown (LGBTQ Community)	Atlanta, GA		Gieseking; Hanhardt
	National Transgender Library and Archives	Chisolm Court, Tucker, GA		Koskovich
	Otherside Lounge	1924 Piedmont Road, Atlanta, GA		Schweighofer
	Outwrite Bookstore and Coffeehouse	991 Piedmont Northeast, Atlanta, GA		Hanhardt

	Name	Address	Status	Chapter
Georgia (cont'd)	Phillip Rush Center	1530 Dekalb Avenue NE, Atlanta, GA		Hanhardt
	Winecoff Hotel	176 Peachtree Street NW, Atlanta, GA	NRHP 3/31/2009	Bourn
	Women's Army Corps Training Center	Fort Oglethorpe, GA	NRHP 4/30/1979	Stein
Hawai'i	Hawai'i Convention Center	1801 Kalakaua Avenue, Honolulu, HI		Batza
	Hula's Bar and Lei Stand	2103 Kuhio Avenue, Honolulu, HI	Demolished	Gieseking
	Kealakekua Bay Historic District	Napo'opo'o Road, HI	NRHP 12/12/1973	Roscoe; Rupp; Springate (Civil Rights)
	Kuhio Beach Park	Waikiki, HI		Roscoe; Stryker
	Nā Pōhaku Ola Kapaemāhū ā Kapuni	Kuhio Beach Park, Waikiki, HI		Roscoe
	Sheraton Waikiki Hotel	2255 Kalakaua Avenue, Honolulu, HI		Batza; Springate (Civil Rights)
	The Stones of Kapaemāhū	Kuhio Beach Park, Waikiki, HI		Roscoe; Stryker
Idaho	Boise YMCA	Eleventh and Idaho Streets, Boise, ID		Baim; Rupp; Stein
	Dr. Alan Hart Home and Office	Boise, ID		Batza
	Idaho State Capitol Building	700 West Jefferson Street, Boise, ID		Gieseking
Illinois	Albert Cashier House	Saunemin, IL		Stryker
	Allstate Arena	6920 Mannheim Road, Rosemont, IL		Schweighofer
	American Medical Association	Grand and State Streets, Chicago, IL		Herczeg-Konecny
	Andersonville (LGBTQ Community)	Chicago, IL		Gieseking

	Name	Address	Status	Chapter
Illinois (cont'd)	Association of Latinos/as Motivating Action	3656 North Halsted Street, Chicago, IL		González and Hernández
	Ballyhoo Café	1942 Halsted Street, Chicago, IL		Herczeg-Konecny
	Beaux Arts Café	2700 South State Street, Chicago, IL	Demolished	Harris
	Black Hawk Statue/Eternal Indian	Lowden State Park, Oregon, IL	NRHP 11/5/2009	Baim
	Blue Cross-Blue Shield Association	676 North St. Clair Street, Chicago, IL		Herczeg-Konecny
	Boystown (LGBTQ Community)	Chicago, IL	Within the Lakeview Historic District, NRHP 9/15/1977; boundary increase 5/16/1986	Dubrow; Gieseking; Hanhardt; Herczeg-Konecny
	Bronzeville (LGBTQ Community)	Chicago, IL		Harris; Herczeg-Konecny
	Bughouse Square	Washington Square Park, Chicago, IL	NRHP 5/20/1991	Herczeg-Konecny
	Burnham Park	5491 South Shore Drive, Chicago, IL		Roscoe
	Cabin Inn	3119 Cottage Grove, Chicago, IL		Herczeg-Konecny
	Cabrini Green	Bounded by Clybourn Avenue, Larrabee Street, Chicago Avenue, and Halsted Street	Cabrini Extension and William Green Homes portions demolished	Herczeg-Konecny
	Carl Sandburg Village	Bounded by North Avenue, LaSalle Street, Division Street, and the half-block east of Clark Street, Chicago, IL		Herczeg-Konecny

	Name	Address	Status	Chapter
Illinois (cont'd)	Center on Halsted	3656 North Halsted Street, Chicago, IL		Herczeg-Konecny
	Chicago City Hall	121 North LaSalle Street, Chicago, IL		Herczeg-Konecny
	Chicago Hilton and Towers	720 South Michigan Avenue, Chicago, IL		Baim; Herczeg-Konecny
	Chicago History Museum	1601 North Clark Street, Chicago, IL		Ferentinos; Herczeg-Konecny; Koskovich
	Club DeLisa	5516 South State Street, Chicago, IL		Herczeg-Konecny
	Congregation Or Chadash	5959 North Sheridan Road, Chicago, IL		Bourn
	Cook County Building	118 North Clark Street, Chicago, IL		Herczeg-Konecny
	Cook County Criminal Court Building	Chicago, IL	NRHP 11/13/1984	Stein
	Cook County Hospital	1835 West Harrison Street, Chicago, IL	NRHP 11/8/2006	Herczeg-Konecny; Springate (Civil Rights)
	Cook County Jail	2700 South California Avenue, Chicago, IL		Stein
	Crusader/Victor Lawson Monument	Graceland Cemetery, Chicago, IL	Contributing to Graceland Cemetery Historic District, NRHP 1/18/2001	Baim
	Department of History, University of Chicago	Chicago, IL		Koskovich
	Dill Pickle Club	Tooker Alley off Dearborn Street, Chicago, IL		Herczeg-Konecny
	Dreamland Café	3518-3520 South State Street, Chicago, IL		Harris

	Name	Address	Status	Chapter
Illinois (cont'd)	East Lakeview (LGBTQ Community)	Chicago, IL		Hanhardt
	Eternal Silence/Dexter Graves Monument	Graceland Cemetery, Chicago, IL	Contributing to Graceland Cemetery Historic District, NRHP 1/18/2001	Baim
	Eyncourt Press	440 South Dearborn Street, Chicago, IL	Demolished	Koskovich
	Feinberg School of Medicine	Northwestern University, 303 East Chicago Avenue, Chicago, IL		Stryker
	Finnie's	Chicago, IL		Harris; Herczeg-Konecny
	Fountain of Time	Washington Park, South Side, Chicago, IL	NRHP 8/20/2004	Baim
	Frances Willard House	1730 Chicago Avenue, Evanston, IL	NRHP 10/15/1966; NHL 6/23/1965	Meyer and Sikk
	Fun Lounge	2340 North Mannheim Road, Chicago, IL		Herczeg-Konecny
	Gay Activists Alliance	31 West Woodruff, Chicago, IL		Springate (Civil Rights)
	Gay Horizons	3225 North Sheffield Avenue, Chicago, IL		Herczeg-Konecny; Koskovich
	Gay Horizons	2440 North Lincoln Avenue, Chicago, IL		Herczeg-Konecny
	Gay Horizons	3519-1/2 North Halsted Street, Chicago, IL		Herczeg-Konecny
	Gay Horizons	2475 North Clark Street, Chicago, IL		Herczeg-Konecny
	Gay Horizons	920 West Oakdale Avenue, Chicago, IL		Herczeg-Konecny

	Name	Address	Status	Chapter
Illinois (cont'd)	Gerber/Hart Library	6500 North Clark Street, Chicago, IL		Koskovich
	Gold Coast	1130 North Clark Street, Chicago, IL		Johnson
	Gold Coast	2265 North Lincoln, Chicago, IL		Johnson
	Gold Coast	501 North Clark Street, Chicago, IL	Demolished	Burk; Herczeg-Konecny; Johnson
	Haig	800 North Dearborn Street, Chicago, IL		Herczeg-Konecny
	Harrison Hotel	Harrison Street at Michigan Avenue, Chicago, IL		Herczeg-Konecny
	Henry Gerber House	Old Town Triangle neighborhood, Chicago, IL	NHL 6/19/2015	Batza; Dubrow; Gieseking; Graves and Watson; Harris; Herczeg-Konecny; Hutchins; Koskovich; Meyer and Sikk; Rupp; Shockley; Springate (Civil Rights); Springate (Introduction); Springate and de la Vega; Stein
	Hollywood Bowl	1300 North Clark Street, Chicago, IL		Herczeg-Konecny
	Horizons Community Services	961 West Montana Street, Chicago, IL		Herczeg-Konecny
	Howard Brown Health Center	4025 North Sheridan Road, Chicago, IL		Batza

	Name	Address	Status	Chapter
Illinois (cont'd)	Hull House	800 South Halsted, Chicago, IL	NRHP 10/15/1966; NHL 6/23/1965	Baim; Dubrow; Ferentinos; Rupp; Springate (Archeology); Springate (Introduction)
	Jackson Park	6401 South Stony Island Avenue, Chicago, IL	Jackson Park Historic Landscape District and Midway Plaisance NRHP 12/15/1972	Baim; Roscoe
	James Kiernan House	Chicago, IL		Batza
	Jeanette Howard Foster Residence	Pleasant Avenue, Beverly neighborhood, Chicago, IL		Kokskovich
	Jeffrey Pub	7041 South Jeffrey Boulevard, Chicago, IL		Herczeg-Konecny
	Joe's Deluxe	5524 South State Street, Chicago, IL		Herczeg-Konecny
	Joe's Deluxe Club	6323 South Parkway, Chicago, IL	Demolished	Harris
	Joliet Prison	1127-1299 Collins Street, Joliet, IL		Stein
	Lakeview (LGBTQ Community)	Chicago, IL	Portions within Lakeview Historic District, 9/15/1977; boundary increase 5/16/1986	Herczeg-Konecny
	Lakeview Historic District	Chicago, IL	NRHP 9/15/1977; boundary increase 5/16/1986	Dubrow
	Leather Archives and Museum	6418 North Greenview Avenue, Chicago, IL		Burk; Herczeg-Konecny; Rupp

	Name	Address	Status	Chapter
Illinois (cont'd)	Lincoln Street Bath	1019 North Wolcott Street, Chicago, IL		Herczeg-Konecny
	Lincoln the Lawyer/Young Lincoln	Carle Park, Urbana, IL	NHL 3/10/2004	Baim
	Lorraine Hansberry House	5330 South Calumet Avenue, Chicago, IL	Demolished	Harris; Springate (Civil Rights)
	Lorraine Hansberry House	Woodlawn neighborhood, Chicago, IL		Harris; Herczeg-Konecny; Springate (Civil Rights)
	Lost and Found	3058 West Irving Park Road, Chicago, IL		Johnson
	Man's Country	5017 North Clark Street, Chicago, IL		Baim; Batza; Springate (Civil Rights)
	Midway Plaisance	South Side, Chicago, IL	Jackson Park Historic Landscape District and Midway Plaisance NRHP 12/15/1972	Baim
	Midway Studios	6016 South Ingleside Avenue, Chicago, IL	NRHP 10/15/1966; NHL 12/21/1965	Baim
	Museum of Contemporary Art	220 East Chicago Avenue, Chicago, IL		Burk
	Near North Side (LGBTQ Community)	Chicago, IL		Herczeg-Konecny
	North Halsted Street (LGBTQ Community)	Chicago, IL		Dubrow; Herczeg-Konecny
	Palmolive Building	919 North Michigan Avenue, Chicago, IL	NRHP 8/21/2003	Stein
	Pearl Hart House	North Pine Grove Avenue, Chicago, IL		Herczeg-Konecny

	Name	Address	Status	Chapter
Illinois (cont'd)	Pekin Theater	2700 South State Street, Chicago, IL	Demolished	Harris
	Pershing Ballroom	6400 Cottage Grove, Chicago, IL	Demolished	Harris; Herczeg-Konecny
	Pershing Hotel	6400 Cottage Grove, Chicago, IL	Demolished	Harris
	Plantation Café	35th Street and Calumet, Chicago, IL		Herczeg-Konecny
	Pleasure Inn	505 East 31st Street, Chicago, IL		Herczeg-Konecny
	Prudential Building	130 East Randolph Street, Chicago, IL		Herczeg-Konecny
	Racine Avenue Police Station	731 North Racine Avenue, Chicago, IL	Demolished	Herczeg-Konecny
	Roselle Inn	1251 North Clark Street, Chicago, IL		Herczeg-Konecny
	Second Unitarian Universalist Church	656 West Barry Avenue, Chicago, IL		Bourn
	Soldiers' and Sailors' Home	1707 North Twelfth Street, Quincy, IL		Stryker
	Soldiers' Monument	Oregon, IL	Contributing to Oregon Commercial Historic District, NRHP 8/16/2006	Baim
	Southern Illinois Penitentiary	711 East Kaskaskia Street, Menard, IL		Stein
	Stateville Penetentiary	Crest Hill, IL		Stein
	Stevens Hotel	720 South Michigan Avenue, Chicago, IL		Baim
	Tiny and Ruby's Gay Spot	2711 South Wentworth Avenue, Chicago, IL		Herczeg-Konecny

	Name	Address	Status	Chapter
Illinois (cont'd)	Towertown (LGBTQ Community)	Chicago, IL		Herczeg-Konecny
	Twelve-Thirty Club	1230 Clybourn Avenue, Chicago, IL		Herczeg-Konecny
	Washington Square Park	901 North Clark Street, Chicago, IL	NRHP 5/20/1991	Herczeg-Konecny
	Watertown State Hospital	100 Hillcrest Road, East Moline, IL		Stryker
	Women & Children First	5233 North Clark Street, Chicago, IL		Gieseking; Herczeg-Konecny; Johnson
	Women's Court	1121 South State Street, Chicago, IL		Herczeg-Konecny
	Wrigley Field	1060 West Addison Street, Chicago, IL		Schweighofer
Indiana	Betty K's	Seventeenth and Central, Indianapolis, IN	Demolished	Baim
	Bloomington Radicalesbians	415 East Smith Avenue, Bloomington, IN	Demolished	Springate (Civil Rights)
	Greg's/Our Place	231 East Sixteenth Street, Indianapolis, IN		Schweighofer
	Kinsey House	Bloomington, IN	Contributing property to the Vinegar Hill Historic District, NRHP 6/17/2005	Baim; Hutchins; Meyer and Sikk
	Kinsey Institute for Research in Sex, Gender, and Reproduction	Morrison Hall (previously Swain Hall East, Wylie Hall, and Jordan Hall), Indiana University, Bloomington, IN		Baim; Batza; Burk; Gieseking; Herczeg-Konecny; Koskovich; Meyer and Sikk; Springate (Civil Rights)
	Wolf Lake	Hammond, IN		Stein
Iowa	Brown Street Park (Happy Hollow Park)	800 Brown Street, Iowa City, IA		Baim

	Name	Address	Status	Chapter
Iowa (cont’d)	Grace & Rubies	209 North Linn Street, Iowa City, IA		Baim
	Iowa City (LGBTQ Community)	Iowa City, IA		Baim
	Iowa City Women's Press	South Gilbert Street, Iowa City, IA		Baim
	Iowa Memorial Union	125 North Madison Street, Iowa City, IA		Springate (Civil Rights)
	University of Iowa	Iowa City, IA		Hutchins; Springate (Civil Rights)
Kansas	Menninger Clinic and Sanatorium	5800 SW Sixth Street, Topeka, KS		Batza
	Our Fantasy Club	3201 South Hillside Street, Wichita, KS		Schweighofer
	US Disciplinary Barracks	1301 North Warehouse Road, Fort Leavenworth, KS	Partially demolished	Stein; Stryker
Louisiana	Barksdale Air Force Base	Near Bossier, LA		Stein
	Café Lafitte in Exile	901 Bourbon Street, New Orleans, LA	Within the Vieux Carre Historic District, NRHP 10/15/1966; NHL 12/21/1965	Johnson; Rupp; Springate (Civil Rights)
	Club My-O-My	Lake Ponchartrain, on the Jefferson-Orleans parish line	Demolished	Stryker
	Erickson Educational Foundation	Run out of Erickson's home, near the Hundred Oaks neighborhood, Baton Rouge, LA		Rupp; Springate (Civil Rights); Stryker
	Faubourg Marigny (LGBTQ Community)	New Orleans, LA		Harris

	Name	Address	Status	Chapter
Louisiana (cont'd)	Faubourg Marigny Art and Books (FAB)	600 Frenchmen Street, New Orleans, LA		Hanhardt
	French Quarter (LGBTQ Community)	New Orleans, LA	Vieux Carre Historic District NRHP 10/15/1966; NHL 12/21/1965	Hanhardt; Stryker
	Reed Erickson House	Near the Hundred Oaks neighorhood, Baton Rouge, LA		Springate (Civil Rights); Stein
	Storyville (LGBTQ Community)	New Orleans, LA		Harris; Stryker
	UpStairs Lounge	141 Chartres Street, New Orleans, LA		Baim; Bourn; Johnson; Stein
	Vicksburg National Military Park	Delta, LA	Established 2/21/1899; NPS; NRHP 10/15/1966	Stryker
	Women's Center	Lower Garden district, New Orleans, LA		Springate (Civil Rights)
	Wonder Club	Lake Ponchartrain, on the Jefferson-Orelans parish line		Stryker
Maine	Brick House Historic District	478 River Road, Newcastle, ME	NRHP 2/13/2009	Dubrow
	Maine College of Art	Portland, ME		Koskovich
	Moss Acre	Castine, ME		Dubrow
	Ogunquit (LGBTQ Community)	Ogunquit, ME		Gieseking; Schweighofer
	Perkins Homestead	478 River Road, Newcastle, ME	NRHP as the Brick House Historic District 2/13/2009; NRHP/NHL 8/25/2014	Dubrow
	Portsmouth Naval Prison	Seavey Island, Kittery, ME		Stein

	Name	Address	Status	Chapter
Maine (cont'd)	State Street Bridge over Kenduskeag Stream	Bangor, Maine		Springate and de la Vega; Stein
Maryland	31st Street Bookstore	425 East Thirty-First Street, Baltimore, MD		Rupp
	Diana Press	12 West Twenty-Fifth Street, Baltimore, MD	Demolished	Hanhardt
	Food and Drug Administration (FDA)	5600 Fishers Lane, Rockville, MD		Batza; Springate (Civil Rights)
	Johns Hopkins Hospital	601 North Broadway, Baltimore, MD	NRHP 2/24/1975	Stryker
	Johns Hopkins University	Baltimore, MD		Baim
	National Institutes of Health	9000 Rockville Pike, Bethesda, MD		Gieseking; Meyer and Sikk
	New Ways Ministry	4012 Twenty-Ninth Street, Mount Rainier, MD		Bourn
	Primus Institute	Royal Oak, Talbot County, MD	Demolished	Baim; Meyer and Sikk
	Quest Bar	3607 Fleet Street, Baltimore, MD		Hanhardt
	Quixote Center	7307 Baltimore Avenue, College Park, MD		Bourn
	Saint John's United Methodist Church	2640 Saint Paul Street, Baltimore, MD		Bourn
	Torch	411 East Thirty-Second Street, Baltimore, MD		Baim
Massachusetts	Adrienne Rich-Michelle Cliff House	Montague, Massachusetts		Dubrow
	Atlantic House	4-6 Masonic Place, Provincetown, MA	In the Provincetown Historic District, NRHP 8/30/1989	Johnson; Meyer and Sikk; Schweighofer

	Name	Address	Status	Chapter
Massachusetts (cont'd)	Beauport, the Sleeper-McCann House	75 Eastern Point Boulevard, Gloucester, MA	NRHP and NHL 5/27/2003	Dubrow; Ferentinos; Springate (Archeology)
	Bisexual Resource Center	29 Stanhope Street, Boston, MA		Hutchins; Rupp; Springate (Civil Rights)
	Boston Harbor Islands National Recreation Area	Boston, MA	NPS 1996	Stein
	Bromfield Street Educational Foundation	20-30 Bromfield Street, Boston, MA		Stein
	Cambridge City Hall	795 Massachusetts Avenue, Cambridge, MA	NRHP 4/3/1982, amended 3/12/1990	Springate (Civil Rights)
	Charles Street Jail	215 Charles Street, Boston, MA	NRHP 4/23/1980	Stein
	Claire T. Carney Library Archives and Special Collections	University of Massachusetts Dartmouth, 285 Old Westport Road, North Dartmouth, MA		Stein
	Codman House (The Grange)	34 Codman Road, Lincoln, MA	NRHP 4/18/1974	Ferentinos
	Combat Zone (LGBTQ Community)	Boston, MA		Stryker
	Concord Academy	166 Main Street, Concord, MA		Springate (Civil Rights)
	Curry Student Center	Northeastern University, 360 Huntington Avenue, Boston, MA		Bourn
	Deborah Sampson Gannett House	East Street, Sharon, MA		Stryker

	Name	Address	Status	Chapter
Massachusetts (cont'd)	Dickinson Homestead	280 Main Street, Amherst, MA	NRHP 10/15/1966; NHL 12/29/1962; contributing property to the Dickinson Historic District, NRHP 8/16/1977	Baim
	Episcopal Divinity School	99 Brattle Street, Cambridge, MA		Bourn
	Fenway Community Health Center (now Fenway Health)	16 Haviland Street, Boston, MA		Batza
	First Church of Jamaica Plain	6 Eliot Street, Jamaica Plain, MA	NRHP 7/15/1988; contributing resource to the Monument Square Historic District, NRHP 10/11/1990	Schweighofer
	Fred Holland Day House	93 Day Street, Norwood, MA	NRHP 4/18/1977	Burk
	Gay and Lesbian Advocates and Defenders	30 Winters Street, Boston, MA		Stein
	Gay Community News	22 Bromfield Street, Boston, MA		Johnson; Stein
	Gibson House Museum	137 Beacon Street, Boston, MA	NRHP/NHL 8/7/2001; within the Back Bay Historic District, NRHP 8/14/1973	Dubrow
	Harvard Memorial Church	1 Harvard Yard, Cambridge, MA		Bourn
	Harvard University	Cambridge, MA		Hutchins
	Herbie's Ramrod Room	12 Carver Street, Boston, MA		Stein

	Name	Address	Status	Chapter
Massachusetts (cont'd)	Homophile Health Services	112 Arlington Street, Boston, MA		Batza
	Human Rights Campaign Store	209-211 Commercial Street, Provincetown, MA		Hanhardt
	Indian Hollow Campground	Chesterfield, MA		Hutchins
	Jordan Field	65 North Harvard Avenue, Boston MA		Schweighofer
	Katerine Bates and Katerine Coman Residence	Near Weston Road, Wellesley, MA		Baim; Rupp
	Massachusetts Reformatory for Women	99 Loring Drive, Framingham, MA		Stein
	Massachusetts State House	24 Beacon Street, Boston, MA	NRHP 10/15/1966; NHL 12/19/1960; contributing resource to the Beacon Hill Historic District, NRHP 10/15/1966; NHL 12/19/1960	Springate (Civil Rights); Stein
	Northampton (LGBTQ community)	Northampton, MA		Dubrow; Gieseking; Hanhardt; Hutchins
	Old Cambridge Baptist Church	1151 Massachusetts Avenue, Cambridge, MA	NRHP 4/13/1982	Baim; Bourn
	Plimoth Plantation	Plymouth, MA		Meyer and Sikk
	Plymouth Colony	Plymouth, MA		Meyer and Sikk
	Provincetown (LGBTQ community)	Provincetown, MA	Includes the Provincetown Historic District, NRHP 8/30/1989	Baim; Dubrow; Gieseking; Hanhardt; Meyer and Sikk; Schweighofer; Springate (Archeology)

	Name	Address	Status	Chapter
Massachusetts (cont'd)	Provincetown Historic District	Provincetown, MA	NRHP 08/30/1989	Dubrow; Meyer and Sikk; Schweighofer; Stryker
	Rita Hester Residence	Allston, MA		Rupp
	Sharon Lim-Hing Home	Somerville, MA		Sueyoshi
	Smith College	Northampton, MA		Baim
	Snell Library, Northeastern University	360 Huntington Avenue, Boston, MA		Hutchins
	Taunton Green Historic District	Taunton, MA	NRHP 3/1/1985	Roscoe
	Town Clerk's Office	Brookline, MA		Hutchins
	Twelve Carver	12 Carver Street, Boston, MA		Stein
	Union United Methodist Church	485 Columbus Avenue, Boston, MA		Bourn
	Unitarian Universalist Association	25 Beacon Street, Boston, MA		Bourn
	Wellesley College	Wellesley, MA		Rupp
	Women's Center	595 Massachusetts Avenue, Cambridge, MA		Harris; Springate (Civil Rights)
Michigan	Ann Arbor City Hall	301 East Huron Street, Ann Arbor, MI		Springate (Civil Rights); Stein
	Blue Tempo	Lake Street, Saugatuck, MI		Schweighofer
	Camp Trans	Outside the Michigan Womyn's Music Festival		Baim; Springate (Intersectionality); Stryker
	Club Heaven	19106 Woodward Avenue, Detroit, MI		Hanhardt
	Detroit Chinese Welfare Council Building	3153 Cass Avenue, Detroit, MI		Sueyoshi

	Name	Address	Status	Chapter
Michigan (cont'd)	Douglas (LGBTQ Community)	Douglas, MI		Schweighofer
	Fort Shelby Hotel	525 West Lafayette Boulevard, Detroit, MI	NRHP 11/25/1983	Springate (Civil Rights)
	Golden Star Restaurant	22828 Woodward Avenue, Ferndale, MI		Sueyoshi
	Labadie Collection	Harlan Hatcher Graduate Library, University of Michigan, 913 South University Avenue, Ann Arbor, MI		Koskovich
	Michigan Womyn's Music Festival	Near Hart, Michigan		Baim; Dubrow; Springate (Intersectionality); Stryker
	Michigan Womyn's Music Festival	Hesperia, MI		Baim; Dubrow; Gieseking; Rupp; Springate (Intersectionality)
	Palais	655 Beaubien Street, Detroit, MI		Hanhardt
	Saugatuck (LGBTQ community)	Saugatuck, MI		Baim; Gieseking; Schweighofer; Springate (Archeology)
	Saugatuck-Douglas Museum	735 Park Street, Saugatuck, MI		Schweighofer
	Sweetheart Bar	3928 Third Street, Detroit, MI	Demolished	Hanhardt
	Transgender Services, University of Michigan	2025 Traverwood Drive, Ann Arbor, MI		Stryker
	University of Michigan	Ann Arbor, MI		Koskovich

	Name	Address	Status	Chapter
Minnesota	American Indian Center	1530 East Franklin Avenue, Minneapolis, MN		Roscoe
	Andersen Library, University of Minnesota	222 Twenty-First Avenue South, Minneapolis, MN		Hutchins
	David Irwin and Dick Hewetson Residence	Grand Avenue near Dale Street, St. Paul, MN		Koskovich
	DSI	2419 Nicollet Avenue, Minneapolis, MN		Johnson
	Gay 90's	408 Hennepin Avenue, Minneapolis, MN		Roscoe
	Jean-Nickolaus Tretter Collection in Jay, Lesbian, Bisexual, and Transgender Studies	University of Minnesota		Ferentinos
	Kirmser's	382 North Wabasha Street, St. Paul, MN		Johnson
	Minneapolis AIDS Project	1400 Park Avenue, Minneapolis, MN		Hutchins
	Minnesota Historical Society	Minnesota History Center, 345 W. Kellogg Boulevard, St. Paul, MN		Ferentinos
	Minnseota State Capitol	75 Martin Luther King Jr. Boulevard, St. Paul, MN	NRHP 2/23/1972	Stein
	Quatrefoil Library	1220 East Lake Street, Minneapolis, MN		Koskovich
	Target Center	600 First Avenue North, Minneapolis, MN		Schweighofer
	Town House	1415 University Aveune West, St. Paul, MN		Hanhardt

	Name	Address	Status	Chapter
Minnesota (cont'd)	University Baptist Church	1219 University Avenue SE, Minneapolis, MN		Bourn
	University of Minnesota	100 Church Street SE, Minneapolis, MN		Bourn; Hutchins
	University of Minnesota Hospital	505 East Harvard Street, Minneapolis, MN		Stryker
Mississippi	Keeslery Air Force Base	Biloxi, MS		Baim
	Roadside Park No. 75	US Highway 45, MS		Hanhardt
	Vicksburg National Military Park	Vicksburg, MS	Established 2/21/1899; NPS; NRHP 10/15/1966	Stryker
Missouri	Bunceton City Hall	103 East Main Street, Bunceton, MO		Stein
	Central West End (LGBTQ Community)	St. Louis, MO		Dubrow
	Gay and Lesbian Archive of Mid-America	800 East Fifty-First Street, Kansas City, MO		Gieseking
	Hotel Muehlebach	Twelfth and Baltimore, Kansas City, MO		Springate (Civil Rights)
	Jewel Box Lounge	3219 Troost Avenue, Kansas City, MO		Burk; Rupp
	Masters and Johnson Institute	4910 Forest Park Boulevard, St. Louis, MO		Batza
	Metropolitan Community Church	Central West End neighborhood, St. Louis, MO		Springate (Civil Rights)
	More or Les	4125 South Grand Avenue, St. Louis, MO		Stein
	Naiad Press	Weatherby Lake, MO		Hanhardt

	Name	Address	Status	Chapter
Missouri (cont'd)	Reproductive Biology Research Foundation	4910 Forest Park Boulevard, St. Louis, MO		Batza
	Sanctuary	601 McKinley Avenue, Kirkwood, MO		Bourn
	Thomas Hart Benton	Lafayette Park, St. Louis, MO		Springate and de la Vega
	Washington University Medical Center	South Euclid and Forest Park Avenue, St. Louis, MO		Springate (Civil Rights)
Montana	Chief Plenty Coups (Alek-Chea-Ahoosh) Home	Pryor, MT	NRHP 10/6/1970; NHL 1/20/1999	Roscoe; Stryker
	Flathead Post	Highway 200, one mile east of Thompson Falls, MT		Roscoe
	Little Bighorn Battlefield National Monument	7756 Battlefield Tour Road, Crow Agency, MT	NRHP 10/15/1966; NPS 3/22/1946	Rupp
	Rosebud Battlefield Site	Busby, MT	NRHP 8/21/1972; NHL 8/19/2008	Roscoe; Springate (Archeology)
Nebraska	Brandon Teena House	Route 105, Humboldt, NE		Baim; Rupp; Stein; Stryker
	Lincoln Memorial Park Cemetery	6800 South Fourteenth Street, Lincoln, NE		Stein
	Richardson County Courthouse	1700 Stone Street, Falls City, NE	NRHP 7/5/1990	Stryker
	University of Nebraska Lincoln	Lincoln, NE		Koskovich
	Willa Cather Childhood Home	241 North Cedar, Red Cloud, NE	NRHP 4/16/1969; NHL 11/11/1971	Dubrow
Nevada	5 Star Saloon	132 West Street, Reno, NV		Auer

	Name	Address	Status	Chapter
Nevada (cont'd)	Bad Dolly's	535 East Fourth Street, Reno, NV		Auer
	Belle Livingstone's Cowshed	2295 South Virginia Street, Reno, NV		Auer
	Black Derby	1410 East Fourth Street, Reno, NV		Auer
	Club 99	1099 South Virginia Street, Reno, NV		Auer
	Club Baths	1020 West Second Street, Reno, NV		Auer
	Dave's VIP	3001 West Fourth Street, Reno, NV		Auer
	Fruit Loop (LGBTQ Community)	Las Vegas, NV		Dubrow
	Harrah's Casino	219 North Center Street, Reno, NV		Auer
	Jeff's Gym	1020 West Second Street, Reno, NV		Auer
	Le Café	4817 Paradise Road, Las Vegas, NV		Stein
	Paul's Lounge	132 West Street, Reno, NV		Auer
	Reflections	3001 West Fourth Street, Reno, NV		Auer
	Reno Bar	424 East Fourth Street, Reno, NV		Auer
	Rita LaPorte Residence	154 Stanford Way, Sparks, NV	Demolished	Auer
	Riverside Hotel	17 South Virginia Street, Reno, NV		Auer
	Ten99 Club	1099 South Virginia Street, Reno, NV		Auer

	Name	Address	Status	Chapter
Nevada (cont'd)	University of Nevada Las Vegas	Las Vegas, NV		Auer
	University of Nevada Reno	Reno, NV		Auer
	Washoe County Fairgrounds	1001 Wells Avenue, Reno, NV		Auer; Schweighofer
	Westside Hotel	3001 West Fourth Street, Reno, NV		Auer
New Hampshire	Episcopal Diocese House	63 Green Street, Concord, NH		Bourn
	Strawberry Banke	Portsmouth, NH	NRHP 6/20/1975	Stryker
	Whittemore Center Arena	University of New Hampshire, Durham, NH		Bourn
New Jersey	All Saints Episcopal Parish	707 Washington Street, Hoboken, NJ		Bourn
	Asbury Park (LGBTQ Community)	Asbury Park, NJ		Schweighofer
	Elizabeth Cady Stanton House	Tenafly, NJ	NRHP/NHL 5/15/1975	Civil Rights (Springate)
	Helen Zia Residence	Jersey City, NJ		Sueyoshi
	Lambertville (LGBTQ Community)	Lambertville, NJ		Dubrow
	Murphy's Tavern	135 Mulberry Street, Newark, NJ	Demolished	Stein
	New Jersey State Prison	300 Second Cass Street, Trenton, NJ		Stein
	New Jersey State Reformatory for Women	30 Route 513, Clinton, NJ		Stein
	Prudential Center	Newark, NJ		Schweighofer
	Rutgers University	New Brunswick, New Jersey		Hutchins

	Name	Address	Status	Chapter
New Jersey (cont'd)	Sara Baker and Ida Wiley Home	Skillman, NJ		Batza
	Steuben House	River Edge, NJ	NRHP 12/18/1970	Baim
	Val's	New York Avenue, Atlantic City, NJ		Stein
	Walt Whitman House	330 Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. Boulevard (formerly Mickle Street), Camden, NJ	NRHP 10/15/1966; NHL 12/29/1962	Baim; Dubrow; Hutchins; Meinke; Rupp
New Mexico	Fort Wingate Historic District	Near Gallup, NM	NRHP District 5/26/1978	Roscoe; Rupp
	Georgia O'Keeffe Home and Studio	Abiquiu, NM	NHL 8/5/1998	Springate (Archeology)
	Ghost Ranch Education and Retreat Center	280 Private Drive 1708, Abiquiu, NM	National Natural Landscape 1976	Bourn; Dubrow
	Harmony Hammond Home and Studio	Galisteo, NM		Burk
	Harwood Museum of Art	238 Ledoux Street, Taos, NM		Burk
	Hawikuh	Cibola County, NM	NRHP 10/15/1966; NHL 10/9/1960. Contributing to the Zuni-Cibola Complex NHL, 12/2/1974	Roscoe
	New Mexico State Records Center and Archives	404 Montezuma Avenue, Santa Fe, NM		Koskovich
	Wheelwright Museum of the American Indian	704 Camino Lejo, Santa Fe, NM	NRHP 12/18/1990	Roscoe
New York	101 Ranch	101 West 139th Street, New York City, NY	Demolished	Harris
	112 Greene Street Workshop	SoHo neighborhood, New York City		Burk

	Name	Address	Status	Chapter
New York (cont'd)	171 West 12th Street	171 West 12th Street, New York City, NY		Shockley
	267 House	267 West 136th Street, New York City, NY	Demolished	Harris
	A Different Light	548 Hudson Street, New York City, NY		Johnson
	A Different Light	151 West 19th Street, New York City, NY		Johnson
	A.I.R. Gallery	98 Wooster Street, New York City, NY		Burk
	Algonquin Hotel	59-61 West 44th Street, New York City, NY		Baim; Schweighofer
	Ana Maria Simo Home	East Village, New York City		Springate (Civil Rights); Stryker
	Ansonia Hotel	2101-2119 Broadway at West 73rd Street, New York City, NY	NRHP 1/10/1980	Dubrow; Johnson
	Anti-Violence Project	647 Hudson Street, New York City, NY	In the Gansevoort Market Historic District, NRHP 5/30/2007	Shockley
	Apollo Theater	253 West 125th Street, New York City, NY	NRHP 11/17/1983	Baim; Burk; Harris; Schweighofer; Shockley
	Ariston Baths	1732 Broadway, New York City, NY		Baim; Johnson; Rupp; Springate (Civil Rights)
	Arthur Laurents - Tom Hatcher House	St. Luke's Place, New York City, NY		Shockley
	Asian American Writer's Workshop	16 West 32nd Street, Suite 10A, New York City, NY		Sueyoshi
	Astor Bar	Broadway between 44th and 45th Streets, New York City, NY	Demolished	Estes

	Name	Address	Status	Chapter
New York (cont'd)	Astraea Lesbian Foundation for Justice	116 East 16th Street, New York City, NY		Springate (Civil Rights)
	Attic	669-685 Hudson Street, New York City, NY	In the Gansevoort Market Historic District, NRHP 5/30/2007	Shockley
	Audre Lorde and Frances Clayton House	Staten Island, NY		Baim; Burk; Dubrow; Harris; Rupp; Shockley
	Azurest North	Sag Harbor, NY		Harris
	Badlands	388-390 West Street, New York City, NY		Shockley
	Bar	669-685 Hudson Street, New York City, NY	In the Gansevoort Market Historic District, NRHP 5/30/2007	Shockley
	Bayard Rustin High School	351 West 18th Street, New York City, NY		Hutchins
	Bayard Rustin Residence	Chelsea neighborhood, New York City, NY	NRHP 3/8/2016	Baim; Bourn; Dubrow; Harris; Meinke; Springate (Civil Rights); Springate (Intersectionality); Springate (Introduction); Springate and de la Vega
	Beit Simchat Torah	57 Bethune Street, New York City, NY	Part of the Westbeth Artists Community, NRHP 12/8/2009	Bourn; Springate (Civil Rights)
	Beit Simchat Torah	130 West 30th Street, New York City, NY		Bourn; Springate (Civil Rights)
	Bellevue Hospital	New York City, NY		Springate (Introduction)

	Name	Address	Status	Chapter
New York (cont'd)	Berenice Abbott - Elizabeth McClausland Residence	Commerce Street, New York City, NY		Shockley
	Billy Strayhorn - Aaron Bridgers Residence	Hamilton Heights neighborhood, New York City, NY	Within the Hamilton Heights Historic District, NRHP 9/30/1983	Harris; Springate (Civil Rights)
	Black Rabbit	183 Bleecker Street, New York City, NY		Shockley; Springate (Civil Rights)
	Black Rabbit	111 MacDougal Street, New York City, NY		Shockley
	Blackwell Island Lighthouse	Roosevelt Island, New York City, NY	NRHP 4/16/1972	Stein
	Blue's	264 West 43rd Street, New York City, NY		González and Hernández; Hanhardt
	Bob Mizer Residence	Brooklyn, NY		Stein
	Bobst Library	New York University		Koskovich
	Book Cellar	237 East 56th Street, New York City, NY		Johnson
	Boutillier Residence	Brooklyn, NY		Stein
	Bowery (LGBTQ Community)	New York City, NY		Shockley
	Buffalo Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender Archives	1300 Elmwood Avenue, Buffalo, NY		Gieseking
	Caffe Cino	31 Cornelia Street, New York City, NY		Shockley
	Carnegie Hall	881 Seventh Avenue, New York City, NY	NRHP 10/15/1966; NHL 12/29/1962	Harris

	Name	Address	Status	Chapter
New York (cont'd)	Carrington House	Cherry Grove, Fire Island, NY	NRHP 1/8/2014	Hanhardt; Schweighofer; Springate (Introduction); Springate and de la Vega
	Casa Susanna	Hunter, NY		Stryker
	Castle Williams	Governor's Island, NY	Part of Governor's Island, NRHP/NHL 2/4/1985; Governor's Island National Monument 1/19/2001	Meyer and Sikk
	Cathedral of St. John the Divine	Amsterdam Avenue between West 110th and West 113th Streets, New York City, NY		Springate (Civil Rights)
	Central Park	Central Park, New York City, NY	NRHP 10/15/1966; NHL 5/23/1963	Burk; Gieseking; Hanhardt; Shockley
	Chelsea (LGBTQ community)	New York City, NY		Gieseking; Hanhardt
	Cherry Grove (LGBTQ community)	Fire Island, NY		Baim; Gieseking; Hanhardt; Schweighofer; Springate (Archeology); Springate (Introduction)
	Cherry Grove Community House & Theater	180 Bayview Walk, Cherry Grove, Fire Island, NY	NRHP 6/4/2013	Dubrow; Hanhardt; Schweighofer; Springate (Introduction)
	Cherry Lane Theater	38 Commerce Street, New York City, NY		Hutchins; Shockley

	Name	Address	Status	Chapter
New York (cont'd)	Childs	300 West 59th Street, New York City, NY		Johnson
	Choo Choo's Pier	392-393 West Street, New York City, NY		Shockley
	Christine Jorgensen Family Home	Throgs Neck neighborhood, Bronx, NY		Stryker
	Christine Jorgensen Family Home	100 block of Pennsylvania Avenue, Massapequa, Long Island, NY		Stryker
	Christopher Park	Christopher Street, New York City, NY		Gieseking; Hanhardt; Springate and de la Vega
	Church of St. Paul the Apostle	405 West 59th Street, New York City, NY		Bourn
	Church of the Beloved Disciple	348 West 14th Street, New York City, NY		Bourn
	Church of the Holy Apostles	296 Ninth Avenue, New York City, NY	NRHP 4/26/1972	Bourn; Springate (Civil Rights)
	Claude McKay Residence	180 West 135th Street, New York City, NY	NRHP and NHL 12/8/1976	Baim; Burk; Harris
	Clear Comfort, the Alice Austen House	2 Hylan Boulevard, Staten Island, NY	NRHP 7/28/1970; NHL 4/19/1993	Burk; Dubrow; Ferentinos; Rupp; Shockley
	Clit Club	859-877 Washington Street, New York City, NY	In the Gansevoort Market Historic District, NRHP 5/30/2007	Shockley
	Coleman House Hotel	645-647 Broadway, New York City, NY		Shockley

	Name	Address	Status	Chapter
New York (cont'd)	Columbia Hall (Paresis Hall)	32 Cooper Square, New York City, NY		Johnson; Stryker
	Columbia Hall	392 Bowery, New York City, New York		Johnson
	Columbia University	New York City, NY		Koskovich; Shockley
	Committee Against Anti-Asian Violence	55 Hester Street, New York City, NY		Sueyoshi
	Congregation Beit Simchat Torah	57 Bethune Street, New York City, NY	NRHP 12/8/2009	Shockley
	Continental Baths and Health Club	2101-2119 Broadway at West 73rd Street, New York City, NY	NRHP 1/10/1980	Dubrow; Johnson
	Cornell University	Ithaca, NY		Baim; Koskovich
	Cory Book Service	58 Walker Street, New York City, NY		Johnson
	Covici-Friede	79 West 45th Street, New York City, New York	Demolished	Stein
	Cunningham Dance Studio	55 Bethune Street, New York City, New York	NRHP 5/15/1975 and 12/8/2009	Shockley
	Cycle	835 Washington Street, New York City, NY	In the Gansevoort Market Historic District, NRHP 5/30/2007	Shockley
	Daily News Building	220 East 42nd Street, New York City, NY	NRHP 11/14/1982; NHL 7/29/1989	Stein
	Daly's 63rd Street Theatre	22 West 63rd Street, New York City, NY	Demolished	Stein
	Dark Tower	108-110 West 136th Street, New York City, NY	Demolished	Harris

	Name	Address	Status	Chapter
New York (cont'd)	Den	835 Washington Street, New York City, NY	In the Gansevoort Market Historic District, NRHP 5/30/2007	Shockley
	Djuna Barnes House	Patchin Place, New York City, NY		Shockley
	Downtown United Presbyterian Church	121 North Fitzhugh Street, Rochester, NY	NRHP 3/12/1992	Bourn
	Duchess	101 Seventh Avenue South, New York City, NY		Hanhardt
	Dugout	185 Christopher Street, New York City, NY		Shockley
	Dunbar Apartments	Along West 149th and West 150th Streets between Frederick Douglass and Adam Clayton Powell, Jr. Boulevards, Harlem, New York City, NY	NRHP 3/29/1979	Harris
	E.A. Custer Bookstore	107 East 59th Street, New York City, NY	Demolished	Koskovich
	East Village (LGBTQ Community)	Part of Greenwich Village, New York City, NY		Burk; Hanhardt; Shockley
	Edmond's Cellar	Fifth Avenue and 132nd Street, New York City, NY		Harris
	Edna St. Vincent Millay Residence	Bedford Street, New York City, NY		Shockley
	Eleanor Roosevelt National Historical Site (Val-Kill)	State Route 9G, Hyde Park, NY	NRHP 3/20/1980; NHL and NPS 5/27/1977	Dubrow; Hutchins; Rupp; Shockley; Springate (Archeology); Springate (Civil Rights)

	Name	Address	Status	Chapter
New York (cont'd)	Eleanor Roosevelt Residence	East 11th Street, Greenwich Village, New York City, NY		Dubrow; Shockley; Springate (Intersectionality)
	Elisabeth Irwin-Katharine Anthony House	Bank Street, New York City, NY		Shockley
	Elizabeth Cady Stanton House	32 Washington Street, Seneca Falls, NY	NRHP 10/15/1966; NHL 6/23/1965; NPS (Women's Rights National Historical Park) 8/29/1980	Springate (Civil Rights)
	Elizabeth Lapovsky Kennedy House	300 block, Bryant Street, Buffalo, NY		Koskovich
	Ellis Island	Upper New York Bay, NY and NJ	NRHP 10/15/1966; NPS as the Statue of Liberty National Monument, 10/15/1965	Batza; Springate (Civil Rights)
	Elsie de Wolfe - Elisabeth Marbury House	Near Union Square, New York City, NY		Shockley
	Emma Goldman Residence	East Village, New York City		Baim; Dubrow; Stein
	Empire State Pride Agenda	647 Hudson Street, New York City, NY	In the Gansevoort Market Historic District, NRHP 5/30/2007	Shockley
	Ernie's Restaurant	76 West 3rd Street, New York City, NY		Shockley
	Esther Lape - Elizabeth Read Residence	East 11th Street, New York City, NY		Shockley; Springate (Intersectionality)
	Ethel Waters Residence	Crown Heights neighborhood, Brooklyn, NY		Harris
	Eve Addams' Tearoom	129 MacDougal Street, New York City, NY		Dubrow; Shockley

	Name	Address	Status	Chapter
New York (cont'd)	Everard Baths	28 West 28th Street, New York City, NY		Dubrow; Johnson; Shockley; Springate (Civil Rights); Stein
	Firebrand Books	141 The Commons, Ithaca, NY		Hanhardt; Sueyoshi
	Fire Island Pines (LGBTQ Community)	Fire Island, NY		Baim; Dubrow; Gieseking; Hanhardt; Springate (Archeology)
	Florent Restaurant	69 Gansevoort Street, New York City, NY	In the Gansevoort Market Historic District, NRHP 5/30/2007	Shockley
	Fun Makers Social Club	Harlem, New York City, NY		Harris
	Furnald Hall	Columbia University, Broadway and 116th Street, New York City, NY		Hutchins; Stein
	Galante	109 Wilkerson Street, Buffalo, NY	Demolished	Springate (Civil Rights)
	Gansevoort Market Historic District	New York City, NY	NRHP 5/30/2007	Dubrow; Hanhardt
	Gay Activist Alliance Firehouse	99 Wooster Street, New York City, NY	In the SoHo Cast Iron Historic District, NRHP and NHL 6/29/1978	Koskovich; Rupp; Shockley; Springate (Civil Rights); Stein
	Gay Community Center	130 West 3rd Street, New York City, NY		Shockley
	Gay Liberation Front of Rochester	201 Todd Union, University of Rochester, River Station, Rochester, NY		Springate (Civil Rights)
	Gay Liberation Monument	Christopher Park, New York City, NY		Gieseking; Springate and de la Vega

	Name	Address	Status	Chapter
New York (cont'd)	Gay Men of African Descent	540 Atlantic Avenue, Brooklyn, NY		Harris
	Gay Men's Health Crisis	318 West 22nd Street, New York City, NY		Batza; Rupp; Springate (Civil Rights)
	Gloria's	Near Third Avenue and 40th Street, New York City, NY		Stein
	Governor's Island	New York City, NY	NRHP/NHL 2/4/1985; Governor's Island National Monument 1/19/2001	Meyer and Sikk
	Greenwich Village (LGBTQ Community)	New York City, NY	Part of the Greenwich Village Historic District, NRHP 6/19/1979	Baim; Dubrow; Gieseking; González and Hernández; Hanhardt; Harris; Johnson; Shockley; Springate (Civil Rights)
	Harlem (LGBTQ Community)	New York City, NY		Baim; Burk; Gieseking; Harris; Schweighofer; Shockley; Springate (Civil Rights)
	Harlem YMCA	180 West 135th Street, New York City, NY	NRHP and NHL 12/8/1976	Baim; Burk; Harris
	Harry Benjamin Office	728 Park Avenue, New York City, NY		Batza; Stryker
	Harry Benjamin Residence	Flatiron District, New York City, NY		Stryker
	Harry Hansberry's Clam House	133rd Street, Harlem, New York City, NY	Demolished	Harris; Meyer and Sikk; Schweighofer
	Hart Island	New York City, NY		Springate (Introduction)
	Harvey Milk High School	2-10 Astor Place, New York City, NY		Hutchins

	Name	Address	Status	Chapter
New York (cont'd)	Hellfire	669-685 Hudson Street, New York City, New York	In the Gansevoort Market Historic District, NRHP 5/30/2007	Shockley
	Heterodoxy Club	137 MacDougal Street, New York City, New York	Demolished	Shockley
	Hotel Olga	42 West 120th Street, New York City, NY		Harris
	Howdy Club	17 West 3rd Street, New York City, NY	Demolished	Estes; Springate (Civil Rights)
	Intermediate School 70	333 West 18th Street, New York City, NY		Springate (Civil Rights)
	Irwin High School		In the Charlton-King-Vandam Historic District, NRHP 7/20/1973	Shockley
	Ithaca College	953 Danby Road, Ithaca, NY		Bourn; Hutchins
	Jackie 60	859-877 Washington Street, New York City, NY	In the Gansevoort Market Historic District, NRHP 5/30/2007	Shockley
	Jacob Riis Park	Queens, NY	Jacob Riis Beach Historic District, NRHP 6/17/1981; Gateway National Recreation Area, NPS 10/27/1972	Hanhardt
	James Baldwin Residence	Horatio Street, Greenwich Village, New York City, NY	In the Greenwich Village Historic District, NRHP 6/19/1979	Baim; Harris; Shockley; Springate (Civil Rights)
	James Baldwin House	Upper West Side, New York City, NY		Harris; Springate (Civil Rights)
	James Beard Foundation	167 West 12th Street, New York City, NY		Shockley

	Name	Address	Status	Chapter
New York (cont'd)	James M. Shuart Stadium	900 Fulton Avenue, Hempstead, NY		Schweighofer
	Jemima Wilkinson House	Jerusalem, NY	NRHP 8/24/1994	Stryker
	Jewish Theological Seminary of America	3080 Broadway, New York City, NY		Bourn
	John V. Gridley House	37 Charlton Street, New York City, NY		Dubrow
	J's Hangout	669-685 Hudson Street, New York City, NY	In the Gansevoort Market Historic District, NRHP 5/30/2007	Shockley
	Judson Memorial Church	55 Washington Square South, New York City, NY	NRHP 10/16/1974	Shockley
	Julius	159 West 10th Street, New York City, NY	NRHP 4/21/2016	Hanhardt; Harris; Johnson; Rupp; Shockley; Springate (Civil Rights); Springate (Introduction); Stein
	Juniper Ledge	Briarcliff Manor, NY	NRHP 5/4/2006	Springate (Intersectionality)
	Keith Haring Residence	LaGuardia Place, New York City, NY		Shockley
	Kensico Dam	1 Bronx River Parkway, Valhalla, NY		Schweighofer
	Kitty Genovese Residence	82-70 Austin Street, New York City		Stein
	Lafayette Baths	403-405 Lafayette Street, New York City, NY	Demolished	Dubrow; Johnson
	La Mama	74 East 4th Street, New York City, NY		Shockley
	Lambda Legal	120 Wall Street, New York City, NY		Springate (Civil Rights)

	Name	Address	Status	Chapter
New York (cont'd)	Langston Hughes House	East 127th Street, Harlem, New York City, NY	NRHP 10/29/1982	Harris; Springate (Civil Rights)
	Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender Community Center (The Center)	208 West 13th Street, New York City, NY	In the Greenwich Village Historic District, NRHP 6/19/1979	Batza; Bourn; Burk; Hanhardt; Harris; Meyer and Sikk; Shockley; Springate (Civil Rights); Stryker
	Lesbian Herstory Archives	Apartment on 92nd Street, Upper West Side, New York City, NY	In the Park Slope Historic District NRHP 11/21/1980	Gieseking; Koskovich; Rupp; Shockley
	Lesbian Herstory Archives	484 14th Street, Park Slope, New York City, NY	In the Park Slope Historic District NRHP 11/21/1980	Gieseking; Koskovich; Rupp; Shockley
	Leslie Feinberg - Minnie Bruce Pratt House	Syracuse, NY		Springate (Civil Rights); Stryker
	Leslie-Lohman Museum of Gay and Lesbian Art	26 Wooster Street, New York City, NY		Burk
	Liberal Club	137 MacDougal Street, New York City, New York	Demolished	Shockley
	Life Cafeteria	116 Seventh Avenue South, New York City, NY		Springate (Civil Rights)
	Little Red School House	196 Bleecker Street, New York City, NY		Shockley
	Locker Room	400 West 14th Street, New York City, NY	In the Gansevoort Market Historic District, NRHP 5/30/2007	Shockley
	Lorena Hickok Residence	Near the United Nations, New York City, NY		Springate (Civil Rights)
	Lorraine Hansberry Residence	Bleecker Street, Greenwich Village, New York City, NY		Harris; Shockley; Springate (Civil Rights)
	Lorraine Hansberry Residence	Waverly Place, New York City, NY		Harris; Shockley; Springate (Civil Rights)

	Name	Address	Status	Chapter
New York (cont'd)	Louis' Luncheon	116 MacDougal Street, New York City, NY		Dubrow; Shockley
	Louis N. Jaffe Art Theater	181-189 Second Avenue, New York City, NY	NRHP 8/19/1985	Shockley
	Lower East Side (LGBTQ Community)	New York City, NY		Shockley
	Lucky Cheng's	24 First Avenue, New York City, NY		Schweighofer
	Lucky's Rendezvous	773 St. Nicholas Avenue and 148th Street, Harlem, NY		Harris
	Lure	405-409 West 13th Street, New York City, NY	In the Gansevoort Market Historic District, NRHP 5/30/2007	Shockley
	Madison Square Garden	New York City, NY		Schweighofer
	Manhattan House of Detention for Men	125 White Street, New York City, NY		Stein
	Marcus Garvey Park	18 Mount Morris Park West, New York City, NY	Part of the Mount Morris Park Historic District, NRHP 2/6/1973; boundary increase 5/24/1996	Harris
	Mardi Gras Boutique	400 West 14th Street, New York City, NY	In the Gansevoort Market Historic District, NRHP 5/30/2007	Stryker
	Marianne Moore Residence	35 West 9th Street, New York City, NY		Dubrow
	Marion Dickerman-Nan Cook Residence	171 West 12th Street, New York City, NY		Dubrow; Springate (Intersectionality)
	Mary Dreier and Frances Kellor Residence	Near the Museum of Modern Art, New York City, NY		Rupp; Springate (Intersectionality)

	Name	Address	Status	Chapter
New York (cont'd)	Meatpacking District (LGBTQ Community)	New York City, NY	In the Gansevoort Market Historic District, NRHP 5/30/2007	Dubrow; Hanhardt; Shockley; Springate and de la Vega
	Medico-Legal Journal	Apartment building on West 83rd Street near Central Park, New York City, NY		Koskovich
	Mike's Bar	400 West 14th Street, New York City, NY	In the Gansevoort Market Historic District, NRHP 5/30/2007	Shockley
	Mineshaft	835 Washington Street, New York City, NY	In the Gansevoort Market Historic District, NRHP 5/30/2007	Shockley
	Miss Major-Jay Toole Building for Social Justice	147 West 24th Street, New York City, NY		Springate (Civil Rights); Stryker
	Molly Dewson-Polly Porter Residence	171 West 12th Street, New York City, NY		Dubrow
	MoMA PS1	22-25 Jackson Avenue, Long Island City, NY		Burk
	Mona's	135 West 3rd Street, New York City, NY		Shockley
	Moravian Church	154 Lexington Avenue, New York City, NY		Bourn
	Morse Building	140-142 Nassau Street, New York City, NY		Stein
	Morton Street Pier	Greenwich Village, New York City, NY		Hanhardt
	Mother	859-877 Washington Street, New York City, NY	In the Gansevoort Market Historic District, NRHP 5/30/2007	Shockley
	Mount Gulian	Fishkill, NY	NRHP 11/19/1982	Baim

	Name	Address	Status	Chapter
New York (cont'd)	Mount Morris Turkish Baths	Two addresses, same location: 1944 Madison Avenue, New York City, NY; 28 East 125th Street, New York City, NY		Baim; Harris; Johnson; Springate (Civil Rights)
	Murray Hall Residence	Greenwich Village, New York City, NY		Batza; Rupp; Shockley
	Music Box	121 West 3rd Street, New York City, NY		Shockley
	New Museum of Contemporary Art	235 Bowery, New York City, NY		Burk
	New St. Marks Baths	6 St. Marks Place, New York City, NY		Dubrow
	New York Feminist Art Institute	325 Spring Street, New York City, NY and 91 Franklin Street, New York City, New York		Burk
	New York Infirmary for Indigent Women and Children	East 7th Street near Tompkins Square Park		Springate (Intersectionality)
	New York Public Library	New York City, NY		Koskovich
	New York State Capitol Building	Albany, NY	NRHP 2/18/1971; NHL 1/29/1979. Part of the Lafayette Park Historic District, NRHP 11/15/1978	Springate (Civil War)
	New York State Reformatory for Women	247 Harris Road, Bedford Hills, NY		Stein
	New York University	New York City, NY		Koskovich
	Niggerati Manor	267 West 136th Street, New York City, NY	Demolished	Harris

	Name	Address	Status	Chapter
New York (cont'd)	Octagon	888 Main Street, Roosevelt Island, New York City, NY	NRHP 4/16/1972	Stein
	OK Corral	835 Washington Street, New York City, NY	In the Gansevoort Market Historic District, NRHP 5/30/2007	Shockley
	One World Café	330 East 11th Street New York City, NY		Burk
	One World Café	59-61 East 4th Street, New York City, NY		Burk
	Oscar Wilde Memorial Bookshop	291 Mercer Street, New York City, NY		Hanhardt; Johnson; Shockley
	Oscar Wilde Bookstore	15 Christopher Street, New York City, NY		Hanhardt; Johnson; Shockley
	Paul Cadmus - Jared French - Margaret Hoening - George Tooker House	St. Luke's Place, New York City, NY		Shockley
	Paramount Theater Building	1501 Broadway, New York City, NY		Johnson
	Park Slope (LGBTQ Community)	Brooklyn, NY		Gieseking
	Paul Rudolph Apartments	Near the East River, Midtown, New York City, NY		Shockley
	Performance Space 122 (PS 122)	150 First Avenue, New York City, NY		Burk
	Peter Rabbit	396-397 West Street, New York City, NY		Shockley
	Phoenix Theater	181-189 Second Avenue, New York City, NY		Shockley
	Pier 45	Foot of Christopher Street, New York City, NY		Baim; Hanhardt; Rupp; Springate (Civil Rights); Springate and de la Vega

	Name	Address	Status	Chapter
New York (cont'd)	Plantation Club	Broadway and 50th Street, New York City, NY		Harris
	Plaza Hotel	768 Fifth Avenue, New York City, NY	NRHP 11/29/1978; NHL 6/24/1986	Hanhardt
	Portofino	206 Thompson Street, New York City, NY		Shockley; Springate (Civil Rights)
	Presbyterian Building	156 Fifth Avenue, New York City, NY		Stein
	Pride Center of the Capital Region	332 Hudson Avenue, Albany, NY		Hanhardt
	Provincetown Playhouse	139 MacDougal Street, New York City, NY	Mostly demolished	Shockley
	Pyramid Club	101 Avenue A, New York City, NY		Burk; Schweighofer; Shockley
	Radicalesbians of Cornell University	24 Willard Straight Hall, Cornell University, Ithaca, NY		Springate (Civil Rights)
	Radio City Music Hall	1260 Sixth Avenue, New York City, NY	NRHP 5/8/1978	Schweighofer
	Ralph Martin's	58 Elliott Street, Buffalo, NY	Demolished	Meyer and Sikk; Springate (Civil Rights)
	Ramrod	394-395 West Street, New York City, NY		Shockley
	Rectory of St. Veronica's Roman Catholic Church	657 Washington Street, New York City, NY		Shockley
	Riis Beach	Jacob Riis Park, Jamaica Bay Unit, Gateway National Recreation Area, NY	NRHP 6/17/1981	Gieseking
	Riverside Church	490 Riverside Drive, New York City, NY	NRHP 12/12/2012	Bourn
	Riverside Drive	New York City, NY		Baim

	Name	Address	Status	Chapter
New York (cont'd)	RockBar	185 Christopher Street, New York City, NY		Shockley
	Rockland Palace	280 West 115th Street, New York City, NY	Demolished	Harris; Meyer and Sikk; Schweighofer
	Roy Simmons Home	Bronx, NY		Schweighofer
	Saint	105 Second Avenue, New York City, NY		Shockley
	Saint Marks Baths	6 St. Marks Place, New York City, NY		Dubrow; Hanhardt
	Salsa Soul Sisters, Third World Wimmin Incorporated Collective	Private residence near Washington Square Park, Greenwich Village, New York City, NY		Harris
	San Remo	93 MacDougal Street, New York City, NY		Shockley; Springate (Civil Rights)
	Savoy Ballroom	596 Lenox Avenue, New York City, NY	Demolished	Harris
	Sewer	669-685 Hudson Street, New York City, NY	In the Gansevoort Market Historic District, NRHP 5/30/2007	Shockley
	Shambhala Center	118 West 22nd Street, New York City, NY		Bourn
	Slide	157 Bleecker Street, New York City, NY		Johnson; Shockley
	Sloane House YMCA	356 West 34th Street, New York City, NY	Demolished	Estes
	Smith House	Brooklyn Heights Historic District, Brooklyn, NY	NRHP 10/16/1966; NHL 1/12/1965	Shockley
	Sneakers	392-393 West Street, New York City, NY		Shockley

	Name	Address	Status	Chapter
New York (cont'd)	SoHo (LGBTQ Community)	New York City, NY		Shockley
	South Village (LGBTQ Community)	Part of Greenwich Village, New York City, NY		Dubrow; Shockley
	STAR House	213 East 2nd Street, New York City, NY	Demolished	Springate (Introduction)
	STAR House	640 East 12th Street, New York City, NY	Demolished	Stryker
	Starlite Lounge	1213 McDonald Avenue, Brooklyn, NY		Gieseking
	State University of New York Buffalo	Buffalo, NY		Koskovich
	Statue of Liberty National Monument	New York Harbor, NY	NRHP 10/15/1966; NPS 10/15/1965	Batza
	Steepletop, Edna St. Vincent Millay's Home	Austerlitz, NY	NRHP and NHL 11/11/1971.	Hutchins
	Stern College for Women	Yeshiva University, 245 Lexington Avenue, New York City, NY		Bourn
	Stewart Cafeteria	116 Seventh Avenue South, New York City, NY		Shockley; Springate (Civil Rights)
	Stonewall	51-53 Christopher Street, New York City, NY	NRHP 6/28/1999; NHL 2/16/2000; Stonewall National Monument 6/24/2016	Baim; Dubrow; Estes; Gieseking; González and Hernández; Graves and Watson; Hanhardt; Harris; Hutchins; Johnson; Meinke; Meyer and Sikk; Rupp; Schweighofer; Shockley; Springate (Archeology); Springate (Civil Rights);

	Name	Address	Status	Chapter
New York (cont'd)	Stonewall (cont'd)			Springate (Intersectionality); Springate (Introduction); Springate and de la Vega; Stein; Stryker; Sueyoshi
	St. Patrick's Cathedral		NRHP and NHL 12/8/1976	Gieseking
	SUNY Buffalo	Buffalo, NY		Springate (Civil Rights)
	Susan B. Anthony House	17 Madison Street, Rochester, NY	NRHP 10/15/1966; NHL 6/23/1965	Springate (Civil Rights)
	Swing Rendezvous	117 MacDougal Street, New York City, NY		Shockley
	Sylvia Rivera Law Project	147 West 24th Street, New York City, NY		Stryker
	Tempo Playhouse	St. Mark's Place, New York City, NY		Shockley
	Tenderloin (LGBTQ Community)	New York City, NY		Johnson; Shockley; Stryker
	Three Ring Circus	76 West 3rd Street, New York City, NY		Shockley
	Times Square (LGBTQ Community)	New York City, NY		Baim; Hanhardt
	Todhunter School			Shockley
	Tony Pastor's Downtown	130 West 3rd Street, New York City, NY		Dubrow; Shockley
	Townsend Hall	Buffalo, NY	Demolished	Springate (Civil Rights)
	Triangle	669-685 Hudson Street, New York City, NY	In the Gansevoort Market Historic District, NRHP 5/30/2007	Shockley

	Name	Address	Status	Chapter
New York (cont'd)	Trinity Church	74 Trinity Place, New York City, NY	NRHP and NHL 12/8/1976	Batza; Shockley; Springate (Civil Rights)
	Ubangi Club	131st Street at Seventh Avenue, New York City, NY	Demolished	Baim; Burk; Harris; Meyer and Sikk; Springate (Civil Rights)
	Union Square (LGBTQ Community)	New York City, NY		Shockley
	United Nations	405 East 42nd Street, New York City, NY		Stein
	United States Military Academy at West Point	New York Route 218, West Point, NY	NRHP 10/15/1966; NHL 12/19/1960	Meyer and Sikk
	USTA Billie Jean King National Tennis Center	Flushing Meadow-Corona Park, Flushing, NY		Schweighofer
	Villa Lewaro	North Broadway (US 9), Irvington, NY	NRHP/NHL 5/11/1976	Harris
	Visual AIDS	526 West 26th Street, New York City, NY		Burk
	Walt Whitman House	Wallabout, Brooklyn, NY		Shockley
	Warlock Shop	300 Henry Street, Brooklyn Heights, New York City, NY		Bourn
	Washington Square Bookshop	135 MacDougal Street, New York City, NY	Demolished	Shockley
	Washington Square Park	New York City, NY		Hanhardt; Shockley
	Webster Hall and Annex	119-125 East 11th Street, New York City, NY		Baim; Dubrow; Harris; Meyer and Sikk; Schweighofer; Shockley; Springate (Civil Rights)

	Name	Address	Status	Chapter
New York (cont'd)	Weehawkin Street (LGBTQ Community)	New York City, NY		Dubrow; Shockley
	Weinstein Hall	New York University, 5 University Place, New York City, NY		González and Hernández; Springate (Civil Rights)
	Wesleyan Chapel	126 Fall Street, Seneca Falls, NY	NRHP 8/29/1980; part of Women's Rights National Historical Park, NPS 12/28/1980	Springate (Intersectionality); Springate (Civil Rights)
	West Beach Bar & Grill	388-390 West Street, New York City, NY		Shockley
	West Park Presbyterian Church	165 West 86th Street, New York City, NY		Bourn
	West Side Tennis Club	One Tennis Place, Forest Hills, Queens, NY		Schweighofer
	West Side Piers (LGBTQ Community)	New York City, NY		Hanhardt; Harris; Shockley
	West Village (LGBTQ Community)	Part of Greenwich Village, New York City, NY		Burk; Gieseking; Hanhardt
	Whitehall Street Induction Center	39 Whitehall Street New York City, NY		Stein
	Whitney Museum of Modern Art	99 Gansevoort Street, New York City, NY		Burk
	Wilbraham	1 West 30th Street, New York City, NY		Shockley
	Willa Cather-Edith Lewis Residence	82 Washington Place West, New York City, NY		Ferentinos; Shockley
	Willard Asylum for the Chronic Insane	Ovid, NY	NRHP 6/7/1975	Batza; Rupp; Springate (Civil Rights); Stein; Stryker
	Winston Book Club	250 Fulton Avenue, Hampstead, NY		Johnson

	Name	Address	Status	Chapter
New York (cont'd)	Women's House of Detention	10 Greenwich Avenue, New York City, NY	Demolished	Stein
	Women's Medical College of the New York Infirmary	126 Second Avenue, New York City, NY		Springate (Intersectionality)
	World Trade Center	Lower Manhattan, New York City, NY	Demolished	González and Hernández
	WOW Café Theater	333 East 11th Street, New York City, NY		Hanhardt
	WOW Café Theater	59-61 East 4th Street, New York City, NY		Hanhardt
	Yaddo	Saratoga Springs, NY	NHL 3/11/2013. In the Union Avenue Historic District, NRHP 4/4/1978	Baim; Burk; Harris
	Zodiac	835 Washington Street, New York City, NY	In the Gansevoort Market Historic District, NRHP 5/30/2007	Shockley
	Zoo	421-425 West 13th Street, New York City, NY	In the Gansevoort Market Historic District, NRHP 5/30/2007	Hanhardt; Shockley
North Carolina	Asheville (LGBTQ Community)	Asheville, NC		Gieseking; Schweighofer
	Beaufort County Detention Center	210 North Market Street, Washington, NC		Stein
	Black Mountain College	375 Lake Eden Road, Black Mountain, NC	NRHP 10/5/1982	Burk
	Chapel of the Cross	304 East Franklin Street, Chapel Hill, NC	NRHP 2/1/1972	Springate (Civil Rights)
	Pauli Murray Childhood Home	906 Carroll Street, Durham, NC		Harris; Springate (Civil Rights)

	Name	Address	Status	Chapter
Ohio	Case Western Reserve University School of Medicine	2109 Adelbert Road, Cleveland, OH		Stryker
	Club Baths	1448 West Thirty-Second Street, Cleveland, OH	Demolished	Johnson
	Club Cleveland	3219 Detroit Avenue, Cleveland, OH		Johnson
	Gay and Lesbian Community Center of Greater Cincinnati	4119 Hamilton Avenue, Cincinnati, OH		Springate (Introduction)
	German Village Historic District	Columbus, OH	NRHP 2/7/1991	Dubrow
	German Village (LGBTQ Community)	Columbus, OH	Part of the German Village Historic District, NRHP 2/7/11991	Dubrow
	Goggin Ice Center	610 South Oak Street, Oxford, OH		Schweighofer
	Kent State University	Kent, OH		Koskovich
	McCorkle Aquatic Pavilion	1847 Neil Avenue, Columbus, OH		Schweighofer
	Natalie Clifford Barney Marker	East Second Street, Dayton, OH		Dubrow; Ferentinos
	Ohio History Connection			Ferentinos
	Old Stone Church	Corner of North High and Perkins Streets, Akron, OH		Springate (Intersectionality); Stryker
	Old Towne East (LGBTQ Community)	Columbus, OH		Hanhardt
	Radicalesbians	Weinland Park neighborhood, Columbus, OH		Springate (Civil Rights)
	Wright-Patterson Air Force Base	Near Dayton, OH		Baim

	Name	Address	Status	Chapter
Oklahoma	Bank of Oklahoma Center	200 South Denver, Tulsa, OK		Schweighofer
	Integris Baptist Medical Center, Gender Identity Foundation	3300 NW Expressway, Oklahoma City, OK		Stryker
Oregon	Club Baths	303 SW Twelfth Avenue, Portland, OR (rear entrance of the Hotel Alma building)	NRHP 9/9/2009	Harris; Springate (Introduction)
	Club Portland Bath	303 SW Twelfth Avenue, Portland, OR (rear entrance of the Hotel Alma building)	NRHP 9/9/2009	Baim; Springate (Introduction)
	Dr. J. Allen Gilbert's Office	601 SW Alder Street, Portland, OR		Batza; Stryker
	Flossie's	1201-1217 SW Stark Street, Portland, OR	NRHP 9/9/2009	Springate (Introduction)
	Fort Astoria	Astoria, OR	Contributing to Astoria Downtown Historic District; NRHP 10/15/1966; NHL 11/5/1961	Roscoe; Springate and de la Vega
	Hotel Alma	1201-1217 SW Stark Street, Portland, OR	NRHP 9/9/2009	Harris; Springate (Introduction)
	Oregon Health and Science University Hospital	3181 SW Sam Jackson Park Road, Portland, OR		Stryker
	Q Center	4115 North Mississippi Avenue, Portland, OR		Hanhardt
	Silverado	1201-1217 SW Stark Street, Portland, OR	NRHP 9/9/2009	Springate (Introduction)
Pennsylvania	American Law Institute	4025 Chestnut Street, Philadelphia, PA		Stein
	Anna Howard Shaw - Lucy Anthony House	Moylan, PA		Springate (Intersectionality)

	Name	Address	Status	Chapter
Pennsylvania (cont'd)	Arch Street Methodist Church	55 North Broad Street, Philadelphia, PA		Bourn
	Barbara Gittings - Kay Lahusen House	Twenty-First and Locust Streets, Philadelphia, PA		Baim
	Bayard Rustin Childhood Home	West Chester, PA		Rupp; Springate (Civil Rights)
	Billy Strayhorn Childhood Home	7212 Tioga Street, Rear, Pittsburgh, PA	Demolished	Harris; Springate (Civil Rights)
	Brewer's Hotel	3315 Liberty Avenue, Pittsburgh, PA		Baim; Batza
	Bryce Jordan Center	127 Bryce Jordan Center, University Park, PA		Schweighofer
	Bryn Mawr College	Bryn Mawr, PA		Baim
	Congress Hotel	1334 Walnut Street, Philadelphia, PA		Stein
	Cove Shelter	Appalachian Trail near Duncannon, PA		Stein
	Critical Path	1233 Loust Street, Fifth Floor, Philadelphia, PA		Sueyoshi
	Custody Action for Lesbian Mothers	1425 Walnut Street, Philadelphia, PA		Baim; Stein
	Deanery	Canaday Drive, Bryn Mawr, PA	Demolished	Baim
	Dewey's	219 South Seventeenth Street, Philadelphia, PA		Baim; Johnnson; Springate (Civil Rights); Stein; Stryker
	Dr. Joseph Wolpe's Office	Temple University Medical School, Henry Avenue, Philadelphia, PA		Batza
	Dr. J. Richardson Parke House	Spruce Street, Philadelphia, PA		Koskovich

	Name	Address	Status	Chapter
Pennsylvania (cont'd)	Eastern State Penitentiary	2027 Fairmount Avenue, Philadelphia, PA	NRHP 10/15/1966; NHL 6/23/1965	Stein
	Edgar Clymer Residence	Northern Liberties-Fishtown neighborhood, Philadelphia, PA		Stein
	Family Theater	1311 Market Street, Philadelphia, PA	Demolished	Stein
	Flight 93 National Memorial	Stoystown, PA	NPS 9/24/2002	Schweighofer
	Friends Meeting House	320 Arch Street, Philadelphia, PA	NRHP 5/27/1971; NHL 6/23/2011	Springate (Civil Rights)
	Garden Court Apartments	Forty-Seventh and Pine Streets, Philadelphia, PA		Stein
	Gayborhood (LGBTQ Community)	Philadelphia, PA	Part of the Washington Square West Historic District, NRHP 9/20/1984	Dubrow; Gieseking; Springate and de la Vega
	General Von Steuben's Headquarters	Valley Forge National Historical Park	NRHP and NHL 11/28/1972; NPS 7/4/1976	Estes
	George Casey Residence	Broad and Stiles Streets, Philadelphia, PA		Stein
	Germantown (Manheim) Cricket Club	5140 Morris Street, Philadelphia, PA	NRHP and NHL 2/27/1987	Schweighofer
	Gertrude Stein Childhood Home	North side of Pittsburgh, PA	In the Allegheny West Historic District, NRHP 11/2/1978	Baim
	Giovanni's Room	232 South Street, Philadelphia, PA		Hanhardt; Johnson
	Giovanni's Room	345 South Twelfth Street, Philadelphia, PA	Within the Washington Square West Historic District, NRHP 9/20/1984	Gieseking; Hanhardt; Johnson

	Name	Address	Status	Chapter
Pennsylvania (cont'd)	Humoresque	2036 Sansom Street, Philadelphia, PA		Stein
	Independence Hall	520 Chestnut Street, Philadelphia, PA	Part of Independence National Historical Park NHL District 10/15/1966; NPS 6/28/1948	Baim; Dubrow; Ferentinos; Gieseking; Meyer and Sikk; Springate (Civil Rights); Stein
	Institute of Contemporary Art	118 South Thirty-Sixth Street, Philadelphia, PA		Burk; Gieseking
	Joseph Beam Residence	Rittenhouse Square neighborhood, Philadelphia, PA		Harris
	Kiyoshi Kuromiya Home	Fitler Square neighborhood, Philadelphia, PA		Sueyoshi
	Mary Grew - Margaret Burleigh House	116 North Eleventh Street, Philadelphia, PA	Demolished	Meyer and Sikk
	Michaux State Forest	PA		Baim; Stein
	Middle City Building	34 South Seventeeth Street, Philadelphia, PA		Johnson; Springate (Civil Rights); Stein
	National Constitution Center	525 Arch Street, Philadelphia, PA		Ferentinos
	New Hope (LGBTQ Community)	New Hope, PA		Dubrow
	Northern Liberties (LGBTQ Community)	Philadelphia, PA	Northern Liberties Historic District NRHP 10/31/1985	Stryker
	Pennsylvania Prison Society	245 North Broad Street, Philadelphia, PA		Stein
	Philadelphia Detention Center	8201 State Road, Philadelphia, PA		Stein

	Name	Address	Status	Chapter
Pennsylvania (cont'd)	Reconstructionist Rabbinical College	1299 Church Road, Wyncote, PA		Bourn
	Rittenhouse Square (LGBTQ Community)	Philadelphia, PA		Johnson
	Robert Prado Residence	Center City, Philadelphia		Stein
	Rosenbach Museum and Library	2008-2010 Delancey Place, Philadelphia, PA		Dubrow
	Royal Theater	1522 South Street, Philadelphia, PA	NRHP 2/8/1980	Burk
	Seamen's Church Institute	211 Walnut Street, Philadelphia, PA	Demolished	Stein
	Thomas Eakins House	1729 Mount Vernon Street, Philadelphia, PA	NRHP 10/15/1966; NHL 12/21/1965	Burk
	University of Pennsylvania	Philadelphia, PA		Koskovich
	Valley Forge National Historical Park	Valley Forge, PA	NRHP 10/15/1966; NHL District 1/20/1961; NPS 7/4/1976	Baim; Estes
	Walnut Street Prison	On Walnut Street, bounded by Locust and Sixth Streets, Philadelphia, PA	Demolished	Stryker
	Walter Lear Residence	Philadelphia, PA		Batza
	Western Penitentiary	3001 Beaver Avenue, Pittsburgh, PA		Stein
	William Thompson Residence	Lower Merion, PA		Stein
	William Way LGBT Community Center	1315 Spruce Street, Philadelphia, PA		Dubrow; Ferentinos
	Women's Center	Cedar Park neighborhood, Philadelphia, PA		Springate (Civil Rights)

	Name	Address	Status	Chapter
Pennsylvania (cont'd)	Woodlyn Hotel	430 South Fortieth Street, Philadelphia, PA	Demolished	Stein
	Ye Olde Tobacconist	Pier 37 at Poplar Street, Philadelphia, PA		Stein
Puerto Rico	Edificio Comunidad de Orgullo Gay de Puerto Rico (Casa Orgullo)	3 Saldana Street, San Juan, PR	NRHP 5/1/2016	González and Hernández; Springate (Introduction); Springate and de la Vega
	San Juan Unitarian Fellowship	53 Sevilla Street, San Juan, PR		González and Hernández
Rhode Island	Army-Navy YMCA	50 Washington Square, Newport, RI	NRHP 12/29/1988	Baim; Estes; Hanhardt; Springate (Civil Rights); Stein
	Great Swamp State Management Area	West Kingston, RI		Roscoe
	Kwan Um School	99 Pound Road, Cumberland, RI		Bourn
South Carolina	49 Club	368 King Street, Charleston, SC		Estes; Stein
	Benedict College	Columbia, SC	Benedict College Historic District, NRHP 4/20/1987	Springate (Civil Rights)
	Charleston Museum	360 Meeting Street, Charleston, SC		Baim
	Dawn Pepita Simmons House	Charleston, SC		Rupp
	Jack Dobbins House	Near Waterfront Park, Charleston, SC		Estes; Stein
	Laura Bragg - Belle Heyward House	Charleston, SC		Baim
	Redcliffe Plantation	181 Redcliffe Road, Beech Island, SC	NRHP 5/8/1973	Meyer and Sikk

	Name	Address	Status	Chapter
Tennessee	Alice Mitchell House	215 Union Street, Memphis, TN	Demolished	Stein
	Broome's Variety Theater	37 Jefferson Street, Memphis, TN		Stein
	Gayoso House Hotel	130 South Front Street, Memphis, TN	Demolished	Stein
	Memphis Gay and Lesbian Community Center	892 South Cooper Street, Memphis, TN		Batza
	Overton Hotel	255 North Main Street, Memphis, TN	Demolished	Stein
	Shelby County Criminal Court	201 Poplar Avenue, Memphis, TN		Stein
	Western State Mental Hospital	11100 Old Highway 64, Bolivar, TN		Stein
Texas	American Airlines Center	2500 Victory Avenue, Dallas, TX		Schweighofer
	Asbel Smith Building	University of Texas Galveston Medical Branch, Galveston, TX	NRHP 10/28/1969	Stryker
	Austin Latina/Latino Lesbian and Gay Organization (ALLGO)	701 Tillery Street, Austin, TX		González and Hernández
	Babe Didrikson Zaharias Museum	1750 I-10 Frontage Road, Beaumont, TX		Schweighofer
	Cathedral of Hope	5910 Cedar Springs Road, Dallas, TX		Bourn
	Club Foot	East of the Grayhound Bus Station, Fourth Street between Brazos Street and Congress Avenue, Austin, TX	Demolished	Burk
	College Park Center	601 South Pecan Street, Arlington, TX		Schweighofer

	Name	Address	Status	Chapter
Texas (cont'd)	Compaq Center	3700 Southwest Freeway, Houston, TX		Schweighofer
	Dallas Memorial Auditorium and Convention Center	Canton and Akard Streets, Dallas, TX		Batza; Meyer and Sikk; Springate (Civil Rights)
	Esperanza Peace & Justice Center	922 San Pedro Avenue, San Antonio, TX		González and Hernández
	Gloria Anzaldúa Historic Marker	Hidalgo County, TX		Dubrow
	Herbert W. Gee Municipal Courthouse	1400 Lubbock, Houston, TX		Springate (Civil Rights)
	Hilton Hotel	6780 Southwest Freeway, Houston, TX		Springate (Civil Rights); Stryker
	Houston Astrodome	8400 Kirby Drive, Houston, TX	NRHP 1/15/2014	Schweighofer
	John Rechy House	El Paso, TX		Baim; Springate (Civil Rights)
	Lackland Air Force Base	San Antonio, TX		Baim
	Lakewook Church Central Campus	3700 Southwest Freeway, Houston, TX		Schweighofer
	Montrose (LGBTQ Community)	Houston, TX		Gieseking; Hanhardt
	Montrose Center	401 Branard Street, Houston, TX		Hanhardt
	Montrose Center	803 Hawthorne Avenue, Houston, TX		Hanhardt
	Montrose Center	3400 Montrose Boulevard, Houston, TX		Hanhardt
	Phillys Frye House	Westbury neighborhood, Houston, TX		Springate (Civil Rights)

	Name	Address	Status	Chapter
Texas (cont'd)	Summit	3700 Southwest Freeway, Houston, TX		Schweighofer
	Transgender Archives	604 Pacific Street, Houston, TX		Gieseking; Stryker
	Transgender Foundation of America	604 Pacific Street, Houston, TX		Stryker
	University of Texas Galveston Medical Branch	301 University Boulevard, Galveston, TX		Stryker
	Wyndham Garden Hotel	2645 Lyndon B Johnson Freeway, Dallas, TX		Bourn
Utah	Central Utah Relocation Center (Topaz War Relocation Center)	10000 West 4500 North, Delta, UT	NRHP 1/2/1974; NHL 3/29/2007	Springate (Civil Rights); Springate and de la Vega; Stein; Sueyoshi
	Club Baths	700 West 1700 South, Salt Lake City, UT		Baim
	East High School	840 1300 E, Salt Lake City, UT		Springate (Civil Rights)
	Jeff's Gym	700 West 1700 South, Salt Lake City, UT		Baim
	South Valley Unitarian Universalist Society	6876 South Highland Drive, Salt Lake City, UT		Bourn
Vermont	Green Mountain National Forest	Near Rutland, VT	National Forest 4/25/1932	Hutchins
Virginia	Arlington Ridge Park	Alexandria, VA	NRHP 11/4/2009; part of the George Washington Memorial Parkway (NPS Unit)	Baim
	Azurest South	2900 Boisseau Street, Ettrick, VA	NRHP 12/30/1993	Harris
	Best Western Old Colony Inn	1101 North Washington Street, Alexandria, VA		Hutchins

	Name	Address	Status	Chapter
Virginia (cont'd)	Block, The	Bounded by First, Franklin, Main, and Foushee Streets, Richmond, VA		Gieseking
	Castle Thunder Prison	Tobacco Row, Richmond, VA	Demolished	Estes
	District of Columbia's Women's Reformatory	Laurel Hill, VA	Part of the DC Workhouse and Reformatory Historic District, NRHP 2/16/2006	Stein
	Glen Burnie House	801 Amherst Street, Winchester, VA	NRHP 9/10/1979	Dubrow
	Jamestown National Historic Site	Jamestown, VA	NRHP 10/15/1966; NPS 12/18/1940	Baim; Meyer and Sikk; Stein
	Monroe Park	West Main Street, Richmond, VA	Contributing resource to the Monroe Park Historic District, NRHP 7/5/1984	Springate (Civil Rights)
	Montpelier	Near Orange, VA	NRHP 10/15/1966; NHL 12/19/1960	Harris
	Pentagon	Jefferson Davis Highway, Arlington, VA	NRHP 7/27/1989; NHL 10/5/1992	Springate (Civil Rights); Stein
	Radisson Plaza Hotel at Mark Center	5000 Seminary Road, Alexandria, VA		Hutchins
	Tanglewood Tavern	Maidens, VA	NRHP 9/12/2002	Springate (Archeology)
	Topkapi	6818 Richmond Highway, Alexandria, VA		Baim
	Williamsburg Historic District	Williamsburg, VA	NRHP 10/15/1966; NHL 10/9/1960	Stryker
	Workhouse Arts Center	9601 Ox Road, Lorton, VA		Stein

	Name	Address	Status	Chapter
Washington	Arlington Hotel	On First Avenue between University and Seneca Streets, Seattle, WA	Demolished	Stryker
	Capitol Hill (LGBTQ Community)	Seattle, WA		Dubrow
	Double Header	407 Second Avenue Ext S, Seattle, WA		Dubrow; Springate (Civil Rights)
	Fort Okanogan	Okanogan County, WA	NRHP 6/4/1973; flooded	Roscoe; Springate and de la Vega
	Gay Community Center	1726 Sixteenth Avenue East, Seattle, WA		Stein
	Harvard-Belmont Historic District	Seattle, WA	NRHP 5/13/1982	Dubrow
	KeyArena	305 Harrison Street, Seattle, WA		Schweighofer
	Lesbian Mothers National Defense Fund	Seattle, WA		Stein
	Museum of History and Industry	Seattle, WA		Ferentinos
	Panama Hotel	605 South Main Street and 302 Sixth Avenue South, Seattle, WA	NRHP/NHL 3/20/2006	Dubrow
	Pioneer Square (LGBTQ Community)	Seattle, WA	Part of the Pioneer Square-Skid Road Historic District, NRHP 6/22/1970; boundary increases 7/7/1978 and 6/16/1988	Dubrow; Stryker
	Pioneer Square-Skid Road Historic District	Seattle, WA	NRHP 6/22/1970; boundary increases 7/7/1978 and 6/16/1988	Dubrow; Stryker

	Name	Address	Status	Chapter
Washington (cont'd)	Salmon Bay Friends Meeting	6532 Phinney Avenue North, Seattle, WA		Bourn
	Tacoma Art Museum	1701 Pacific Avenue, Tacoma, WA		Burk
	Washinton State Penitentiary	1313 North Thirteenth Avenue, Walla Walla, WA		Stein
West Virginia	Federal Reformatory for Women	Route 3, south of Greenbrier River, Alderson, WV		Stein
	Shamrock	326 Princeton Avenue, Bluefield, WV		Rupp
Wisconsin	Camp Trans	Monroe County, WI		Gieseking; Rupp
	Madison Municipal Building	210 Martin Luther King Jr. Boulevard, Madison, WI		Stein
	Miller Park	One Brewers Way, Milwaukee, WI		Schweighofer
	Milwaukee LGBT Community Center	315 West Court Street, Milwaukee, WI		Hanhardt
	Pendarvis	114 Shake Rag Street, Mineral Point, WI	NRHP 1/25/1971	Dubrow
	University of Wisconsin Madison, History Department	Madison, WI		Koskovich
	University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee	Milwaukee, WI		Springate (Civil Rights)
Wyoming	Fort Laramie Three Mile Hog Ranch	Outside Fort Laramie, WY	NRHP 4/23/1975	Harris
	Heart Mountain Relocation Center	1539 Road 19, Powell, WY	NRHP 12/19/1985; NHL 9/20/2006	Stein
	Matthew Shepard Beating Site	Near Pilot Peak and Snowy View Roads, Laramie, WY		Baim; Meyer and Sikk; Rupp; Stein

INDEX

For specific places, see also Appendix A. Theme study chapters are searchable, if you are looking for a term not included here.

267 House (Niggerati Manor), 13-10
  destruction of, 13-11
5 Star Saloon. *See under* Reno, Nevada
Abby's Highway 40. *See under* Reno, Nevada
Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome (AIDS), 02-13, 03-32 to 03-34, 04-30n84, 05-25, 05-29, 05-52, 08-5n13, 08-17, 08-20 to 08-21, 09-12, 10-30, 11-12n42, 11-25 to 11-29, 11-35, 12-25 to 12-26 to 12-27, 13-32, 14-12, 14-23, 15-24, 16-18, 17-5, 17-28n88, 17-47 to 17-51, 18-31n95, 18-44 to 18-47, 19-30, 22-8 to 22-10, 22-13 to 22-17, 23-13 to 23-14, 23-15n38, 25-18, 27-21 to 27-22, 28-30, 29-4n10. *See also* gay-related immune deficiency (GRID), gay plague, Human Immunodeficiency Virus (HIV)
  African American activism, 13-26 to 13-39, 18-53
  AIDS epidemic in San Francisco, 25-34 to 25-37
  AIDS in the military, 20-11 to 20-12
  AIDS research, 22-22 to 22-23
  among American Indians and Alaska Natives, 09-11 to 09-13
  Asian Pacific American activism, 11-24 to 11-29
  Names Project AIDS Memorial Quilt, 14-29, 15-30, 18-47 to 18-48, 21-49, 23-15, 25-36, 26-31, 26-32

ACT UP (AIDS Coalition to Unleash Power), 03-32 to 03-33, 05-48, 08-11, 10-30 to 10-31, 10-31n83, 11-27n107, 14-23 to 14-24, 15-22, 17-48, 18-36, 18-45 to 18-46, 18-52, 22-13 to 22-14, 22-16, 23-14 to 23-15, 26-31, 29-12 to 29-15
  Fight the AMA action, 29-14 to 29-15
  Seize Control of the FDA action, 18-46n157
  Stop the Church action, 14-23, 26-9n15
  Storm the NIH action, 14-24
Addams, Jane, 02-27 to 02-28, 05-56, 17-4, 17-19 to 17-20, 17-29n89, 31-6, 31-16, 32-11,. *See also* Hull House
African American community, 13-1 to 13-36
  activism of, 13-14 to 13-25
  after Stonewall, 13-26 to 13-29
  and religion, 21-25 to 21-31
  Black Gay and Lesbian Pride. *See under* pride celebratons
  during the Harlem Renaissance, 13-8 to 13-14. (*See also* Harlem Renaissance)
  during the Jazz Era, 13-14 to 13-19
  sexual engagement, 13-30 to 13-33
African Ancestral Lesbians United for Social Change (AALUSC), 13-26 to 13-27
AIDS Action Project, 29-12
Allen, Paula Gunn, 09-11
Alva, Eric, 20-1 to 20-2, 20-16 to 20-17
alyha:, 09-8. *See also* Native gender expressions
American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU), 03-37, 18-59, 18-62, 19-9, 19-15 to 19-16
American Law Institute (ALI), 19-15 to 19-16
American Psychological Association (APA), 08-28, 18-23, 22-8, 22-10 to 22-12
  protests at, 22-12
Annual Reminders, 14-29, 17-37 to 17-38, 18-27, 18-30, 19-15, 31-19
Apollo Theater. *See under* New York City, New York
archeology, 02-2, 06-1 to 06-22, 09-6, 09-20, 12-7, 30-16
  and intersectionality, 06-14 to 06-15

  - gender and sexuality in, 06-5, 06-6
  - material culture in, 06-11
  - of genders, 06-15 to 06-16
  - of households, 06-12
  - of identity, 06-10 to 06-11, 06-12
  - of LGBTQ sites, 06-9 (*see also* LGBTQ community: through archeology)
  - queer archeology, 05-36, 06-4
  - significance, 30-3, 30-9, 30-12, 30-16
  - types of sites, 06-20 to 06-22
- Arnesen, Cliff, 08-27 to 08-28
- Arthur J. Sullivan Funeral Home. *See under* San Francisco
- Asheville, North Carolina, 14-9
  - Black Mountain College, 23-6 to 23-8
- Asian American Feminists, 11-17
- Asian Lesbians of the East Coast, 11-22 to 11-23, 11-29
- Asian Pacific Americans (APA), 11-1 to 11-37
  - activisms, 11-3 to 11-4, 11-20 to 11-37
  - and radicalism, 11-12 to 11-38
  - and structural racism/homophobia, 11-3
  - early history, 11-4 to 11-12
- Asian/Pacific Lesbians, 11-23
- assimilation. *See also* politics: respectability.
  - critiques of, 02-16
- Association of Welcoming and Affirming Baptists, 21-16 to 21-17. *See also* LGBTQ spirituality: Baptists
- Atlantic House. *See under* Provincetown
- Austen, Alice, 05-58, 05-59, 23-1n1, 26-4 to 26-5, 31-11
  - Alice Austen House, 05-59 to 05-60, 23-1n1, 26-4 to 26-5, 31-10, 32-12 to 32-13
- azidothymidine (AZT), 22-12, 22-14 to 22-15

- Baca, Judy, 12-10, 23-12 to 23-13
- Bad Dolly's. *See under* Reno, Nevada
- Baehr v. Miike, 18-56 to 18-57 (*see also* court cases)
- Baker, Josephine, 13-16, 13-16n45, 13-19, 22-23, 25-17

Baker Street Scandal. *See under* San Francisco
Baldwin, James, 05-11, 13-22 to 13-23, 13-25, 17-35 to 17-36, 18-24 to 18-25, 21-1n1, 26-20, 26-23
Ballroom culture, 13-12, 13-18, 13-34, 24-37, 24-39, 26-19, 29-16, 32-21
Barceló, Doña Gertrudis, 12-14
Barney, Natalie Clifford, 31-22
Barscz, Catherine, 29-4 to 29-5
bathhouses, 01-6, 02-28, 05-23, 05-43 to 05-44, 08-20, 13-31 to 13-32, 14-18, 15-16, 16-1, 16-2, 16-3, 16-13, 16-16, 16-17 to 16-21, 16-36, 17-28, 17-48, 18-12, 18-49, 19-28, 19-36, 22-1, 22-14, 22-21, 25-17 to 25-18, 25-35, 26-25, 27-18, 28-14 to 28-17, 28-19, 28-31, 32-15
Bay Area Gay Liberation (BAGL), 25-30
Bay Area American Indian Two Spirits, 09-12, 14-17, 21-6
Beach Island, South Carolina
    Rockcliffe Plantation, 03-9
Beam, Joseph, 13-25, 17-49
Bean, Carl, 21-27
Beasley, Bill, 08-23
Beauport, the Sleeper-McCann House. *See under* Gloucester, Massachusetts
Beiderbecke, Bix, 29-15
Belle Livingstone's Cow Shed. *See under* Reno, Nevada
Bello, Ada, 17-38
Bentley, Gladys, 03-18, 04-35n102, 13-12, 13-14, 13-15 to 13-16, 13-18, 16-6, 17-25, 18-12, 23-6n13, 24-38, 25-15
berdache, 03-6, 09-4 to 09-5, 09-8, 09-18. *See also* Native gender expressions
Berkeley
    Pacific Center for Human Growth, 15-21
Bérubé, Allan, 04-32, 25-33
Bigelow, Otis, 17-32
binary
    as a Western construct, 06-7

  between heterosexuality and homosexuality, 03-17, 08-4, 08-8. *See also* sexology: binary between heterosexuality and homosexuality
  parallels between racial and sexual binaries, 03-17
BiNET USA, 08-9 to 08-10, 08-26, 08-31 to 08-32, 11-32, 18-54
BiPOL, 08-9, 08-10, 08-12 to 08-13, 08-15, 11-32
BiRequest, 08-23
bisexual, 03-3, 08-1
  as part of the LGBTQ movement, 08-2 to 08-3
  Bisexual Resource Collection (*see under* Boston)
  erasure, 08-7 to 08-9
  history of, 08-5 to 08-7, 08-9 to 08-11
  resistance and protest, 08-11 to 08-16
Bisexual Political Action Campaign (BiPAC), 08-11, 08-29
Black Cat Tavern. *See under* San Francisco
Black Leather Wings, 21-48 to 21-49. *See also* Radical Faeries
Black Lives Matter (BLM), 07-14, 07-15, 15-29
Black Mountain College. *See under* Ashville, NC
Black Queer Studies Collection. *See under* University of Texas at Austin
Black Trans Lives Matter, 07-14 to 07-15
Blackwell, Emily, 07-9, 07-10n22
Boitano, Brian, 24-31. *See also* LGBTQ sport and leisure: figure skating
Boston
  Bisexual Resource Collection, 08-10
  Biversity, 08-19
  East Coast Bisexual Network (Bisexual Resource Center), 08-10, 08-32, 18-54, 32-20
  Fenway Community Health Center, 22-22, 22-23n54
  Gibson House Museum, 05-61
  Homophile Health Services, 22-21
Boston marriage, 14-28, 17-18, 32-11, 32-12, 32-22. *See also* romantic friendships: among women
boté, 03-6, 03-8, 09-6, 09-23, 09-25, 10-5n9. *See also* Native gender expressions
Boutilier, Clive, 19-20 to 19-21

Bowers v. Hardwick, 08-10n25, 17-53, 18-48, 18-49, 18-56 to 18-57, 19-31. *See also* court cases
Bowman, Karl, 10-21 to 10-22, 25-26 to 25-27. *See also* University of California San Francisco: Langley Porter Clinic
Bradley, Marion Zimmer, 04-14, 04-18n47
Briggs Initiative, 11-15, 11-36, 18-42, 19-24 to 19-25
Brinn, Deborah, 21-38 to 21-39
Bross, Evelyn “Jackie”, 29-4, 29-4n12, 29-5
Brown, Addie, 03-11, 17-13. *See also* Primus, Rebecca
Brown, Kate, 08-3
Brungard, Fred, 21-49 to 21-50, 21-50n176. *See also* Sisters of Perpetual Indulgence
Bryant, Anita, 02-18, 08-12, 08-12n30, 16-19, 16-30, 18-41 to 18-43, 21-2, 27-18 to 27-19, 31-2
    Save Our Children Campaign, 08-12, 16-9, 18-41, 18-42, 21-2, 27-18 to 27-19, 31-2
Buffalo Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender Archives. *See under* State University of New York at Buffalo
Buffalo, NY, 17-9 to 17-10
    National Trust for Historic Preservation Conference, 26-11 to 26-12
Bunch, Ken, 21-49 to 21-50, 21-50n176. *See also* Sisters of Perpetual Indulgence
Burgess, Ernest, 29-7 to 29-8
Burke, Glenn, 24-10. *See also* LGBTQ sport and leisure: baseball
Burleigh, Margaret, 03-10, 18-7, 18-7n15. *See also* Grew, Mary
butch. *See under* gender expression
Butler, Judith, 06-5, 07-13
Butt-Millet Memorial Fountain, 30-9

Café Lafitte in Exile. *See under* New Orleans
Caffe Cino. *See under* New York City, New York
Califia, Pat, 16-29, 17-40, 17-45 to 17-46
    Sapphistry: The Book of Lesbian Sexuality, 17-45 to 17-46
California Hall. *See under* San Francisco
Cammermeyer, Grethe, 20-13

Camp Trans. *See under* Michigan Womyn's Music Festival
Capote, Truman, 02-10
Carmel-by-the-Sea, California
    Mission San Carlos Borromeo de Carmelo (Carmel Mission), 10-3n7, 10-4, 11-7n27
Carrington House. *See under* Cherry Grove
Casal, Mary. *See* Field, Ruth Fuller
Casella, Eleanor, 06-6, 06-9
    Ross Female Factory, 06-6, 06-9
Cashier, Albert, 10-8 to 10-9
Castro Camera. *See under* Milk, Harvey
Castro District. *See under* San Francisco
Cather, Willa, 05-3 to 05-5, 05-48, 26-19, 31-14
Catt, Carrie Chapman, 07-8 to 07-9, 07-9n22
censorship, 05-30n72
    in feminist circles, 17-40
    of art, 23-4n9, 23-22
    of bisexuals, 08-9
    of publications and films, 16-31, 19-20, 23-2 to 23-3
    response, 02-18, 16-32, 16-34, 19-19 to 19-20
    self-censorship, 23-4
Centers for Disease Control (CDC), 03-31, 03-32, 19-30, 22-9, 22-15, 25-34, 27-22 to 27-23
Chase, Cheryl, 25-27 to 25-28. *See also* Intersex Society of North America
Chauncey, George, 03-2, 03-20n43, 03-35, 04-29, 10-18, 13-8 to 13-9, 15-17, 16-17, 24-5, 25-17n58, 26-3 to 26-4, 26-9, 28-6
    Gay New York: Gender, Urban Culture, and the Making of the Gay Male World, 1890-1940, 26-3 to 26-4, 26-9
Cheltenham, Faith, 08-32
Cherry Grove, 02-8, 02-9, 06-19, 14-9, 15-14, 15-14n40, 15-15, 17-44, 17-46, 24-44, 30-14n27
    Cherry Grove Community House and Theatre, 02-8, 05-22
    Carrington House, 02-9 to 02-10, 15-14n40, 24-44n152, 30-13, 30-14n27
Chicago, 29-1 to 29-17

  1893 Chicago World's Fair, 14-21 to 14-22
  Bronzeville, 13-14 to 13-15, 29-1, 29-3, 29-6, 29-15 to 29-17
  Carl Sandburg Village, 29-10 to 29-11
  Chicago Defender, 29-15 to 29-16
  Chicago Tribune, 29-3 to 29-4
  Cook County Hospital, 18-46n157, 29-13 to 29-14
  Dill Pickle Club, 29-6 to 29-7
  Gerber/Hart Library and Archives, 04-24
  Gold Coast, 16-11 to 16-12, 23-2n6, 23-4n9, 29-8, 29-8n23, 29-9, 29-10n29
  Hotel Pershing, 13-17
  Howard Brown Center (Howard Brown Memorial Clinic), 22-22, 29-12 to 29-13
  Hull House, 02-28, 02-28n64, 05-56, 05-57 to 05-58, 06-21, 06-21n55, 17-4, 17-19, 17-29n89, 31-16, 32-11 to 32-12, 32-23 (*see also* Addams, Jane)
  Lost and Found, 16-4, 16-13n43, 17-43n141
  Roselle Inn, 29-7
  Towertown, 29-6 to 29-8
  Twelve-Thirty Club, 29-7
  Washington Square Park, 29-6 to 29-7
Ching, Tamara, 11-16, 11-27 to 11-28, 11-36
Choi, Dan, 11-2
Choy, George, 11-26 to 11-27, 11-36
Christopher Street. *See under* New York City, New York
Christopher Street Liberation Day Rally, 03-29
Chung, Margaret, 11-9 to 11-10, 11-12
Cincinnati
  Gay and Lesbian Community Center of Greater Cincinnati, 02-23
Circus Disco. *See under* Los Angeles
Civil Service Commission, 01-2, 18-39, 19-15, 19-16, 19-21, 19-26, 19-30
Civil Rights Act, 07-6, 07-8, 18-8, 18-21, 18-26, 18-61
Cleveland, James, 26-8 to 26-9
Clover Club. *See under* Miami

Club 99. *See under* Reno, Nevada
Club Baths. *See under* Reno, Nevada and Portland
Club Heaven. *See under* Detroit
Club Turkish Baths. *See under* San Francisco
Club Uranus. *See under* San Francisco
Columbia University
  Columbia Queer Alliance, 08-17 to 08-19
  Student Homophile League, 08-17, 19-44n97
Colton, John, 10-13
Combahee River Collective, 06-3n27, 13-25, 13-26 to 13-27, 18-35, 21-2
Compton's Cafeteria. *See under* San Francisco
Comstock Act, 18-10, 19-5 to 19-6
Comstock, Anthony, 18-13n34, 19-6, 26-15
Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), 13-22, 18-25
Continental Baths and Health Club. *See under* New York City, New York
Cook County Hospital. *See under* Chicago
Cooper's Donuts. *See under* Los Angeles
Corcoran Gallery of Art. *See under* Washington, DC
Cory, Donald Webster, 04-9 to 04-10, 16-22 to 16-23
  Cory Book Service, 16-22 to 16-23
Council on Religion and the Homosexual (CRH), 25-24 to 25-26. *See also* homophile movement, San Francisco
court cases
  Baehr v. Miike, 18-56 to 18-57
  Bowers v. Hardwick, 08-10n25, 17-53, 18-48, 18-49, 18-56, 19-31, 23-3n4
  censorship. *See under* court cases: First Amendment
  cross-dressing, 19-24
  custody, 19-24, 19-29 to 19-30
  employment, 01-2, 19-17, 19-18, 19-24
  entrapment, 19-17 to 19-18
  First Amendment, 16-33 to 16-34, 18-20, 19-20, 19-30
  gay bars. *See under* court cases: right of assembly
  Goodridge v. Department of Public Health, 18-57
  guardianship, 19-29

  - Hansberry v. Lee, 13-23, 18-25
  - HIV, 18-38
  - hospital visitation rights, 19-29
  - immigration, 19-20, 19-29
  - Lawrence v. Texas, 08-10n25, 17-53, 18-38, 18-56, 19-31n69
  - lewdness, 19-23 to 19-24
  - MANual Enterprises v. Day, 16-34
  - military service, 19-20, 20-13
  - Obergefell v. Hodges, 03-36, 12-17, 18-56 to 18-58, 19-31n69
  - obscenity. *See under* court cases: First Amendment
  - ONE, Inc. v. Oleson, 18-20
  - People v. West 12 Tenants Corp., 18-38
  - right of assembly, 16-7 to 16-8, 18-20, 19-18, 25-16
  - same-sex marriage, 03-36, 12-17, 17-54, 18-56 to 18-58, 19-29, 19-31n69, 26-32
  - segregation, 13-23, 18-25, 29-17
  - sodomy, 08-10n25, 17-53, 18-38, 18-48, 18-49, 18-56, 19-23, 19-30 to 19-31
  - Stoumen v. Reilly, 18-20, 25-16
  - surveillance, 19-17, 19-23 to 19-24
  - transgender name change, 19-17
  - United States v. Spinar and Germain, 16-34
  - United States v. Windsor, 03-36, 17-54, 18-56 to 18-58, 19-31n69, 26-32
- Creating Change Conference, 08-29 to 08-30, 21-43
- Crenshaw, Kimberly, 06-13n27, 07-2, 21-2
- cross dressing, 03-6, 04-14, 05-66, 10-4 to 10-8, 10-12, 10-13, 10-15, 10-18, 10-20, 10-25, 10-28, 17-11, 17-24, 17-44, 18-7, 19-4, 19-7, 19-8, 19-12, 19-24, 19-28, 19-31, 19-35, 24-5, 24-37, 25-10 to 25-12, 26-5, 28-3, 28-6 to 28-8, 28-10, 28-12, 29-2, 29-4, 29-11
- Cullen, Countee, 13-3, 13-9, 13-10. *See also* Jackman, Harold
  - Dunbar Apartments, 13-10
- Cullors, Patrisse, 15-29. *See also* Black Lives Matters (BLM)
- Custody Action for Lesbian Mothers (CALM), 17-51
- Cvetkovich, Ann, 04-21

Damon, Gene. See Grier, Barbara
Daughters of Bilitis, 03-26, 04-12, 04-15, 04-18n47, 5-23, 08-17n43, 11-12 to 11-14, 12-29, 15-27, 16-23, 16-29, 17-37, 18-3, 18-18n57, 18-21, 18-22n68, 18-27, 19-14, 23-2n4, 25-2, 25-22, 25-23, 26-9n15, 26-23, 28-25 to 28-28, 29-11 to 29-12, 29-17n57, 32-18
  The Ladder, 03-26n55, 04-12, 04-14, 11-13, 15-27, 16-29, 16-31, 17-37, 18-22, 18-26, 25-23, 26-23, 28-26 to 28-28, 29-17n57
Dave's VIP. *See under* Reno, Nevada
Davies, Rosalie, 17-51
Davis, Angela, 11-14, 13-35
Davis, Joseph, 10-6
Davis, Madeline D., 04-31, 15-11, 16-5, 27-16. *See also* Kennedy, Elizabeth Lapovsky
Davis, Mason, 11-2
Deering, James, 27-6 to 27-7
  Villa Vizcaya, 27-6 to 27-8
Defense of Marriage Act, 03-36, 17-53 to 17-54, 18-57, 26-32
DeLarverie, Stormé, 10-5n65, 18-30n93, 23-11n27, 24-38, 26-9, 32-15. *See also* LGBTQ sport and leisure: drag
D'Emilio, John, 03-35, 04-12 to 4-13, 04-29, 04-32, 04-34, 15-2, 17-7, 25-29
Denny, Dallas
  National Transgender Library and Archive, 04-25
Derickson, David, 17-16 to 17-17
Detroit
  Club Heaven, 15-25
  Sweetheart Bar, 15-11
Dewey's Lunch Counter. *See under* Philadelphia
De Wolfe, Elise, 26-15
Diagnostic and Statistical Manual (DSM), 03-24 to 03-25, 10-29
  removal of gender identity disorder, 22-13
  removal of homosexuality, 02-8, 03-25, 03-28n61, 18-23, 22-7 to 22-8, 22-12 to 22-13, 22-21. *See also* Kinsey, Alfred
Dickinson, Emily, 17-3

DignityUSA, 21-7, 21-50. *See also* LGBTQ spirituality: Roman Catholicism
Dill Pickle Club. *See under* Chicago
Dolkart, Andrew, 05-15, 05-45n118, 05-46, 26-2 to 26-3, 26-11. *See also* Organization of Lesbian and Gay Architects and Designers
Donaldson, Stephen, 08-17 to 08-18, 08-19, 08-24 to 08-25, 19-42, 19-44n97
Don't Ask, Don't Tell, 14-23 to 14-24, 17-32n112, 18-56, 20-2, 20-13 to 20-15, 20-17, 20-18
drag, 01-6, 01-13, 05-15, 05-25, 10-17 to 10-19, 12-30, 14-11, 14-28, 15-1, 15-25, 16-9, 17-44, 21-40, 23-10, 24-27, 24-34, 24-37 to 24-40, 24-44, 25-15, 25-17, 25-26, 26-9, 26-30 to 26-31, 27-9, 28-8 to 28-12, 28-23, 31-11, 32-15
    drag balls, 03-20 to 03-21, 13-8, 13-11, 13-14, 13-16 to 13-7, 13-18, 14-13, 17-25, 17-28, 26-18, 29-15 to 29-16, 32-16. *See also* ballroom culture
    drag kings, 06-15, 13-12, 13-18, 28-29
    drag queens, 03-27 to 03-28, 05-54, 05-65, 07-4, 11-16, 13-9, 14-21 to 14-22, 16-7, 16-16, 17-44, 18-24, 18-31 to 18-32, 20-12, 21-48 to 21-49, 23-17 to 23-18, 25-14, 26-30, 28-6, 28-18 to 28-19, 28-29, 30-8n37, 32-16, 32-21
Du Bois, W.E.B., 06-18, 13-10n22, 17-14
Dunbar Apartments. *See under* Cullen, Countee
Dunye, Cheryl, 23-6. *See also* Watermelon Woman
Dyke March, 18-52
Dykes on Bikes, 14-4
Dykes Against Racism Everywhere, 15-14

East Coast Bisexual Network. *See under* Boston
East Village. *See under* New York City, New York
Edificio Comunidad de Orgullo Gay de Puerto Rico (Casa Orgullo), 02-11 to 02-12, 12-32
Eisenhower, Bunny, 18-32
Elephant Walk. *See under* San Francisco
Ellington, Edward "Duke", 13-18
Ellis, Havelock, 03-13, 03-14, 26-16

  - *Studies in the Psychology of Sex (1900-1905)*, 04-9

El Rosa Hotel, *see under* San Francisco

Employment Non-Discrimination Act (ENDA), 10-34 to 10-35, 08-30, 18-60 to 18-61

Enslin, Gotthold Fredrich, 20-3, 20-4

Erickson Education Foundation, 19-14

Escoffier, Jeffrey, 04-19, 04-33

Esperanza Peace & Justice Center. *See under* San Antonio

Esta Noche. *See under* San Francisco

Fair Housing Act, 18-61 to 18-62

Farajajé-Jones, Elias, 08-15

Federal Equal Access Act, 18-59

Feinberg, Leslie, 04-36, 10-30, 10-31n84, 18-51n178

Fellowship of Reconciliation, 13-22

femme. *See under* gender expression

feminism, 02-12, 05-43, 05-47, 05-65, 07-7 to 07-8, 12-25 to 12-26, 18-26, 18-33, 18-35, 18-36, 21-8, 23-12n32, 23-13, 25-32, 26-23, 28-27, 31-2, 32-18, 32-19
  - lesbian feminism, 02-12, 05-47 to 05-48, 18-33 to 18-34, 18-35, 23-12n32, 28-28, 32-18 to 32-19
  - radical feminism, 16-35, 26-17, 28-27
  - wave model, 07-5 to 07-7

Fenway Community Health Center. *See under* Boston

Field, Ruth Fuller, 04-4, 04-5
  - *The Stone Wall*, 04-5, 04-7, 04-8n16

Finocchio's nightclub. *See under* San Francisco

Fire Island, 02-8, 02-9, 05-22, 06-19, 14-9, 15-14, 15-15 to 15-16, 17-44, 17-46, 24-44, 30-14n27

First Convention for Women's Rights. *See under* Seneca Falls

Fleuti, George, 19-21

Food and Drug Administration (FDA), 03-23, 18-46n157, 22-12, 22-14, 22-15n34, 22-16 to 22-18

Foster, Jeannette Howard, 04-10 to 04-11

Sex Variant Women in History: A Historical and Quantitative Study, 04-11
Foucault, Michel, 06-5, 06-12n24
  on acts and identities in sexualities, 03-13
Frazier, Demita, 13-27
Freud, Sigmund. *See also* sexology
  on normalizing sexual behavior, 03-14
Friedan, Betty, 07-8
  The Feminine Mystique, 07-7
Friends Committee of Concern, 21-21 to 21-22
Frisco Follies, 28-10 to 28-12. *See also* Reno, Nevada: Harrah's Casino
Furies Collective, 01-9, 16-30 to 16-31, 18-34 to 18-35, 23-12n32, 24-42
  The Furies Collective House, 01-10, 02-12, 05-14n28, 05-47 to 05-48, 16-30n107, 24-42n145, 32-20

Gaffney, Stuart, 11-2 to 11-3
Garber, Marjorie, 04-36 to 04-37
Garza, Alicia, 15-29. *See also* Black Lives Matter (BLM)
gay, 03-3
Gay Activist Alliance, 04-27n71, 17-28n87, 18-31, 18-32, 19-22, 24-11, 26-27, 27-17
Gay Activist Alliance Speaker Bureau, 08-11, 12-30 to 12-31
Gay American Indians, 09-11, 12-31, 21-6, 25-31
Gay and Lesbian Advocates and Defenders, 19-23
Gay and Lesbian Alliance Against Defamation (GLAAD), 26-31 to 26-32
Gay and Lesbian Archive of Mid-America. *See under* University of Missouri-Kansas City
Gay and Lesbian Community Center of Greater Cincinnati. *See under* Cincinnati
Gay Asian Rap Group (GARP), 11-23
Gay Community News, 19-43
Gay Games. *See under* LGBTQ sport and leisure
gay ghettos, 14-14 to 14-15
Gay Latino Alliance, 12-31 to 12-32, 14-23, 18-37, 25-31
Gay, Lesbian & Straight Education Network (GLSEN), 18-59n208, 32-5

  National School Climate Survey, 32-5 to 32-6
gay liberation, 02-14, 03-27 to 03-29, 04-18, 08-18, 12-28 to 12-29, 12-32, 13-24, 16-29, 18-30, 18-32, 18-38, 19-41, 20-10, 23-3, 23-13, 23-22, 25-28 to 25-33, 26-26, 27-15 to 27-16, 28-14, 30-13, 32-15 to 32-16, 32-18 to 32-19, 32-22
Gay Liberation Front (GLF), 05-23, 08-11, 11-17, 11-22n87, 11-26, 12-30 to 12-31, 13-26, 18-30 to 18-31, 19-22, 20-10n23, 25-30, 26-27, 32-19
Gay Liberation Monument, 14-27, 30-9
Gay Men of African Descent (GMAD), 13-28 to 13-29
Gay New York: Gender, Urban Culture, and the Making of the Gay Male World, 1890-1940. *See under* Chauncey, George
gay plague, 03-31, 27-22 to 27-23. *See also* Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome (AIDS), gay-related immune deficiency (GRID), Human Immunodeficiency Virus (HIV)
gay-related immune deficiency (GRID), 03-31, 22-8. *See also* Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome (AIDS), Human Immunodeficiency Virus (HIV), gay plague
Gay Rights National Lobby, 19-22 to 19-23
Gay-Straight Alliance, 18-58 (*see also* GLSEN)
Gay Teen Task Force. *See under* Miami
gay villages, 14-14
gayborhood, 14-14 to 14-15, 30-11. *See also* gay villages
gender expression, 12-20 to 12-21
  butch/femme identities, 07-11 to 07-13
gender variance
  cross culturally, 10-02 (*see also* Native gender expressions)
Genovese, Kitty, 19-34
gentrification, 02-9, 06-1, 06-19, 07-3, 14-7 to 14-9, 14-14 to 14-15, 14-17 to 14-18, 14-22, 14-27, 14-30
Gerber/Hart Library and Archives. *See under* Chicago
Gerber, Henry, 02-7 to 02-8, 03-23n51, 04-13n29, 08-16, 13-20, 14-8, 18-15, 18-19n61, 19-9, 22-11, 25-11n79, 29-1n1. *See also* Society for Human Rights

  Henry Gerber House, 01-09, 02-7 to 02-8, 02-29, 05-23n52, 08-17, 13-20, 14-8, 14-29n122, 18-15n44, 19-10, 26-11, 29-1n1, 30-8, 32-18
German Village, *see* Hamilton, Ohio
Gibson House Museum, *see* Boston
Gilbert, Dr. J. Allen, 22-19 to 22-20
Gilbert, Joan, 27-10
Gill Foundation, 02-4, 18-55n195
Ginsberg, Allen, 16-7, 23-9, 23-10, 26-20
Giovanni's Room. *See under* Philadelphia
Gittings, Barbara, 03-28n61, 04-28n74, 05-28, 17-33, 17-36, 17-38, 18-23
GLBT Historical Society, 04-32 to 04-33, 15-3, 25-2, 25-5. See also Lesbian and Gay History Project
Glide Memorial Methodist Church. *See under* San Francisco
Gloucester, Massachusetts
  Beauport, the Sleeper-McCann House, 05-62 to 05-63, 06-21, 31-20 to 31-21
Gold Coast. *See under* Chicago
Golden, Baruch, 21-49 to 21-50. *See also* Sisters of Perpetual Indulgence
Goldman, Emma, 05-11n22, 08-2, 17-21 to 17-22, 17-46, 19-8 to 19-9
Goodridge v. Department of Public Health, 18-57 to 18-58
gospel music, 07-16 to 07-17
Greenwich Village. *See under* New York City, New York
Grew, Mary, 03-10, 18-7. *See also* Burleigh, Margaret
Grindr, 15-1 to 15-2, 15-4
Griner, Brittney, 24-21 to 24-22. *See also* LGBTQ sport and leisure: basketball
Guren, Alexei, 08-18, 08-20
Graves, John T., 08-17, 13-20 to 13-21, 18-55n44, 22-11
Grier, Barbara, 04-14, 16-29 to 16-30, 28-27 to 28-28
Guild Press. *See under* Washington, DC
Gutierrez, José, 04-26, 05-25, 12-36
  Latino GLBT History Project, 04-25 to 04-26
Gutiérrez, Ramón, 04-28, 04-30, 04-35n101

Halberstam, Jack, 06-16, 07-13
Hall, Murray, 22-4, 26-16, 32-14
Hall, Thomas(ine), 03-3 to 03-5, 10-5, 17-11 to 17-12, 19-3
Hamilton, Ohio
    German Village, 05-17
Hammond, James Henry (Jim), 03-8 to 03-9. *See also* Withers, Thomas Jefferson (Jeff)
Hampton, Mabel, 04-22 to 04-23, 13-32n102
Hansberry, Loraine, 05-11, 13-22 to 13-23, 13-25, 18-24, 18-25 to 18-26, 26-23, 26-28, 29-16, 29-17n57
Haring, Keith, 23-16 to 23-17
Harlem Renaissance, 03-17 to 03-18, 13-8 to 13-24, 13-32, 13-36, 17-14, 17-25 to 17-26, 18-12, 23-26n13, 24-39. *See also* LGBTQ people of color: self-expression
Harlem United, 14-12
Harrah's Casino. *See under* Reno, Nevada
Harry Hansberry's Clam House, 13-12
Hart, Alan Lucill, 10-11 to 10-12, 22-19, 22-23
Hart Island. *See under* New York City, New York
Hay, Harry, 02-8, 03-26n55, 04-16, 05-23n53, 05-28, 14-18, 17-36 to 17-37, 18-17n51, 18-18, 18-19, 18-31n95, 21-48 to 21-49, 25-19n66, 25-22, 30-8n15, 32-18. *See also* Mattachine Society
Hayashi, Kris, 11-1 to 11-2
Hayes, Bruce, 24-8
Health Crisis Network (Care Resource). *See under* Miami
he'emaneo, 09-8. *See also* Native gender expressions
Heifetz, Mel, 19-18
hermaphrodite, 03-6, 09-2 to 09-4, 09-7 to 09-8. *See also* Native gender expressions
    critique of the term, 09-4
hetaneman, 09-6, 09-7, 09-23n68. *See also* Native gender expressions
heteronormativity, 05-67, 12-18 to 12-19, 12-22, 12-35, 14-10, 24-39, 24-40, 31-14

heterosexuality, 02-14, 03-25, 05-26, 05-67, 06-9 to 06-10, 06-17, 06-18, 07-15, 08-8, 11-6 to 11-7, 11-11, 12-12, 12-17, 12-21 to 12-24, 17-31, 23-8 to 23-9, 24-7, 24-15, 31-14
    as a modern construct, 03-14, 17-6
Hirschfeld, Magnus, 17-21, 22-11, 29-6n15
history
    addressing identity in, 02-26 to 02-27
    importance of telling, 01-6 to 01-7, 02-18
    intersectional approaches (*see under* intersectionality)
    minority exclusion, 02-3, 02-13 to 02-14
History UnErased, 01-10, 04-38n108
Hollibaugh, Amber, 04-32n92, 04-33
homelessness, 02-17, 14-28, 18-4, 18-36, 18-62, 24-16, 24-40, 25-24, 26-32, 32-16, 32-24
Homophile Health Services. *See under* Boston
Homosexual Law Reform Society (HLRS), 19-16
homosexuality, 01-2, 02-8, 03-14, 03-20n43, 03-25, 04-5 to 04-6, 04-13, 04-15, 04-17, 04-23, 05-52, 06-7, 16-17, 07-16, 08-8, 09-4, 12-5, 12-23, 12-27, 17-8, 17-12, 18-10, 18-20n62. *See also Diagnostic and Statistical Manual*: removal of homosexuality
    as a modern construct, 06-11, 06-12n24, 17-6, 17-12
    situational homosexuality, 19-39, 19-41 to 19-42
Hosmer, Harriet, 30-10
Hotel Pershing. *See under* Chicago
Howard, Brenda, 08-11
Howard Brown Center. *See under* Chicago
Hoyt, Dorothie, 10-6
Hudson, Rock, 17-5
Hughes, Langston, 13-3, 13-9, 13-10, 13-13 to 13-14, 13-16 to 13-17, 17-28n88, 18-12, 23-6n13
Hull House. *See under* Chicago.
Human Immunodeficiency Virus (HIV), 03-32 to 03-34, 04-30, 05-29, 08-15, 08-20 to 08-21, 09-11 to 09-12, 10-30, 11-25 to 11-28, 11-31, 12-27, 13-26 to 13-30, 13-32, 13-35, 14-23, 15-22, 15-24, 15-29, 17-5, 17-28n88, 17-47 to 17-49, 18-38, 18-44n151, 18-45, 18-46n157, 18-49,

18-53 to 18-54, 19-30, 20-11, 21-26, 22-14, 22-16, 22-23 to 22-24, 23-13, 23-14 to 23-17, 24-16, 24-29 to 24-30, 25-36, 27-21, 32-19. *See also* Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome (AIDS), gay-related immune deficiency (GRID), gay plague
Human Rights Campaign, 12-36, 15-24, 16-20, 18-60, 19-23, 20-16 to 20-17, 21-42
Hunter, Alberta, 13-9, 13-16, 13-19, 26-8
Hunter, John Francis, 01-5 to 01-6
Hurston, Zora Neale, 13-10
Hutchins, Loraine, 11-32, 16-27n94, 21-48
hwame:, 09-6, 09-8. *See also* Native gender expressions

identity, 02-25 to 02-28
    as historically situated, 06-6 to 06-7
    identity politics (*see* politics: identity)
Imperial Court System, 12-36, 16-8
incarceration, 19-37 to 19-43
    in prisons/jails, 03-29, 05-27, 06-6, 08-17, 10-9 to 10-10, 16-17, 17-1, 18-7, 18-14, 19-3 to 19-4, 19-8 to 19-9, 19-11, 19-13, 19-26, 19-28, 19-30, 20-5, 22-1, 22-5, 22-6, 22-24, 24-6, 24-15, 25-9, 25-20 to 25-21, 29-3, 29-7, 32-11
    in mental institutions/asylums, 10-10, 18-10, 19-7 to 19-8, 19-38, 22-1, 22-5 to 22-6, 32-17, 32-23
Independence Hall, *see* Philadelphia
Indiana University
    Kinsey Institute, 03-25n52, 04-20, 08-5n14, 14-28, 17-8n20, 22-11, 23-8 to 23-9.
Indian Citizenship Act, 07-6 to 07-7
Inman, Richard, 19-18
International Conference of Gay and Lesbian Jews, 21-41
International Conference on Bisexuality, 08-22n51
International Conference on Transgender Law and Employment Policy (ICTLEP), 10-32, 18-59 to 18-60
International Drag King Community Extravaganza, 24-40

International Gay Rodeo Association, 24-27 to 24-28. *See also* LGBTQ sport and leisure: rodeo
International Gay Rugby League, 24-18. *See also* LGBTQ sport and leisure: rugby
intersectionality, 02-20, 02-24 to 02-25, 02-29, 04-36, 06-13 to 06-14, 07-1 to 07-18, 14-3, 14-5, 18-36, 21-2, 31-8 to 31-9, 31-15,
  and history, 07-5 to 07-8
  and place, 07-2 to 07-3
  and sexual and gender expression, 03-1 to 03-2, 07-2, 07-9, 07-11 to 07-18
  as a response to violence, 07-4 to 07-5
  history of, 07-2
  in archeology (*see under* archeology)
  uses of, 07-9 to 07-11
intersex, 02-14n30, 10-12, 10-34, 15-30, 21-42, 21-47, 25-27 to 25-28
Intersex Society of North America (ISNA), 25-28
Integrity USA, 21-9 to 21-10. *See also* LGBTQ spirituality: Episcopalians
Irwin, David, 04-24
  Quatrefoil Library, 04-24
issei, 11-7, 11-7n26, 11-10

Jackman, Harold, 13-9. *See also* Cullen, Countee
Jackson, Antonio “Tony”, 13-14, 13-15, 13-16, 29-15
Jackson, David Noyes, 02-9. *See also* Merrill, James
Jacob Riis Park. *See under* New York City.
James C. Hormel LGBTQIA Center. *See under* San Francisco
Janus Society, 16-15, 18-27 to 18-28, 19-14, 19-20
Jeffrey, Patrick, 24-29. *See also* LGBTQ sport and leisure: diving
Jenner, Caitlyn, 24-3 to 24-4
Jewel Box. *See under* Miami
Jewel Box Lounge. *See under* Kansas City
Jewel’s Catch One. *See under* Los Angeles
Johns, Charley, 27-11 to 27-12
Johns Hopkins University, 10-11n24, 10-27, 17-20, 32-14
  Brady Urological Clinic, 10-12

Johnson, Georgia Douglas, 13-13 to 13-14, 18-12n33
Johnson, Marsha P., 02-17, 10-28, 12-31, 13-24, 17-38, 18-30, 20-10n23, 32-21n41
Johnson, Philip, 05-41, 21-24
    Glass House, 06-21
Johnson, Samuel (Sarah), 10-10
Jones, Billy S. (Jones-Hennin, Billy), 08-23 to 08-24, 13-27
Jones, Cleve, 18-47 to 18-48, 22-15, 25-34, 25-37
Jones, James, 16-9
Jorgensen, Christine, 04-35n102, 10-22 to 10-24, 10-25, 27-13
Josie's Cabaret and Juice Joint. *See under* San Francisco
Julius. *See under* New York City, New York.
June Mazer Lesbian Archives, 14-26
Just Us, 01-6

Ka'ahumanu, Lani, 08-10, 08-20 to 08-21, 08-31. *See also* BiPOL
Kameny, Dr. Franklin E., 01-1 to 01-2, 01-5, 02-8, 03-26n54, 03-26n56, 03-28n61, 05-28, 05-46, 17-33, 17-38, 18-22, 18-23, 18-27, 19-21, 20-9 to 20-10, 22-11 to 22-12, 30-8n14, 32-18 to 32-19
    Dr. Franklin E. Kameny Residence, 01-2n1, 01-3, 01-9, 02-8, 05-25, 06-21, 17-33n111, 17-37n125, 19-21, 26-11, 30-8, 30-11, 32-18
Kansas City
    Jewel Box Lounge, 23-10, 32-15
Kahrl, Christina, 24-36
Katz, Jonathan Ned, 04-8n16, 04-26 to 04-28, 04-28n74, 23-15n38
Kelly, William, 17-38
Kellor, Francis, 07-9
Kennedy, Elizabeth Lapovsky, 04-30, 15-11, 16-5
    Buffalo Women's Oral History Project, 04-30 to 04-31 (*see also* Davis, Madeline D. and Michelson, Avra)
Kenny, Maurice, 09-11
Kepner, James, 04-15, 04-16, 04-23
    Western Gay Archives (National Gay Archives), 04-23, 04-24
Key West, 05-26, 14-9, 17-44 to 17-45, 24-45
Kihefner, Don, 21-48 to 21-49. *See also* Radical Faeries

King, Billie Jean, 24-12 to 24-13, 24-19. *See also* LGBTQ sport and leisure: tennis
Kinsey, Alfred, 03-24 to 03-25, 06-7n13, 06-12, 10-22, 10-24n61, 11-15, 17-7 to 17-8, 17-42, 22-21 to 22-22, 23-8 to 23-9, 25-27, 29-7 to 29-8. *See also* Diagnostic and Statistical Manual (DSM): removal of homosexuality
  influence over bisexuality, 08-5 to 08-6
  Kinsey House, 17-7
  Kinsey scale, 08-4n12, 08-25n59, 11-15
  post-Kinsey research, 08-6 to 08-7
  Sexual Behavior in the Human Male (1948), 18-18, 29-7
Kinsey Institute. *See under* Indiana University
Klah, Hastíín, 09-15, 09-25 to 09-28. *See also nádleehí*
Klein, Fritz, 08-25, 22-22
Kopay, David, 24-2, 24-15 to 24-16. *See also* LGBTQ sport and leisure: football
Kozachenko, Kathy, 03-30n65, 15-6n14, 18-40, 19-26
Kramer, Larry, 16-19, 17-2, 17-46, 18-46, 23-14
  Faggots, 16-19, 17-46
Kuilix, 09-19 to 09-20

The Ladder. *See under* Daughters of Bilitis
Lafayette Square. *See under* Washington, DC
Lahusen, Kay, 17-34n111, 17-38, 18-23
Lambda Legal Defense Fund, 11-29, 12-34, 18-37, 18-38, 18-59, 19-23
Lambda Rising. *See under* Rehoboth Beach and Washington, DC
Lammas. *See under* Washington, DC
Langley Porter Clinic. *See under* University of California San Francisco
language
  challenges of, 03-3, 06-11
Latina Lesbians United Never Apart (LLUNA), 12-35
Latino/a community, 07-13, 12-1 to 12-39
  and colonialism, 12-6 to 12-15
  and marriage, 12-17 to 12-18
  and religion, 21-31 to 21-32

  gender and sexuality in, 12-1 to 12-2, 12-33 to 12-35
  gender norms, 07-15 to 07-16, 12-4 to 12-5, 12-18
  in the 20th century, 12-16 to 12-23
  sexual politics among, 12-23 to 12-34
Latino GLBT History Project. *See under* Gutierrez, José
Latina/o Lesbian and Gay Organization (LLEGÓ), 18-53
Latino Pride Center, 12-35
Lavender Menace, 18-33 to 18-34
Lavender Scare, 03-25, 03-26, 17-35 to 17-36, 18-17, 18-17n51, 20-8, 20-9, 25-19
Lawrence, Louise, 10-21, 25-27
Lawrence, Robert, 08-22
Lawrence v. Texas, 03-34 to 03-35, 08-10n25, 17-53 to 17-54, 18-38, 18-56, 19-31n69. *See also* sodomy: laws. *See also* court cases
Laws of Burgos, 12-9 to 12-10
League for Civil Education, 12-29, 25-16n45
League of Women Voters, 18-13, 26-22
Lee, Christopher, 11-1, 11-35
lesbian, 03-3
  as a medical term, 10-10
Lesbian Avengers, 05-48, 05-59, 10-31, 18-51 to 18-52
lesbian feminism. *See under* feminism
Lesbian and Gay History Project, 04-3, 04-31 to 04-34, 25-33. *See also* GLBT Historical Society
Lesbian Herstory Archives (LHA). *See under* New York City, New York
Lesbian Nation, 14-18 to 14-19
Lexington Club. *See under* San Francisco
LGBTQ Art and Artists, 23-1 to 23-23. *See also* Royal Theatre
LGBTQ bookstores. *See under* LGBTQ community
LGBTQ businesses 16-1 to 16-36
  bars and rent parties 16-4 to 16-13
  bathhouses, 15-16, 16-17 to 16-21
  bookstores, 01-4, 04-9, 14-26, 14-27, 16-3, 16-21 to 16-27, 16-29, 21-47, 32-19
  clothing retailers, 16-27 to 16-29

  commercial media, 16-29 to 16-36
  diners and cafeterias, 16-14 to 16-17
LGBTQ civil rights, 01-1, 02-8, 02-15 to 02-16, 05-1, 12-28, 13-30, 16-10, 17-52, 18-1 to 18-63, 19-18, 19-24, 19-27, 21-42, 25-28, 26-13, 26-27, 28-27, 30-6, 31-13, 32-18
  from 1500 to 1776, 18-5 to 18-6
  from 1776-1865, 18-6 to 18-7
  from 1865-1900, 18-8 to 18-10
  from 1900-1941, 18-10 to 18-15
  from 1941-1954, 18-16 to 18-20
  from 1954-1964, 18-20 to 18-26
  from 1964-1981, 18-26 to 18-44
  from 1981-1993, 18-44 to 18-55
  from 1993-2016, 18-55 to 18-61
LGBTQ community, 01-3, 03-21 to 03-34
  as nonnormative, 03-1
  bears, 06-15, 15-25, 17-44
  bookstores and magazines, 01-4, 14-2, 15-23 to 15-30, 16-21 to 16-27, 16-35 to 16-36, 18-35
  community centers. (*See under* LGBTQ geographies)
  community influence over Heritage report, 02-24
  community organizations, 01-06
  identity formation, 15-1 to 15-30
  influence of World War II, 03-23 to 03-24
  leather, 01-6, 01-13, 02-18, 04-34, 08-11, 08-21, 15-25, 15-29, 15-30, 16-8, 16-11 to 16-13, 17-44, 17-46, 21-7, 21-49, 29-8, 32-21
  people of color in predominantly white communities, 03-21 to 03-22, 03-28 to 03-29
  resort communities, 24-42 to 24-46
  rural vs. urban spaces, 03-22
  through archeology, 06-19 to 06-20
LGBTQ geographies, 14-1 to 14-31
  bars and nightclubs, 15-8 to 15-14
  community centers, 15-21 to 15-23
  embodied spaces, 14-2 to 14-5

  neighborhoods, 14-12 to 14-20, 15-4 to 15-8
  parks and open spaces, 14-18, 14-28, 15-14 to 15-21, 25-19, 30-7
  piers, 13-32, 15-13, 15-17 to 15-18, 18-30n93, 26-29, 30-8, 32-21
  place ranges, 14-20 to 14-31
  urban vs. rural spaces, 14-5 to 14-12
LGBTQ health, 22-1 to 22-26. *See also* Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome (AIDS)
  discrimination and disparities, 22-3 to 22-10
  sites of protest, 22-10 to 22-18
  sites of service, 22-18 to 22-24
LGBTQ Heritage Initiative, 01-7 to 01-8, 01-11, 01-12, 02-2 to 02-6, 02-19, 02-24, 03-2, 03-37, 04-38, 31-1
  goals, 02-6
  similar initiatives, 02-6 (*see also* Pride of Place)
LGBTQ historic site interpretation, 31-1 to 31-23. *See also* LGBTQ history, National Historic Landmarks (NHL), National Register of Historic Places (NRHP)
  artifacts, 31-12 to 31-15
  certainty, 31-15 to 31-16
  interpretation as storytelling, 31-4 to 31-16
  interpretive methods, 31-21 to 31-22
  planning, 31-17 to 31-23
  stakeholders, 31-17 to 31-19
  vocabulary, 31-8
  why interpret LGBTQ history, 31-2 to 31-4
LGBTQ history
  applying modern labels to the past, 03-3 to 03-12, 06-7
  as a creator of norms, 03-2
  as a space of multiple possibilities, 03-4
  as queer, 04-01
  as recovery and reclamation, 03-2, 04-2
  rumor, innuendo, and silence, 03-16
  shifting understandings of sexuality, 31-5 to 31-7
  through literature, 04-8
  underrepresented groups in, 31-9 to 31-12

LGBTQ history education, 32-1 to 32-24
    challenges of teaching LGBTQ history, 32-6 to 32-8
    reasons for teaching LGBTQ history, 32-2 to 32-6
    using historic sites in teaching, 32-8 to 32-21
LGBTQ laws, 19-1 to 19-43
    colonial laws, 19-2 to 19-4
    laws from 1940-1969, 19-10 to 19-21
    laws from 1970-1989, 19-21 to 19-37
    LGBTQ incarceration, 19-37 to 19-43
    post-Civil War laws, 19-5 to 19-9
LGBTQ people of color, 03-16 to 03-18, 22-16 to 22-17
    self-expression, 03-16 to 03-17 (*see also* Harlem Renaissance)
LGBTQ preservation
    benefits 01-10 to 01-12
LGBTQ relationships 17-1 to 17-55
    and family, 17-51 to 17-55
    and HIV/AIDS, 17-47 to 17-51
    definitions of, 17-5 to 17-10
    documenting, 17-10 to 17-14
    drawbacks in, 17-32 to 17-36
    freeing of, 17-26 to 17-32, 17-36 to 17-38
    pride in, 17-38 to 17-47
    visibility of, 17-14 to 17-26
LGBTQ spirituality, 21-1 to 21-51. *See also* Radical Faeries, Sisters of Perpetual Indulgence
    Baptists, 21-16 to 21-17 (*see also* Association of Welcoming and Affirming Baptists)
    Black churches, 21-25 to 21-31
    Buddhism, 21-44 to 21-46
    early organizing, 21-4 to 21-5
    Episcopalians, 21-9 to 21-10 (*see also* Integrity USA)
    general Christianity, 21-6 to 21-7
    Hinduism, 21-44
    Islam, 21-41 to 21-43
    Judaism, 21-33 to 21-40

  - Latino/a, 21-31 to 21-32
  - Lutherans, 21-13 to 21-14
  - Methodists, 21-11 to 21-13 (*see also* Open and Affirming Resolution)
  - Metropolitan Community Church, 08-19, 14-25, 16-17, 16-19, 17-52 to 17-53, 18-43, 19-36, 21-23 to 21-24, 21-27, 21-31, 21-41
  - Native American religions, 21-6
  - Orthodox Catholic Church of America, 21-4
  - other spiritualities, 21-19 to 21-24, 21-31 to 21-33
  - Pagan, 21-46 to 21-48, 21-50
  - Presbyterians, 21-14 to 21-16
  - Quakers, 08-17, 08-24, 10-6, 21-21 to 21-22, 32-21
  - Roman Catholicism, 21-7 to 21-9 (*see also* DignityUSA)
  - Unitarians, 21-22 to 21-23, 21-47
  - United Church of Christ, 21-17 to 21-19 (*see also* Open and Affirming Coalition)
- LGBTQ sport and leisure, 24-1 to 24-46
  - baseball, 24-9 to 24-10
  - basketball, 24-20 to 24-23
  - bodybuilding, 24-25 to 24-27
  - diving, 24-28 to 24-29
  - figure skating, 24-29 to 24-31
  - football, 24-15 to 24-17
  - Gay Games, 05-30, 11-21, 16-19, 24-32 to 24-36, 25-3n5
  - hockey, 24-19
  - LGBTQ athletes, 24-2 to 24-8
  - resort communities (*see under* LGBTQ communities)
  - rodeo, 24-27 to 24-28
  - rugby, 24-18
  - soccer, 24-23 to 24-24
  - softball, 15-20, 24-11 to 24-12
  - tennis, 24-12 to 24-15
  - women's music, 24-41 to 24-42
- LGBTQ youth, 01-10
- *lhamana*, 03-7, 06-8, 09-6, 09-20 to 09-21. *See also* Native gender expressions, Zuni

Licata, Salvatore, 04-28, 04-29, 04-30
Lind, Earl, 04-7 to 04-8, 10-18, 32-14
Ling, Chin, 11-5 to 11-6
Little Bighorn Battlefield National Monument, 32-10 to 32-11, 32-23
Lobdell, Joseph, 10-10 to 10-11, 19-38, 19-39n89, 22-5
Locke, Dr. Alain, 04-9, 13-9, 13-13 to 13-14, 17-14
Lombardi, Michael, 04-17n43, 04-29
Lorde, Audre, 05-48, 08-24, 11-21, 13-24 to 13-25, 17-39, 17-46 to 17-47, 18-35n109, 18-44, 23-14, 26-6 to 26-7, 26-20
    Audre Lorde House, 26-7
Los Angeles
    Circus Disco, 05-55 to 05-56, 12-25, 17-43
    Cooper's Donuts, 05-54n136, 10-25n67, 17-37, 18-29, 19-14 to 19-15, 32-17
    Jewel's Catch One, 13-35, 17-43n140, 32-15 to 32-16
Lost and Found. *See under* Chicago
Louganis, Greg, 11-31 to 11-32, 24-28 to 24-29. *See also* LGBTQ sport and leisure: diving
Lourea, David, 08-20, 25-31n117
Lozen, 09-9
Lustbader, Ken, 05-45n118, 26-8, 26-11. *See also* Organization of Lesbian and Gay Architects and Designers

Mabley, Jackie "Moms", 13-16, 13-16n45, 13-19, 26-8 to 26-9
machismo, 12-18 to 12-20
Madison, James, 13-1 to 13-2
    as a slave owner, 13-2
māhū, 03-8, 09-9 to 09-10, 09-12, 09-13 to 09-14, 10-5n9. *See also* Native gender expressions
    aikāne relationships, 09-10
    as *kumu*, 09-13
    history, 09-14 to 09-15
Malinche, La (Tenepal, Malintzin), 12-2 to 12-4, 12-9
Manning, Chelsea, 10-33 to 10-34

Mapplethorpe, Robert, 14-25, 23-4n10, 23-19 to 23-21. *See also* Washington DC: Corcoran Gallery of Art
Marbury, Elisabeth, 26-15
March on Washington (1987), *see under* Washington, DC
Marielitos, 27-10
Marine Cooks and Stewards Union, 07-9
Marianismo, 12-18 to 12-20
Martin, Del, 03-26n55, 11-12, 17-37, 18-21 to 18-22, 18-22n68, 25-23, 25-25, 25-32, 28-27
Martin, Ricky, 12-33
Mary's First and Last Chance Bar. *See under* Oakland
Masters and Johnson Institute, 22-7
Matlovich, Leonard, 20-11
Mattachine Society, 02-8, 03-26, 03-26n55, 04-11 to 04-12, 04-12n27, 04-15, 04-16, 04-29, 05-23, 08-17n43, 12-10, 12-29, 14-8 to 14-9, 15-11, 16-5, 16-9, 16-19, 16-23, 17-36 to 17-37, 17-37n123, 18-3, 18-17n51, 18-18 to 18-19, 18-22, 18-27, 19-12, 19-14, 19-16 to 19-17, 20-9, 20-10n21, 22-11 to 22-12, 23-2n4, 25-22 to 25-23, 26-25 to 26-26, 29-12, 30-8n14, 32-18. *See also* Hay, Harry
    of Buffalo, 18-18
    of Chicago (Mattachine Midwest), 18-18, 29-12
    of Detroit, 18-18, 18-19
    of New York City, 02-10, 16-10, 18-28, 26-26
    of the Niagara Frontier, 18-19n58
    of Washington, DC, 02-8, 16-9, 18-18, 18-22, 18-23, 18-27, 20-9
    sip-in at Julius, 02-10 to 02-11, 15-11, 16-10 to 16-11, 18-28, 19-18, 26-25
    The Mattachine Review, 03-26n55, 04-12, 04-13 to 04-14, 15-27, 16-31, 18-22, 25-22,
    25-23n81
Mayer, Kenneth, 22-23 to 22-24
McDaniel, Hattie, 30-5
McGovern, George, 27-16
McKay, Claude, 13-3, 13-10, 17-14, 17-25

Claude McKay Residence, 13-3n3, 13-10, 13-13n36, 17-28n88, 23-6n13
McLeod, Charlotte, 27-13
Medical-Dental Building. *See under* San Francisco
Meredith, Amaza Lee, 13-3 to 13-5
Merrill, James. *See also* Jackson, David Noyes
James Merrill House, 01-9, 02-9
Miami, 27-1 to 27-24
Clover Club, 27-10
Dade County Coalition for the Humanistic Rights of Gays, 27-17
Embassy Hotel, 27-9
Gay Teen Task Force, 08-18
Harlem of the South, 27-8 to 27-9
Health Crisis Network (Care Resource), 08-20, 27-8
Jackson Memorial Hospital, 27-22
Jewel Box, 27-9
Jewel Box Revue, 10-5n65, 18-30n93, 23-10n27, 24-38n131, 26-9, 27-9 to 2-10, 28-8 to 28-10, 28-12, 32-15
Miami Beach, 27-10 to 27-11
Miami-Dade County, 27-1 to 27-2
Miami Orange Bowl, 27-20 to 27-21
Miami Transperience Center, 08-12
South Beach, 27-16 to 27-17
South Florida AIDS Network (SFAN), 27-22
Villa Vizcaya (*see under* Deering, James)
Michelson, Avra, 04-31. *See also* Kennedy, Elizabeth Lapovsky
Michigan Womyn's Music Festival, 05-66, 07-3 to 07-4, 10-32, 14-19 to 14-20, 17-42, 24-41 to 24-42, 32-20
Camp Trans, 07-3, 10-32, 14-20, 17-42n139, 24-41 to 24-42, 32-20
military, 19-11, 20-1 to 20-18. *See also* Don't Ask, Don't Tell
Milk, Harvey, 03-29 to 03-31, 05-28, 05-45, 08-12n32, 15-6, 15-12, 16-24, 18-40, 18-42, 18-43, 19-27, 19-34 to 19-35, 20-8, 25-33
assassination of, 03-31, 15-12, 18-40. *See also* Moscone, George and White, Dan
Castro Camera, 15-6, 32-19

Millennium March on Washington (2000). *See under* Washington, DC
Miller, Joaquin, 11-8, 11-18
Milwaukee LGBT Community Center, 15-22
Minneapolis/St. Paul
  Town House, 15-10 to 15-11
Mission San Carlos Borromao de Carmelo (Carmel Mission), *see under* Carmel-by-the-Sea, California
Mission San Diego de Alcala. *See under* San Diego
Mona's 440 Club. *See under* San Francisco
Money, John, 10-12
Monhart, John, 20-3
Montana
  Rosebud Battlefield, 03-8, 06-21, 09-23n68, 09-25
Moore, Marianne, 05-12 to 05-14
Morris, Jim, 24-25. See also LGBTQ sport and leisure: body building
Moscone, George, 03-30, 03-30n67, 03-31, 08-12n32, 18-40, 19-34. See also Milk, Harvey and White, Dan
mujerismo,12-20 to 12-21
  mujer passive, 12-20
Murray, Pauli, 13-21 to 13-22, 18-24 to 18-25
Muslim Alliance for Sexual and Gender Diversity, 21-43
Muslims for Progressive Values, 21-42
Muxe, 12-22 to 12-23

nádleehí, 03-6, 09-6, 09-26 to 09-27, 09-29. *See also* Native gender expressions, Navaho
Naegle, Walter, 02-10, 05-48, 17-52. *See also* Rustin, Bayard
Names Project, 18-47, 21-49, 22-15 to 22-16, 25-37, 26-32
Names Project AIDS Memorial Quilt. See under Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome
National AIDS Memorial Grove. *See under* San Francisco
National Black Feminist Organization (NBFO), 13-26, 18-35 to 18-36
National Black Justice Coalition (NBJC), 17-9
National Center for Lesbian Rights, 18-59, 19-23, 32-5
National Center for Transgender Equality, 10-34, 18-60

National Coalition of Black Lesbians and Gays, 08-24, 13-27, 18-44, 19-23
National Coming Out Day, 18-49
National Conference Celebrating Bisexuality, 08-31, 21-47n169
National Conference of Third World Lesbians and Gays, 08-24, 11-19, 13-27, 18-44
National Conference on AIDS in the Black Community, 13-27
National Conference on Bisexuality, 08-26, 32-20
National Equality March (2009). *See under* Washington, DC
National Gay and Lesbian Task Force, 04-34, 08-29 to 08-30, 11-25, 21-19, 21-43. *See also* National Gay Task Force, National LGBTQ Task Force
National Gay Rights Advocates, 19-23
National Gay Task Force, 18-37, 18-38, 19-22
National Historic Landmarks (NHL), 01-6 to 01-7, 01-11, 01-13, 02-1, 02-6, 02-22, 02-24, 05-2, 06-1, 06-3 to 06-4, 07-18, 13-3, 26-9 to 26-10, 30-1 to 30-2. *See also* Theme Studies
    function of the NHL, 30-2 to 30-3
    inclusion criteria, 06-3 to 06-4, 06-21, 06-22, 30-12 to 30-16 (*see also* LGBTQ historic site interpretation)
    LGBTQ landmarks, 02-7 to 02-12
    limits of NHL, 30-4
    nomination, 30-6 to 30-18
    property types, 30-7 to 30-11
    site significance, 30-11 to 30-12
National Historic Preservation Act, 01-6
    underrepresented groups in, 02-6
National Latino/a Lesbian and Gay Organization (LLEGO), 12-35, 18-53
National Legal Defense Fund (NLDF), 19-16
National Lesbian and Gay Law Association, 18-60
National LGBTQ Task Force, 08-29, 11-25, 17-9, 19-22. *See also* National Gay Task Force, National Gay and Lesbian Task Force
National March on Washington for Lesbian and Gay Rights. *See under* Washington, DC
National March on Washington for Lesbian, Gay and Bi Equal Rights and Liberation (1993). *See under* Washington, DC

National Organization of Women (NOW), 07-8, 12-37, 13-22, 18-33 to 18-34, 27-17
  Lesbian Task Force, 27-17
National Park Service (NPS), 01-6, 02-1, 02-4, 04-38
National Park System New Area Study Act, 02-3
National Register of Historic Places (NRHP), 01-7, 01-11, 01-13, 02-1, 02-24, 06-1, 06-3, 07-18, 13-5 to 13-6, 30-1 to 30-2. *See also* Theme Studies
  function of the NRHP, 30-2 to 30-3
  inclusion criteria, 06-3, 06-21, 06-22, 13-3, 30-12 to 30-13 (*see also* LGBTQ historic site interpretation)
  LGBTQ places, 02-7 to 02-12
  limits of NRHP, 30-4
  nomination, 30-6 to 30-18
  property types, 30-7 to 30-11
  site significance, 30-11 to 30-12
National Transgender Advocacy Coalition, 18-60
National Transgender Library and Archive. *See under* Denny, Dallas
Native American. *See under* two-spirit
Native gender expressions, 03-6 to 03-8, 09-1 to 09-2, 10-3. *See also* berdache, *boté*, hermaphrodite, *Ihamana*, *nádleehí*, two-spirit
Navaho, 03-6. *See also nádleehí*
Nestle, Joan, 04-21 to 04-22
New Orleans
  Café Lafitte in Exile, 16-13, 18-11, 32-15
  UpStairs Lounge, 16-13, 17-51, 19-36, 21-23
New York City, New York, 26-1 to 26-33
  Alice Austin House (*see under* Austin, Alice)
  Apollo Theater, 13-3, 13-19, 13-32, 26-8
  Audre Lorde House (*see under* Lorde, Audre)
  Bethesda Fountain, 26-4 (*see also* Stebbins, Emma)
  Caffe Cino, 26-24 to 26-45
  Castle Williams, 03-23
  Christopher Street, 15-17 to 15-18, 26-27 to 26-29
  Continental Baths and Health Club, 16-20

- East Village, 15-15 to 15-16, 15-25, 17-21, 23-16, 26-12, 26-21, 26-24, 26-28, 26-30
- Eleanor Roosevelt National Historic Site (Val-Kill), 06-21
- Greenwich Village, 15-4, 15-5, 16-10, 26-2, 26-3 to 26-4, 26-7 to 26-9, 26-12 to 26-32
- Hart Island, 02-13
- Jacob Riis Park, 15-19
- Julius, 02-10 to 02-11, 13-30, 15-11, 15-15, 16-10 to 16-11, 18-28, 19-17, 19-18, 26-12, 26-25 to 26-26, 32-16. (*see also* Mattachine Society)
- Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender Community Center (The Center), 15-23, 18-46, 23-13 to 23-17
- Lesbian Herstory Archives (LHA), 04-21 to 04-23, 14-26, 26-7
- Meatpacking District, 15-13, 15-18, 26-29, 26-32, 30-7
- New York Area Bisexual Network, 08-11
- Oliver Smith House (*see under* Smith, Oliver)
- Oscar Wilde Bookshop, 15-26, 21-20
- Oscar Wilde Memorial Bookstore, 16-23 to 16-25, 26-26
- Paresis Hall, 10-18 to 10-19, 10-20, 16-6
- Paul Rudolph Apartments (*see under* Rudolph, Paul)
- Pyramid Club, 23-16n41, 24-39, 26-30
- Savoy Ballroom, 13-12
- Todhunter School, 18-13, 26-22
- Women’s Medical College of the New York Infirmary, 07-9
- WOW Café Theatre, 15-25

Niles, Blair, 04-9
Nob Hill. *See under* Washington, DC
Noguchi, Yoni, 11-6 to 11-8, 11-12, 25-12n30
North Carolina HB2, 03-37, 10-36
Northampton, 05-21, 05-26, 08-14, 14-9, 15-4
Norton, Rictor, 04-28, 04-29
Novarro, Ramon, 12-19, 19-33
Nugent, Richard Bruce, 13-8 to 13-10, 13-22, 18-12

Oakland

  Mary’s First and Last Chance Bar, 19-18
Obergefell v. Hodges, 03-36, 12-17 to 12-18, 17-53 to 17-56, 18-56, 18-57 to 18-58, 19-31n69
Ohchiish, 09-22 to 09-25. *See also boté*
One Incorporated, 04-12, 04-15 to 04-16, 04-19, 04-23, 17-37, 18-19 to 18-20, 18-22, 18-24
  One Institute for Homophile Studies, 04-15 to 04-17, 04-20
  One Institute Quarterly: Homophile Studies, 04-12, 16-31
ONE National Lesbian and Gay Archives. *See under* University of Southern California
On Our Backs, 11-22, 16-35, 17-41
Onuma, Jiro, 11-10 to 11-11, 18-16 to 18-17, 19-41
Open and Affirming Coalition, 21-17 to 21-18. *See also* LGBTQ spirituality: United Church of Christ
Open and Affirming Resolution, 21-12. *See also* LGBTQ spirituality: Methodists
Organization of Lesbian + Gay Architects and Designers (OLGAD), 05-24, 26-7 to 26-8, 26-9, 26-11 to 26-12
Oscar Wilde Memorial Bookstore. *See under* New York City, New York
Ostrow, Steve, 16-20, 22-23 to 22-24. *See also* Continental Baths and Health Club
Our Bodies, Our Selves, 17-41

Pacific Center for Human Growth. *See under* Berkeley
Paper Doll. *See under* San Francisco
Paresis Hall. *See under* New York City, New York
Paris is Burning, 24-39 to 24-40
Parke, Dr. J. Richardson, 04-6 to 04-7
Perkins, Frances, 05-4, 05-7 to 05-8, 05-53
Perry, Troy, 14-25, 17-38, 17-52, 21-23, 21-24n74
Phase One. *See under* Washington, DC
Philadelphia
  Dewey’s Lunch Counter, 16-15, 17-37, 18-27 to 18-28
  Giovanni’s Room, 14-27, 15-26, 15-29, 16-24 to 16-25

  Independence Hall, 03-28, 05-27, 05-28, 14-29, 16-15, 17-38, 18-27, 19-15
  Royal Theatre, 23-4 to 23-6
Phoenix Rising, 11-20 to 11-21
physique magazines, 11-10, 16-23 to 16-24, 16-28, 16-30 to 16-36, 17-27, 19-19 to 19-20, 24-25
police raids, 03-27, 05-54, 12-30, 16-2, 16-17, 17-34, 17-43 to 17-44, 18-2n3, 18-18, 18-20, 18-28, 19-8, 19-14, 27-1, 27-12, 29-11, 32-17
  Ariston Hotel Baths (New York City), 16-17, 17-28n88, 18-13n34, 32-15 to 32-16
  Atlanta Eagle, 15-29, 18-2n3
  Betty K's (Indianapolis), 17-34n115
  Black Rabbit (New York City), 18-13n34, 26-15
  Blue's (New York City), 12-29, 15-13
  California Hall (San Francisco), 21-5, 32-16
  Compton's Cafeteria (San Francisco), 10-26
  Direct Services, Inc. (Minneapolis), 16-34
  Dover Hotel (Los Angeles), 19-33
  Eve Addams Tearoom (New York City), 26-17
  Everard Turkish Bathhouse (New York City), 18-13n34
  Finocchio's (San Francisco), 10-17n45
  Fun Lounge (Chicago), 29-12
  Gangway (San Francisco), 18-11, 18-13n34
  Humoresque (Philadelphia), 19-18n30
  Lafayette Baths (New York City), 16-17 to 16-18
  Old Army-Navy YMCA (Newport), 18-2n3
  Slide (New York City), 26-14 to 26-15
  Society for Human Rights (Chicago), 03-23n51, 08-17
  Stonewall Inn (New York City), 02-7, 03-27, 13-24, 15-2, 19-22, 23-15, 26-26
  Tay-Bush Inn (San Francisco), 16-8, 25-21
  Tempo Playhouse, 26-24n54
  Tommy's Place (San Francisco), 17-34n115, 25-20
  Tony Pastor's (New York City), 05-15, 26-20
  Twenty-Second Street Beach (Miami), 17-34n115

    Wonder Bar (New Orleans), 10-18n45
politics
    identity, 02-27, 12-37 to 12-38
    respectability, 02-14, 02-17, 07-13 to 07-14, 07-16, 14-24 to 14-25, 17-14 to 17-15 (*see also* assimilation)
    tensions between respectability and radical, 02-15
    visibility, 02-13 to 02-14
Portland
    Club Baths, 02-28
Portland, Rene, 24-20 to 24-21. *See also* LGBTQ sport and leisure: basketball
Presidio of San Francisco. *See under* San Francisco
pride celebrations, 03-29, 05-26, 07-13, 08-14, 08-15, 08-22, 08-23, 11-19, 11-36, 14-7, 14-23 to 14-24, 17-39, 17-45, 18-30, 18-52, 24-45, 25-7, 25-29, 27-16, 29-11
    African American Lesbian and Gay Pride, 18-53
    Bisexual pride, 08-32
    Black Lesbian and Gay Pride, 13-29 to 13-30, 22-16
    DC Latino Pride, 12-36
    history of, 02-7, 08-11, 26-26
Pride of Place, 02-6. *See also* LGBTQ Heritage Initiative
Primus, Rebecca, 03-11, 17-13. *See also* Brown, Addie.
Prine, Elizabeth, 06-8
privilege, 06-17
Provincetown, 3-19, 14-9, 15-4, 17-44, 24-43, 24-44
    Atlantic House, 3-19, 16-13, 24-43

Qánqon-kámek-klaúlha, 09-15, 09-16 to 09-20. *See also títqattek*
Quatrefoil Library. *See under* Irwin, David
Queen, Carol, 08-19, 08-22
Queens Liberation Front (QLF), 10-28, 18-32, 19-22
queer, 03-3
    as politically charged, 02-5
Queer Nation, 02-6, 02-15 to 02-16, 08-11, 10-31, 11-30, 18-3, 18-36, 18-50 to 18-52, 23-15, 23-18

queer network, 03-22
queer studies
    whitewashing of, 11-3
Quiroz, Sara, 19-20 to 19-21

Radical Faeries, 05-23, 14-18 to 14-20, 17-37n123, 21-48 to 21-49. *See also* Spiritual Conference for Radical Faeries
Radicalesbians, 18-34, 19-22, 26-27
Rainbow Heritage Network, 01-11, 05-47, 05-64
Rainbow History Project, 01-12, 05-25, 05-31, 05-45
Rainey, Gertrude "Ma", 03-17 to 03-18, 13-3, 13-9, 13-14, 13-15 to 13-17, 17-25 to 17-26, 29-15
Rapinoe, Megan, 24-23 to 24-24. *See also* LGBTQ sport and leisure: soccer
Rehoboth Beach, 15-4, 17-44, 24-44
    Lambda Rising, 02-22
Reno, Nevada, 28-1 to 28-31
    5 Star Saloon, 28-22 to 28-23
    Bad Dolly's, 28-24 to 28-25
    Belle Livingstone's Cow Shed, 28-6 to 28-8
    Club 99, 28-20 to 28-22
    Club Baths, 28-14 to 28-17
    cultural links to San Francisco, 28-5 to 28-6
    Dave's VIP, 28-17 to 28-19
    during the Gold Rush, 28-2 to 28-4
    early same-sex sexual activity, 28-4 to 28-5
    gambling, 28-4
    Harrah's Casino, 28-10 to 28-12
    Jewel Box Revue (*see under* Miami)
    Reno Bar, 28-13 to 28-14
    Reno Evening Gazette, 28-5
    Reno Gay Rodeo, 28-28 to 28-30 (*see also* LGBTQ sport and leisure: rodeo)
    Riverside Hotel, 28-8 to 28-10
    Washoe County Fairgrounds, 28-28 to 28-30

Renslow, Chuck, 02-18, 16-11 to 16-13, 17-27, 17-44, 29-8
Respect After Death Act, 11-1, 11-35 to 11-36
Rich, Adrienne, 02-1, 02-14, 05-48, 17-46
Richards, Reneé, 24-13. *See also* LGBTQ sport and leisure: tennis
Richardson, Rudy, 29-15
Richmond, Julius, 19-25 to 19-26. *See also* Diagnostic and Statistical Manual (DSM): removal of homosexuality
Ride, Sally, 02-26
Rivera, Sylvia, 02-17, 03-29, 08-3 to 08-4, 08-11, 10-29, 12-30 to 12-31, 17-38, 18-30
Robinson, Gene, 21-10 to 21-11
Rockcliffe Plantation. *See under* Beach Island, South Carolina
Rockway, Alan, 08-12
Rodwell, Craig, 16-23 to 16-25, 21-20, 26-26
romantic friendships.
    among women, 03-9 to 03-11. *See also* Boston marriage
Romo-Carmona, Mariana, 12-33 to 12-34
Roosevelt, Eleanor, 05-4 to 05-7, 05-11, 07-2, 08-2, 08-27, 17-3, 18-13, 26-22, 32-7, 32-12 to 32-13
Rosebud Battlefield. *See under* Montana
Roselle Inn. *See under* Chicago
Ross Female Factory. *See under* Casella, Eleanor
Royal Theater. *See under* Philadelphia
Rubin, Gayle, 04-28 to 04-29, 04-34, 06-5, 07-13
Rudolph, Paul, 26-6
    Paul Rudolph Apartments, 26-6
    Charmed Circle, 06-16, 07-4
RuPaul, 18-55, 24-39 to 24-40, 26-30
    RuPaul's Drag Race, 24-39
Rustin, Bayard, 01-9, 05-48 to 05-49, 07-9, 13-20 to 13-22, 17-14, 17-52, 32-21. *See also* Naegle, Walter
    Bayard Rustin Home (Bayard Rustin Residence), 01-9, 02-10, 05-14, 05-48, 13-3 to 13-4, 13-20, 13-21
    March for Jobs and Freedom, 02-10, 18-21

Sagarin, Edward. *See* Cory, Donald Webster
Salsa Soul Sisters, 15-16
Sam, Michael, 24-16, 24-17. *See also* LGBTQ sport and leisure: football
same-sex intimacy
    among women in the 19th century, 03-10, 04-5
same-sex marriage, 27-14
    backlash against, 03-37 to 03-38
    impact on bisexuality, 08-6, 08-7
Sampson, Deborah, 03-5 to 03-6, 10-7 to 10-8
San Antonio
    Esperanza Peace & Justice Center, 12-36 to 12-37
San Diego
    Mission San Diego de Alcala, 10-3n7, 12-12
Sandoval, Chela, 06-18
San Francisco, 25-1 to 25-38
    Arthur J. Sullivan Funeral Home, 22-9
    Baker Street Scandal, 25-11 to 25-12
    BiFriendly, 08-19
    Black Cat Tavern, 01-4, 15-8, 16-7 to 16-8, 25-15 to 25-16
    California Hall, 19-15, 21-5, 21-23, 25-25, 32-16
    Castro District, 14-13, 14-26 to 14-27, 15-4, 15-6
    Center for Sex and Culture, 08-21
    City Hall, 19-34
    Club Turkish Baths, 16-19
    Club Uranus, 23-17 to 23-19
    community development, 25-13 to 25-19
    Compton's Cafeteria, 01-4, 03-27, 10-26, 14-21, 14-22 to 14-23, 16-16 to 16-17, 17-37, 18-29 to 18-30, 25-26, 32-16
    early influences on LGBTQ identities, 25-9 to 25-12
    Elephant Walk, 15-12 to 15-13
    El Rosa Hotel, 10-17
    Esta Noche, 12-31, 17-43n140
    Gay and Lesbian Historical Society, 04-24, 04-33, 08-11, 11-37 to 11-38

  - Glide Memorial Methodist Church, 10-28, 25-24 to 25-25 (*see also* LGBTQ spirituality: Methodist)
  - historical context, 25-3 to 25-8
  - James C. Hormel LGBTQIA Center, 08-10 to 08-11, 15-23, 25-5
  - Josie's Cabaret and Juice Joint, 15-25
  - Lexington Club, 14-22
  - Medical-Dental Building, 10-21
  - Mona's 440 Club, 16-5 to 16-7, 25-14 to 25-15
  - National AIDS Memorial Grove, 01-9, 02-12, 06-21
  - Paper Doll, 25-16 to 25-17
  - Presidio of San Francisco, 17-29
  - San Francisco Lesbian and Gay History Project, 04-3, 04-31 to 04-32
  - Six Gallery, 23-9 to 23-10
  - Stop AIDS Now or Else (SANOE), 18-47 to 18-48
  - Tay-Bush Inn, 25-20
  - Tenderloin District, 14-22 to 14-23, 15-5
  - Theatre Rhino, 15-3
  - Tom Waddell Health Center, 22-20
  - Tommy's Place, 25-20
  - Valencia Rose, 15-25
  - Women's Building, 04-32n92, 05-65, 10-31, 11-24, 12-16, 15-21, 18-36, 18-46n159, 18-50, 25-32 to 25-33
- Sarria, José, 05-28, 12-29 to 12-30, 12-36, 16-7 to 16-8, 17-38, 18-17n50, 18-23 to 18-24, 18-37, 18-40, 19-26, 25-15 to 25-16, 30-18, 32-16
- Saugatuck, Michigan, 14-9, 17-44, 24-44 to 24-45
- Save Our Children campaign. *See under* Bryant, Anita
- Savoy Ballroom. *See under* New York City, New York
- Scott-Chung, Chino, 11-1
- Second National March on Washington for Lesbian and Gay Rights (1987). *See under* Washington, DC
- Sedgwick, Eve, 06-5
- Seneca Falls
  - First Convention for Women's Rights, 07-6
  - Wesleyan Chapel, 07-6

sex reassignment surgery, 10-12
sex wars, 16-35, 17-40 to 17-41
sexology, 03-13 to 03-15, 04-5 to 04-6. *See also* Freud, Sigmund
  on the binary between heterosexuality and homosexuality, 03-14. *See also* binary: between heterosexuality and homosexuality
sexual behavior, 03-12 to 03-13
  deviance vs. normativity, 03-14
sexual geography, 14-6
Sexual Privacy Project, 19-23
Shack, Ruth, 27-17
Shaw, Anna Howard, 07-7, 07-9
Shearer, Del, 29-11 to 29-12. *See also* Daughters of Bilitis (DOB)
Shepard, Matthew, 03-33 to 03-34, 14-11, 17-50, 19-35, 24-23, 32-17 to 32-18
Shockley, Jay, 26-11. *See also* Organization of Lesbian and Gay Architects and Designers
Silber, Mark
  Stonewall Library, 04-24
Sisters of Perpetual Indulgence, 02-16, 21-48 to 21-50
situated knowledges, 14-5
Six Gallery. *See under* San Francisco
Slater, Cynthia, 08-20
Small Town Gay Bar, 16-4 to 16-5
Smith, Barbara, 13-25, 13-27
Smith, Bessie, 13-9, 13-15, 13-16, 17-25, 23-5, 26-8, 26-28
Smith, Beverly, 13-27
Smith, Oliver, 26-5 to 26-6
  Oliver Smith House, 26-5 to 26-6
social history, 02-3. *See also* history
Society for Human Rights, 02-7, 03-23, 03-23n51, 04-12n28, 05-22, 08-16, 13-20, 14-8, 18-3, 18-15, 18-15n44, 18-19n61, 19-9, 22-11, 25-2n79, 29-1n1, 30-8n15, 32-18
Society for Individual Rights (SIR), 25-23 to 25-24. *See also* homophile movement, San Francisco
sodomy

  laws, 03-15, 03-35, 19-4 to 19-8. *See also* Lawrence v. Texas, court cases
softball. *See under* LGBTQ recreation
Soulforce, 21-32 to 21-33. *See also* LGBTQ spirituality
South Florida AIDS Network (SFAN). *See under* Miami
Southern Poverty Law Center, 32-5
Spiritual Conference for Radical Faeries, 21-48, 21-50. *See also* Radical Faeries
State University of New York at Buffalo (SUNY Buffalo)
  Buffalo Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender Archives, 14-26
Stebbins, Emma, 26-4. *See also* New York City, New York: Bethesda Fountain
Stein, Gertrude, 02-2n2, 17-23. *See also* Toklas, Alice B.
Steward, Samuel, 17-31 to 17-32
Stoddard, Charles Warren, 11-4 to 11-5, 11-7 to 11-8
Stone, Sandy, 24-42
Stonewall Inn, 02-7, 06-21, 07-17, 13-24, 18-3, 26-2 to 26-3, 26-9 to 26-10, 32-2
  inclusion on the National Register of Historic Places, 26-9 to 26-11
  Stonewall Riots, 01-4, 02-7, 03-27 to 03-28, 08-11, 11-16 to 11-17, 12-28 to 12-29, 14-22 to 14-23, 15-5 to 15-6, 15-11 to 15-12, 18-31, 26-25 to 26-27
Stonewall Library. *See under* Silber, Mark
Stop AIDS Now or Else (SANOE). *See under* San Francisco
Strayhorn, Billy, 13-18 to 13-19
Street Transvestite Action Revolutionaries (STAR), 02-17, 10-28, 12-30 to 12-31, 18-32, 19-22
Student Homophile League. *See under* Columbia University
Sugarloaf Women's Village, 14-19
Sweetheart Bar. *See under* Detroit
Swoopes, Sheryl, 24-2 to 24-3. *See also* LGBTQ sport and leisure: basketball
Sylvia Rivera Law Project, 10-34, 18-60

Taft, Lorado, 17-23

Takahashi, Kosen, 11-7, 11-9
Tanglewood Tavern. *See under* Virginia.
tangowaip, 09-6. *See also* Native gender expressions
Tavern Guild, 16-8, 16-28, 17-39, 18-34, 25-24, 28-20
Tay-Bush raid, 25-21. *See also* San Francisco: Tay-Bush Inn
tayagigux', 09-6. *See also* Native gender expressions
teaching LGBTQ history. *See under* LGBTQ history education
Teena, Brandon, 10-32, 14-11, 17-50, 19-35, 32-17
títqattek, 09-16 to 09-17. *See also* Native gender expressions
Theatre Rhino. *See under* San Francisco
Theme Studies, 30-4 to 30-6. *See also* National Historic Landmarks (NHL), National Register of Historic Places (NRHP)
Third World Gay Revolution, 12-31, 19-22
Thomas, M. Carey, 17-19 to 17-20
Thurman, Wallace, 13-10
Tilden, Bill, 24-3, 24-4, 24-15. *See also* LGBTQ sport and leisure: tennis
Todhunter School. *See under* New York City, New York
Toklas, Alice B., 17-23 to 17-24. *See also* Stein, Gertrude.
Tom Waddell Health Center. *See under* San Francisco
Tometi, Opal, 15-29. *See also* Black Lives Matter (BLM)
Tommy's Place. *See under* San Francisco
Town House. *See under* Minneapolis/St. Paul
Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, 12-14 to 12-15
Trans Bodies, Trans Selves, 17-42
transgender, 03-3, 10-1 to 10-36. *See also* transsexual
    and eugenics, 10-11 to 10-12
    history of the term, 10-01
    in 19th century Americas, 10-2 to 10-12
Transgender Archives, 14-26
Transgender Day of Remembrance, 32-17
Transgender Foundation of America, 14-26
Transgender Law Center, 10-34, 11-1, 18-60
Transgender Nation, 10-31, 18-51 to 18-52
Trans Lives Matter, 07-14
transsexual, 03-15 to 03-16. *See also* trangender

Trevor Project, 01-10
Trikone, 11-24, 11-32, 21-44
Truth, Soujourner, 07-2
Tsui, Kitty, 11-14, 11-17, 11-18, 11-20 to 11-22
Tuaolo, Esera, 24-16 to 24-17. *See also* LGBTQ sport and leisure: football
t‘übás, 09-6. *See also* Native gender expressions
Twelve-Thirty Club. *See under* Chicago
two-spirit, 03-6 to 03-7, 06-7 to 06-8, 14-18 to 14-19. *See also* Native gender expressions
  Bay Area American Indian Two Spirits, 14-17
  history of the term, 09-5 to 09-6
  in ceremony, 09-7 to 09-9
  in film and media, 09-29
  in the history of the United States, 09-15 to 09-26
tw!innaˊek, 09-6. *See also* Native gender expressions

Unbound Feet, 11-17 to 11-19, 11-20
United States v. Windsor, 03-36, 18-56, 26-32. *See also* court cases
University of California San Francisco
  Langley Porter Clinic, 25-26 to 25-27 (*see also* Bowman, Karl)
University of Michigan
  Joseph A. Labadie Collection, 04-20, 04-25
University of Minnesota
  Tretter Collection, 08-10
University of Missouri-Kansas City
  Gay and Lesbian Archive of Mid-America, 14-26
University of Nevada Reno
  Sex Week, 28-25 to 28-26
University of Southern California
  ONE National Gay and Lesbian Archives, 14-26
University of Texas at Austin
  Black Queer Studies Collection, 14-26
UpStairs Lounge. *See under* New Orleans
US-Mexican War, 12-14

Valencia Rose. *See under* San Francisco
Villa Lewaro. *See under* Walker, Madame C. J.
violence against LGBTQ people, 03-6, 03-29, 03-32 to 03-33, 14-23, 14-27, 14-30, 15-29, 17-11, 17-13, 17-31, 17-50, 18-3, 18-5, 18-61, 18-62, 19-31 to 19-32, 19-34 to 19-36, 24-7, 32-17 to 32-18
  domestic violence, 17-32 to 17-33, 17-40
  in prison, 19-37, 19-39, 19-42 to 19-43
  in the military, 20-14 to 20-16
  murder, 03-30 to 03-31, 03-33, 03-34, 05-28, 07-14, 09-29, 10-32, 12-19, 14-11, 14-30, 15-12, 17-11, 17-50, 17-51, 18-3, 18-41, 18-61, 19-7, 19-27, 19-32 to 19-33, 19-34, 20-14 to 20-15, 32-17 to 32-18
  police violence, 15-13, 19-8, 29-14 to 29-30
  remembering, 02-28 to 02-29, 31-23, 32-1
  responses to, 15-7, 19-35, 19-36 to 19-37, 19-43, 25-33, 26-32
  risk of, 01-5, 15-21, 17-35
Virginia
  Tanglewood Tavern, 06-21
von Steuben, Friedrich Wilhelm, 17-15 to 17-16, 20-3 to 20-4
Voss, Barbara, 06-6, 06-8 to 06-9, 06-22

Walker, A'Lelia, 13-3, 13-11, 13-17, 13-32
Walker, Alice, 13-35
Walker, Dr. Mary, 17-17, 20-5 to 20-6, 32-13 to 32-14
Walker, Madame C. J., 13-3, 13-11
  Villa Lewaro, 13-3, 13-11
Walker, Mitch, 21-48 to 21-49. *See also* Radical Faeries
Wallace, Howard, 07-9
Wallace, Lee, 11-5
Wambach, Abby, 24-23 to 24-24. *See also* LGBTQ sport and leisure: soccer
Warren, Earl, 25-20. *See also* San Francisco
Washington, DC
  Corcoran Gallery of Art, 23-19 to 23-21
  Guild Press, 16-32 to 16-34, 19-20
  Lafayette Square, 15-15, 16-9, 17-28

  Lambda Rising, 02-22, 15-26, 16-25
  Lammas, 16-26
  March on Washington for Lesbian, Gay and Bi Equal Rights and Liberation (1993), 08-11, 08-31, 18-52, 18-54 to 18-55
  Millennium March on Washington (2000), 18-54n192
  National Equality March (2009), 08-3, 18-64n192
  National March on Washington for Lesbian and Gay Rights (1979), 08-23, 13-27, 18-43 to 18-44, 32-21
  Nob Hill, 13-33 to 13-34, 15-10, 16-9
  Phase One, 14-22
  Second National March on Washington for Lesbian and Gay Rights (1987), 08-9 to 08-10, 08-26, 08-29, 11-19 to 11-20, 17-53, 18-48, 18-53, 23-14, 25-37n139
  Zephyr Restaurant, 18-32 to 18-33
Washoe County Fairgrounds. *See under* Reno, Nevada
Watermelon Woman, 23-6. *See also* Dunye, Cheryl
Waters, Ethel, 13-9, 13-20, 26-8
Webster Hall. *See under* New York City, New York
Weetamoo, 09-9
Weir, Johnny, 24-30 to 24-31. *See also* LGBTQ sport and leisure: figure skating
Wesleyan Chapel, see Seneca Falls
West Coast Asian Pacific Lesbian Retreat, 11-19
Western Gay Archives. *See under* Kepner, James
We'wha, 03-7, 09-15, 09-20 to 09-22, 32-11. *See also Ihamana*
White, Dan, 03-31, 18-40 to 18-41. *See also* Milk, Harvey and Moscone, George
White Night Riots, 03-30, 03-31, 15-12, 18-41. *See also* Milk, Harvey
white flight, 14-7
Whitman, Walt, 01-9, 04-9, 05-4, 05-48, 08-1, 11-4, 17-17 to 17-18, 17-26, 20-5, 26-13, 32-13 to 32-14
Wicker, Randy, 17-38
Wilkins, Lawson, 10-12
Wilkinson, Jemima, 10-6 to 10-7

Willard, Francis, 03-10 to 03-12. *See also* Women's Christian Temperance Union
winkte, 09-6, 09-8. *See also* Native gender expressions
Wisconsin Womyn's Land Co-op, 14-19
Withers, Thomas Jefferson (Jeff), 03-8 to 03-9. *See also* Hammond, James Henry (Jim)
Wojnarowicz, David, 14-25 to 14-26
Wolpe, Joseph, 22-7
Women's Army Corps (WAC), 11-10, 17-30, 19-11, 20-7, 24-6, 28-27
Women's Building of San Francisco. *See under* San Francisco
Women's Medical College of the New York Infirmary. *See under* New York City
Women's Christian Temperance Union, 03-11. *See also* Willard, Francis
women's suffrage, 07-5 to 07-8
WOW Café Theatre. *See under* New York City, New York

Zephyr Restaurant. *See under* Washington, DC
Zuni, 03-7